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Publication date

2010

Document Version

Final published version

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

van Heelsum, A. (2010). *Intercultural policies and intergroup relations - Case study: Terrassa, Spain*. Eurofound. <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/publications/htmlfiles/ef103812.htm>

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Intercultural policies and intergroup relations

Case study: Terrassa, Spain



Contents

About CLIP	1
Introduction	3
Background	5
Profile of Terrassa	17
Local intercultural policies in general	22
Local intercultural policies towards Muslim communities	35
Intergroup relations and radicalisation	40
Key challenges and lessons for CLIP	42
Bibliography	43
List of persons and organisations interviewed	44
List of religious associations	45

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.¹ 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 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 policymakers at local and European level.

The CLIP network currently brings together more than 30 large and medium-sized cities from all regions of Europe: Amsterdam (NL), Antwerp (BE), Arnsberg (DE), Athens (EL), Barcelona (ES), Bologna (IT), Breda (NL), Budapest (HU), Copenhagen (DK), Dublin (IE), Frankfurt (DE), Helsinki (FI), Istanbul (TR), İzmir (TR), Kirklees (UK), Liège (BE), Lisbon (PT), Luxembourg (LU), L'Hospitalet (ES), Malmö (SE), Mataró (ES), Newport (UK), Prague (CZ), Strasbourg (FR), Stuttgart (DE), Sundsvall (SE), Tallinn (EE), Terrassa (ES), Turin (IT), Turku (FI), Valencia (ES), Vienna (AT), Wolverhampton (UK), Wrocław (PL), Zagreb (HR), Zeytinburnu (TR) and Zürich (CH).

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

- Bamberg, Germany (European forum for migration studies, efms);
- Vienna (Institute for Urban and Regional Research, ISR);
- Amsterdam (Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, IMES);
- Turin (International and European Forum on Migration Research, FIERI);
- Wrocław (Institute of International Studies);
- Swansea, Wales (Centre for Migration Policy Research, CMPR).

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 their host society. 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 intercultural policies were carried out in 2009.

¹ See also <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/areas/populationandsociety/clip.htm>.

Acknowledgements

The researchers at IMES at the University of Amsterdam are responsible for this report on Terrassa. Considerable effort has been taken to find all of the necessary data on Terrassa for this study, and invaluable help was provided by the contact person for Terrassa Municipality, Joan Chicon of the Department of International Affairs. Many officials and other parties who are involved in integration policy, statistics and immigrant support 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 study.

In addition, representatives of the Moroccan Mosque, the Senegalese association, the Bahá'í community, the Bishop's office of the Catholic Church and the city newspaper willingly provided information. Finally, researchers from the Autonomous University of Barcelona and the University of Amsterdam have supplied data and useful comments. The author wishes to thank all those who have cooperated in giving information and particularly Joan Chicon for coordinating the search of data.

The author is fully responsible for the content of this report, the copyright of which remains with Eurofound.

Introduction

This module of the CLIP project focuses on intercultural and interreligious dialogue: on the one hand, this concerns the policies that the city of Terrassa has introduced on this subject; on the other hand, it relates to the way in which the immigrants who are involved think about their needs in this regard. As Heckmann explains in his introduction paper for this CLIP module (2008, p. 3), the topic of this module

'has to do with phenomena of urban life that are related to the multi-national, multi-ethnic and multi-religious structures of urban populations which challenge the ability of municipalities to establish or keep peaceful relations among the different segments of the population. In present day political discourse, relations between different ethnic and religious groups, immigrants and natives are predominantly discussed in terms of "intercultural dialogue" and/or "interreligious dialogue". We will conceptualise these phenomena as cases of intergroup relations. This conceptualisation stands for an abstraction working with the assumption that there are similarities in the relations between quite different "groups".'

This understanding has been established in the field of intergroup relations research in social psychology and sociology. The approach focuses on interactions and relations, and emphasises that general explanations and practical recommendations can be made for the relations between different groups. As Sherif and Sherif explain:

'...intergroup relations refer to states of friendship or hostility, cooperation or competition, dominance or subordination, alliance or enmity, peace or war between two or more groups and their members' (Sherif and Sherif, 1969, p. 222). 'Intergroup behaviour refers to the actions of individuals belonging to one group when they interact, collectively or individually, with another group or its members in terms of their group membership...' (ibid, p. 223).

As Heckmann states (2008, p. 4), from a political and practical point of view, two dimensions of intergroup relations are of particular interest for local governments: conflict between groups and policies to avoid or solve conflict between groups, that is, conditions of social cohesion in a city.

'The concept of "group" on which intergroup relations research is based is rather broad. In the CLIP project, it includes the city administration, the city council, political parties, churches, labour unions, welfare organisations, foundations, local media and anti-immigrant movements among others in the majority society. On the part of the minorities, it includes religious groups and national minorities. Among the religious groups, Muslim communities find particular attention. Where Muslims are not the most relevant group, another faith-based community is of interest in our research. It is noteworthy that most of the religious groups are organised on an ethnic basis.'

Led by this conceptualisation of intergroup, a questionnaire has been developed with three parts: local intercultural policies in general; local policies towards Muslim communities; and intergroup relations and radicalisation. This questionnaire was sent to the contact person for Terrassa. After the answers to the questionnaire were received, the city representative was contacted again and a visit to Terrassa was arranged. Interviews took place with officials of the administration, the city newspaper and with representatives of immigrants and religious associations; the author also arranged interviews with two researchers. The full list of persons interviewed may be found at the end of the report. A combination of the answers in the questionnaire and information from the interviews was used to write this case study. The report is organised in a similar way for all of the cities participating in the project, although this study has added a section on 'Immigrant and religious associations and policies towards them'. Intercultural and interreligious dialogue is defined as cooperation at organisational level, either formal or informal. The study also examines attitudes in the population under the heading of 'Relations between ethnic groups'.

In the case of Terrassa, the central concept of the policy is '*Convivencia*'. A simple translation of '*Convivencia*' from Catalan to English would be 'living together' or 'coexistence', although this does not cover the entire meaning. As the Vice Mayor of Terrassa, Isaac Albert i Agut, explains, *Convivencia* also includes sharing values, sharing a common idea about society, having similar ideas about the use of public space and a kind of public identity. It is necessarily bidirectional in the sense that both immigrants and autochthonous or indigenous people have these same values, and all sides should be aware that immigrants will be staying in the city. This case study will use the Catalan term *Convivencia* in order to keep the awareness of its extra meaning rather than using the translation 'living together'.

For the municipality, *Convivencia* is an ideal and a policy used to avoid and solve conflict. It is not particularly directed towards interethnic relations but towards all intergroup relations between citizens in Terrassa – including between younger and older citizens, between religious groups such as Muslims and Catholics, or between people who have a different opinion on the use of public space. Although Moroccans are the largest immigrant group in Terrassa, this does not mean that Muslims are specified in policy documents. Terrassa does not consider the fact that particular immigrants have a particular religious background as being relevant for its policy of *Convivencia*. Furthermore, Terrassa does not have any policy towards radicalisation, since that is not experienced as a problem; if it became a problem, it would be covered more generally by the *Convivencia* concept, as will be explained in this case study.

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 United States (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. During 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. However, 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 of Europe came to a halt because of 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 number of retired people from the European Union moved to the Spanish coast.

Economic growth increased further when Spain became a member of the EU in 1986. The Spanish economy entered a boom phase 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 a country of emigration 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. However, the current economic crisis has hit Spain hard, because its economy was largely dependent on the construction sector. Immigration has recently declined, although the latest statistical data were not yet available at the time of the research. Table 1 outlines the Spanish population profile, including the biggest immigrant groups, at the start of 2008.

Table 1: *Spanish nationals and largest immigrant groups to Spain, by nationality and country of birth, 1 January 2008*

	Number	%	Born in Spain	Born abroad	% 2nd generation
Total population of Spain	46,257,822	100	40,113,294	6,044,528	
Foreign nationals	5,268,762	11	261,897	5,006,865	5
Spanish nationals	40,889,060	89	39,851,397	1,037,663	
EU Member States (in 2006)					
United Kingdom (UK)	352,957	1	9,941	343,016	3
Germany	181,174	0	7,927	173,247	4
Italy	157,789	0	7,431	150,358	5
Rest of Europe					
Romania	731,806	2	2,889	702,916	4
Bulgaria	153,974	0	4,969	149,004	3
Ukraine	79,096	0	3,062	76,034	4
Poland	78,560	0	4,419	74,141	6
Non-western countries					
Morocco	652,695	1	77,453	575,242	12
Ecuador	427,718	1	1,353	414,188	3
Colombia	284,581	1	5,517	279,064	2
Bolivia	242,496	1	6,989	235,507	3
Argentina	147,382	0	2,477	144,905	2
China	125,932	0	1,393	111,984	11
Peru		0	2,228	119,704	2
Total South Americans	1,784,890	4	30,734	1,624,126	2

Source: *Website of National Statistics Institute (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, INE)* ²

² <http://www.ine.es/>

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 country's 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, on a regional basis, Catalonia receives the most immigrants in Spain (575,315 persons), amounting to 22% of the total, compared with 18% for the central region of Madrid, 13% for the eastern region of Valencia and 13% for Andalusia. In fact, the relative number that Catalonia receives increased in the last two years, while it decreased in the other regions. Table 2 outlines the profile of immigrants to Catalonia.

Table 2: *Immigrant categories to Catalonia, by continent, 1 January 2008*

		Number	%
Total		7,364,078	100
Spaniards		6,260,288	85
Foreigners		1,103,790	15
Europe		331,478	5
	27 EU Member States (EU27)	282,046	4
	Central and eastern Europe	44,300	1
	Rest of Europe	5,131	0
Africa		278,129	4
	Northern Africa and Maghreb	220,259	3
	Sub-Saharan Africa	55,503	1
	Central and southern Africa	2,367	0
America		393,105	5
	North America	5,598	0
	Central America	55,829	1
	South America	335,678	5
Asia		100,528	1
	Middle East	3,139	0
	Central and eastern Asia	85,847	1
	South eastern Asia	9,616	0
	Japan	1,926	0
Oceania		497	0
Stateless		53	0

Source: *Catalan government statistical service (Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya, Idescat) based on census data (<http://www.idescat.cat/poblacioestrangera/>)*

As the table shows, compared with Table 1, the proportion of immigrants in Catalonia (15%) is higher than the share of immigrants in Spain as a whole (11%). The five largest national groups are Moroccans (209,007 persons), Romanians (88,081), Ecuadorians (80,995), Bolivians (60,801) and Colombians (46,287). Catalonia is subdivided into four provinces. The figures for the Barcelona province, encompassing Terrassa, are not very different from the Catalan totals, with slightly more South Americans and Asians and slightly fewer other Europeans and Africans.

The average proportion of immigrants in Catalonia is 17%, although some cities reach higher figures, such as Barcelona (21%). The highest rate (40%) is found in the beach towns Lloret de Mar and Salou, which have a large number of European migrants and non-European hotel staff. In Terrassa, the proportion of immigrants has increased from 2% in 1995 to 14% in 2008, mainly due to worker migration. 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 growth of the Spanish economy depended heavily.

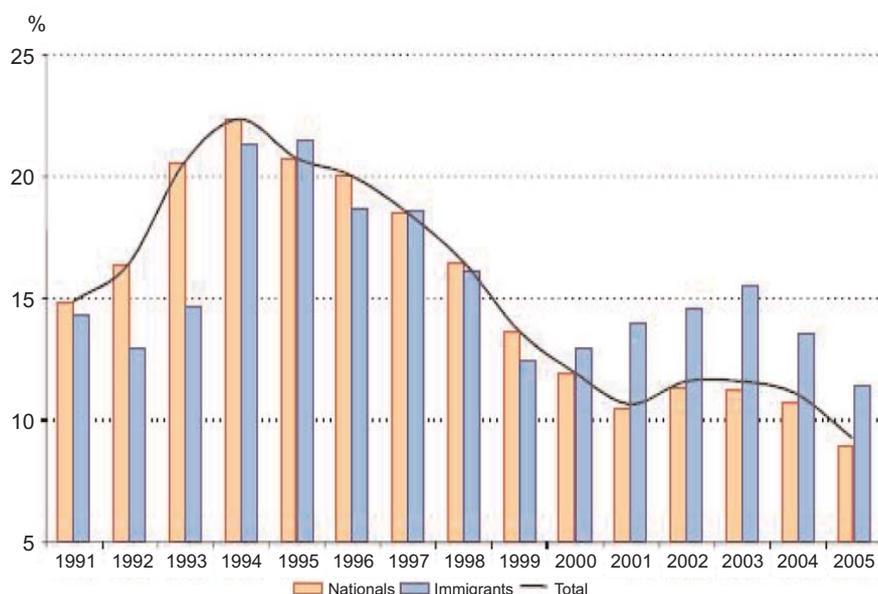
Composition of immigrant and ethnic minority populations

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. This imbalance is particularly visible 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 percentage of women (54%) exceeds men only among immigrants from South America (Permanent Observatory on Immigration).

Another feature of the recent arrival of immigrants is their youth; 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. One of the most significant sociodemographic developments in Spain in the last years has been the increase in the number of older persons. While the proportion of people above 64 years is 18% among the Spanish population, few older people are found from Africa, South America and Asia (Permanent Observatory on Immigration). The 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. In many cities, the age profile of immigrants is the reason why there is no decline in the population. However, not all ethnic groups have 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.

Immigrants have created a large proportion of job opportunities; in fact, Spanish unemployment decreased because of immigration (Economic Office of the President, 2006). Immigrants were attracted by the economic situation until recently; however, they are more vulnerable in times of economic crisis.

Figure 2: Unemployment rates of nationals and immigrants in Spain, 1991–2005



Source: INE.

The trends in Figure 2 show that unemployment had been declining since 1994. In 2006, the unemployment rate was 8.3% in Spain and 6.7% in Catalonia (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)). However, the global economic crisis has hit Spain harder than most other European countries. The most recent figure available in March 2009 from INE reported an unemployment rate of 13.9% in Spain and 11.8% in Catalonia in the fourth quarter of 2008. In 2009, unemployment was increasing further; according to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) on 24 April 2009, unemployment stood at 17.4% in Spain for the first quarter of 2009, which was twice the EU average.

Before the economic crisis, South Americans had more problems finding work than the other immigrant groups, whereas among North Americans and Asians fewer people were unemployed. However, the economic crisis has affected the African, Latin American and East European groups to a large extent. In Catalonia, those working autonomously – particularly Chinese and Romanians – have been affected; in the agricultural sector, Moroccans and Romanians are particularly affected; and among women working in domestic services, Bolivians have been most hit by the crisis (Pajares, 2009, p. 6).

Table 3 gives an indication of the religious diversity in Catalonia. It shows how many religious premises existed in 2007: 73% of the premises are Catholic, 13% are Protestant, 5% are Muslim, 4% are Jehovah Witness and all of the others amount to between 0% and 1.5%. The number of Protestant churches is increasing rather rapidly.

Table 3: Number of religious centres in Catalonia, by type of religion, 2007

Type of religion	Number of centres	%
Catholic	2,534	73
Protestant	453	13
Islamic	169	5
Jehovah Witness	147	4
Oriental churches	18	1
Buddhist	42	1
Jewish	4	0
Adventist churches	16	0
Mormon	14	0
Hindu	30	1
Bahá'í	10	0
Sikh	6	0
Others	6	0
Total of non-Catholic centres	913	26

Source: Catalan government website (<http://www.gencat.cat/vicepresidencia/afersreligiosos>)

National policy context

Immigration policies

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). After the non-governmental organisation (NGO) Amnesty International criticised the severity 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.

The municipalities have their own registration of citizens, the *Padrón*, which includes irregular workers. If a worker obtains an employment contract for a year, they can ask the municipality for a work and residence permit and regularise their situation; however, the regularisation office is slow to process applications. Recently, the system has tended to legalise people gradually throughout the whole year, avoiding the large-scale regularisations that the EU criticised.

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. This system was reformed 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.

A unique law in Europe was passed in 2008, which makes it possible for Moroccan immigrants who have lived and worked legally in Spain for two or more years to return to Morocco and receive their welfare benefits in their home country.

Integration policies

Besides measures to control immigration, a start was made in 1994 towards programmes for immigrants' social integration. The government presented an Interministerial Plan for the integration of immigrants in that year, 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 José María Aznar, was interested in economic liberalisation and privatisation. A new agency was established – the Government Delegation for Foreigners and Immigrants (*Delegación de Gobierno para la Extranjería y la Inmigración*) – 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. According to Ortega Pérez (2003), the Greco Plan addresses four key areas:

- global, coordinated design of immigration as a desirable feature 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 play an important role in implementing immigrant integration.

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 social services 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 – this situation is further exacerbated by the limited municipal budget. Immigrants' access to social services depends on their registration in the municipal administration.

In 2006, an agreement was signed in which all the political forces of the Spanish state agreed on how to develop integration policies; it is known as the Civic Responsibility Pact. On 19 February 2007, the First Strategic Plan on immigration and citizenship proposed €2 billion for integration measures over a three-year period.

Policies on division between church and state

The separation of church and state is a highly politicised issue in Spain. Attempts by liberal groups to cut the strong interrelations between church and state meet with strong resistance from conservative parties. Article 16 of the Spanish Constitution concerns the freedom of ideology and religion (*Libertad ideológica y religiosa*). This is relevant for the division between church and state. In Article 16.2, the Constitution states that ‘no one should be obliged to be afraid because of reasons of ideology, religion or belief’, while Article 16c stipulates:

‘No religion shall have a state character. The public authorities shall take into account the religious beliefs of Spanish society and shall consequently maintain appropriate cooperation relations with the Catholic Church and other denominations.’

Historically, strong relations between the state and particularly the more conservative elements of the Catholic Church, such as Opus Dei and the Legion of Christ (*Legionarios de Christo*), are associated with the era of General Franco. Prime Minister Zapatero intends to make the relations more neutral and open, removing some of the church’s influence, privileges and control, particularly its influence on the educational system. The prime minister has suggested reducing the symbolic presence of religion in general, for instance by: removing crosses in city halls and schools; or discontinuing the practice of swearing on the bible during the inauguration of ministers – ministers can choose to say ‘I promise’ instead of ‘I swear’. However, this proposal has not been received enthusiastically by the conservative People’s Party nor by the conference of bishops and cardinals (*Conferencia Episcopal*). This conference is slowly losing the substantial power it once had, although the Catholic Church in Spain still owns television and radio stations and newspapers and can therefore continue to influence people; in fact, it is more active now than 15 years ago in the public sphere.

In Catalonia, three kinds of schools exist: public schools, completely private schools and state-assisted private schools (*‘Concertades’*). Since there are not enough public schools, the private schools are indispensable to cope with the number of pupils. Public schools are cheap, while private schools are more expensive. When a private school is officially approved as a *‘Concertades’*, the fee that the parents need to pay decreases since only half is paid by the parents and the other half by the Catalan government.⁶ At least half of the state-assisted public schools are Catholic; some of these are run by Opus Dei. Muslims have the right to form such schools but, as far as the author knows, Islamic schools do not exist yet in Catalonia. A debate is ongoing about this issue.

Generally, the power of the Catholic Church is diminishing in Catalonia, compared with the rest of Spain. This is reflected by the fact that, in 2008, some 21% of respondents in an opinion poll by the Institute for Political and Social Sciences (*Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials*) of the Autonomous University of Barcelona stated that the church was of no importance to them. The mean value given to the Catholic Church is 4.3 on a scale of 0–10, while for instance the Catalan government gets 5.5 and the municipalities 5.7.⁷ This does not mean that the power of the Catholic Church has disappeared completely. The religious freedom law is heavily debated and the effect of personal relationships between particular powerful figures and the Catholic Church should not be underestimated. This is also true for the conservative Catholic movements of Opus Dei and Legionarios de Christo; their members often know each other from elite schools and have a network in powerful positions.

⁶ In fact, parents can refuse to pay any fee, as a court decision showed in 2008. However, they usually pay for extra-curricular activities.

⁷ <http://www.icps.cat/archivos/sondeigs/SC2008cast.pdf>

In 1992, the acceptance of the Jewish, Protestant and Muslim religious groupings was formalised. As the US Department of State explains on its website in a section on Spain:⁸

'Representatives of Protestant, Jewish, and Islamic religious groups signed bilateral agreements with the Government in 1992, recognizing their "deeply rooted" or "notorio arraigo" status. These agreements provide certain tax benefits and give civil validity to weddings performed by the religious groups. They also permit the religious groups to place their teachers in schools and chaplains in hospitals and prisons. Protestant entities signed the accord as the FEREDE; Jewish entities signed as the Federation of Jewish Communities of Spain (FCJE); and Islamic entities as the Islamic Commission of Spain (CIE). The CIE is composed of two federations: the Spanish Federation of Islamic Religious Entities (FEERI) and the Union of Islamic Communities in Spain (UCIDE).

'In 2003, the Government expanded the concept of "well-known deeply rooted" beliefs ("notorio arraigo") to allow other religious groups to sign bilateral agreements and granted the status to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons), although without signing a bilateral agreement. On November 9, 2007, the Ministry of Justice (MOJ) granted notorio arraigo status to the Buddhist entity, as it had to the Jehovah's Witnesses on January 16, 2007; however, the Buddhist, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Mormon communities do not receive the same benefits and privileges granted the other "deeply rooted" religions. Although the Government has indicated that it would amend the laws governing tax benefits and privileges for religious groups to extend these benefits to all groups achieving notorio arraigo status, Parliament did not adopt this proposal prior to disbanding in December 2007 in advance of elections. On May 7, 2008, the Deputy Prime Minister of the new Government met with the Constitutional Commission of Congress to publicly announce the Government's plans for legal reform over the next four years, among them legal reform to promote religious freedom to make its laws consistent with the pluralistic society that the country has become. While the MOJ indicated that they want to present and enact legislation dealing with this matter, at the end of the reporting period, no serious effort has been made to move the project forward. In fact, while MOJ officials insist that the biggest obstacle is concern regarding foregone revenue, Ministry of Economy officials do not appear to be aware of the issue and no effort has been made on their part to calculate the revenue impact of the law.'

The Ministry of Justice (*Ministerio de Justicia*) keeps databases on religious and other civic society associations. To become an official partner of the Spanish government, religious associations need to register with the Ministry of Justice in Madrid to become an official and legal association, and be listed in the database of religious and ideological associations.⁹ Registration makes it possible for associations to respond to calls for proposals from the Ministry of Justice and to obtain funding from the Foundation for Pluralism and Convivencia (*Fundacion Pluralismo y Convivencia*).¹⁰ This foundation concerns social activities only and not religious activities.

⁸ <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2008/108473.htm>

⁹ The database is available at <http://dgraj.mju.es/entidadesreligiosas>. At the time of the research, 13 associations in Terrassa were registered, comprising the Muslim, Evangelical (Protestant) and Bahá'í faiths.

¹⁰ This is a public foundation created by the Spanish government in October 2004 with the purpose of promoting social integration, training and cultural programmes for the minority religions that have an agreement with the state. See http://www.pluralismoyconvivencia.es/quienes_somos.

Regarding the organisation of Islam in Spain, two Muslim federations are legitimate representatives of Muslims in Spain: the Union of Islamic Communities of Spain (*Unión de Comunidades Islámicas de España*, UCIDE), which is fully Islamic; and the Spanish Federation of Islamic Religious Entities (*Federación Española de las Entidades Religiosas Islámicas*, FEERI), which was originally established by converts, but expanded. The two federations come together in the Islamic Commission of Spain (*Comisión Islámica de España*, CIE). CIE is the legitimate representative body that gives a voice to Muslims, and that communicates on legislative initiatives and with the Main Directorate of Religious Affairs of the Ministry of Justice. Currently, there is debate about the representativeness of CIE. Moroccans in particular complain that it does not represent them sufficiently.

In addition, the Islamic Council of Spain (*Junta Islámica de España*) gathers some Muslim converts, mainly autochthonous, who formerly were part of FEERI – such as the first president of FEERI, Mansur Escudero. This association is not recognised as a legitimate representative but is considered more progressive and liberal than the others.

At Catalan level, there is also a register for organisations. It is compulsory to register here before being registered as a partner for city government. As at national level, UCIDE and FEERI are present in Catalonia, as well as the Catalan Islamic Board (*Junta Islámica Catalana*).¹¹ This association has its headquarters in Terrassa, according to the Spanish register. It does not have many members but is well-known because it promotes the celebration of the International Congress on Islamic Feminism (*Congrés Feminisme Islàmic*)¹² and other activities.

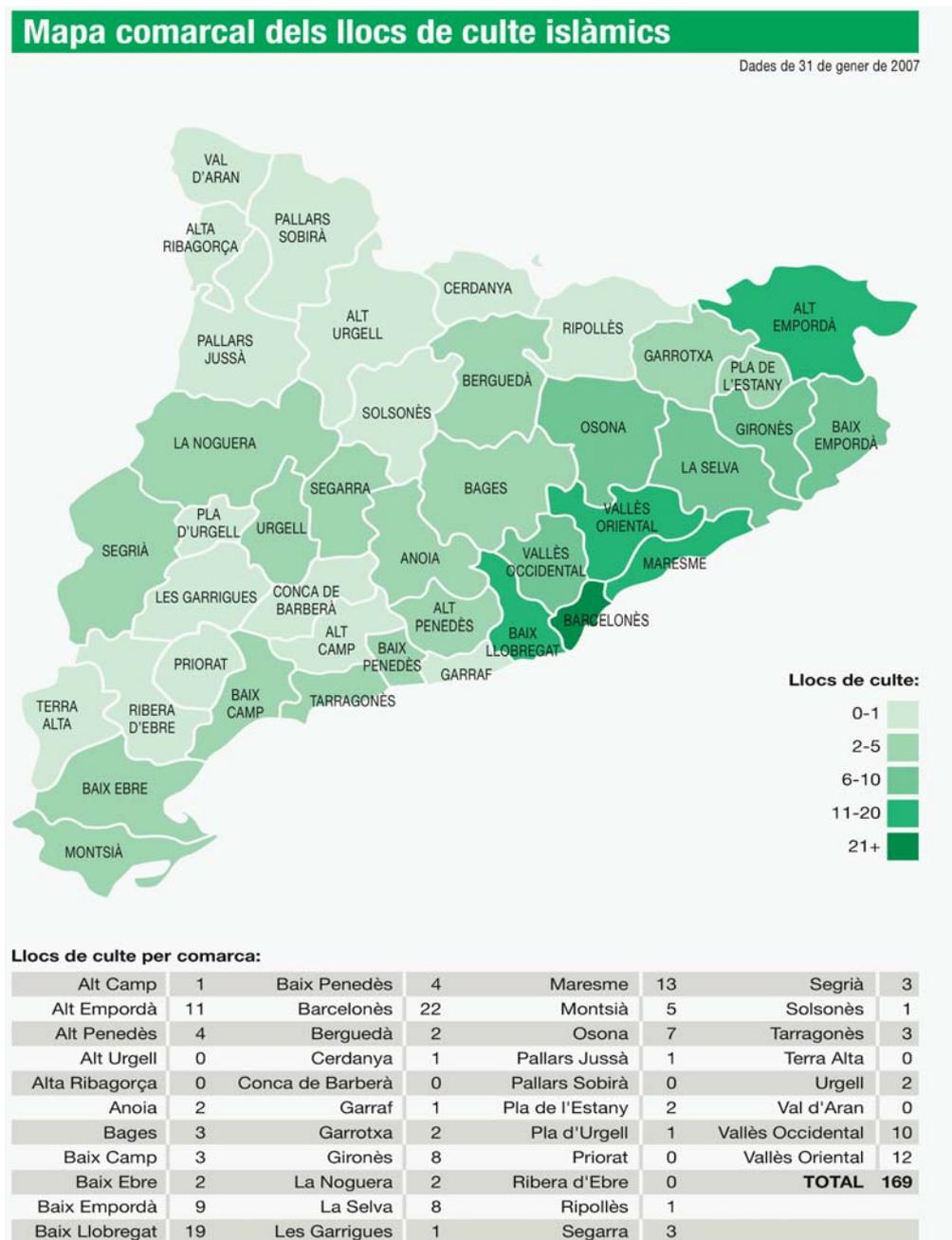
Finally, it is important to take into account the role of the Islamic Council of Catalonia (*Consell Islàmic de Catalunya*). The Council was promoted by Mohammed Chaib, an elected representative in the Catalan parliament from the Catalan Socialist Party (*Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya*, PSC); Mr Chaib was the first Muslim Spanish member of parliament, among others, in 2001. Currently, the General Directorate of Religious Affairs (*Direcció General d'Afers Religiosos*) within the Catalan government is looking for interlocutors within the religious communities. The Catalan government has decided to promote this Islamic Council in favour of the other Spanish federations. In 2001, a major conflict arose over the building of a mosque in the Catalan town of Premià and the Catalan government was looking for mediators; thus, Muslim councils became more important.

Figure 3 shows the concentration of Muslim premises in Catalonia according to county. Concentrations are visible in and near the city of Barcelona. Terrassa is part of the Vallès Occidental County.

¹¹ <http://islamcatala.wordpress.com/>

¹² <http://feminismeislamic.org/>

Figure 3: Map of concentration of Muslim premises, by county, 2007



Source: Catalan government website (<http://www.gencat.cat/vicepresidencia/afersreligiosos>)

Profile of Terrassa

Brief description of the city

Terrassa is situated 29 kilometres from Barcelona city 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 Pèrre 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 Masia 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 people from other parts of Spain, particularly Andalusia. Recently, international immigrant groups have moved to Terrassa.

The old city centre of Terrassa was built between 700 and 1900. The first expansion phases took place around the 1920s with the growth of the textiles industry. At this 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, city planning improved and missing services like parks, schools and offices were developed. Terrassa has high-rise blocks only at the edge of the city; the houses built in the 1950s that later became immigrant areas were mainly four to six-floor apartment buildings.

Between 2000 and 2006, a second economic boom took place, causing a substantial increase in house prices – amounting to 24% in 2003. The consequence is that, even for middle-class people, it is no longer as easy to buy a house, while there are hardly any cheap social rentals. 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 has always been relatively wealthy in the region. The average gross family income in the city 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 city districts. Between 1996 and 2002, the gross family income increased by 36%. However, the population is ageing: there is a lack of people aged 18 to 45 years and immigrants have to fill that gap. Most of Terrassa’s labour force is employed in industry, but the services sector is growing fast whereas both construction and agriculture are in decline. In addition, the size of the companies – measured by the number of employees – is decreasing.

Due to the dependence on construction and industry, the economic crisis of 2008–2009 has had a greater effect on Terrassa than many other cities. The unemployment rate is higher than the Catalan average: according to Vice Mayor Albert i Agut, 15.8% of the active population was unemployed in March 2009, which is 3.6% above the Catalan average. While 5,501 people were unemployed in Terrassa in 2001, by 2008 this number had doubled to 10,465 persons, which makes a visible difference in this city of 207,663 inhabitants (Idescat).

City's migrant population

The migrant profile described earlier for the rest of Catalonia is also true for Terrassa. International immigration is rather new, dating mainly from the last 10 years. On 1 January 2008, Terrassa had a total population of 207,663 inhabitants, 29,873 (14%) of whom are foreigners; there were only 3,528 foreigners (2%) in 1995. As Table 4 shows, the largest immigrant groups in Terrassa are Moroccans (6%), followed by people from Ecuador (1.5%), Senegal (0.6%), Colombia (0.6%) and Romania (0.5%).

Table 4: *Immigrants in Terrassa, by country of origin, 1 January 2008, and increase/decrease compared with 2007*

Nationality	Women	Men	Total	% of population	% change 2007–2008
Spain	91,416	87,374	178,790	86	+0.2
Morocco	4,622	7,648	12,270	5.9	+11.3
Ecuador	1,651	1,422	3,073	1.5	+1.8
Senegal	222	1,108	1,330	0.6	+25.7
Colombia	687	572	1,259	0.6	-8.1
Romania	482	493	975	0.5	+52.3
Argentina	452	449	901	0.4	+7.5
Bolivia	461	365	826	0.4	+25.9
Italy	261	428	689	0.3	+18.6
China	301	359	660	0.3	+11.1
Dominican Republic	494	29	643	0.3	+16.5
Paraguay	382	255	637	0.3	+56.1
Peru	274	300	574	0.3	+22.9
Chile	244	287	531	0.3	+22.4
Poland	108	304	412	0.2	-13.1
Others	2,036	2,057	4,093	2.0	-
Total	103,993	103,670	207,663	100	-1.87

Source: *Terrassa Information Service System, February 2009*

The populations that were growing fastest between 2007 and 2008 are Romanians and Paraguayans, which expanded by more than 50%. In addition, the Senegalese, Bolivian, Peruvian and Chilean populations are increasing considerably, by more than 20%. As the table shows, some groups have a sizeable surplus of men, such as Moroccans, Senegalese and Italians. In other groups, women are in the majority, such as is the case among immigrants from the Dominican Republic, Colombia, Bolivia and Argentina. This disparity depends on 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 restaurants, and elder and childcare. Undocumented immigrants have also developed a wide range of activities in the undeclared economy. For example, some Senegalese men sell newspapers, DVDs and leather goods on the street. Thus, while the precarious conditions of the labour market affect the whole of society, the problem appears more pronounced among foreigners.

Migrant women have less access to the labour market than men do; 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, these people are constantly changing their administrative position. Upward mobility is hard to achieve, except in some parts of the manufacturing and construction sectors where a permanent job implies a better labour situation. Generally, 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.

Table 5 shows the educational level of the main immigrant groups compared with that of the indigenous Spanish people. The groups with the lowest educational levels are Moroccans and Chinese people, with more than a quarter of these immigrants being illiterate. Among those from Senegal, the Dominican Republic, Romania and other South American countries, the proportion of illiterate people is often above 15%.

Table 5: *Educational levels of Spanish people and immigrant groups, Terrassa, 1 January 2008 (% of people)*

Nationality	Illiterate, no education	Primary education	Secondary education	Medium level	Higher level	Not known
Spain	5	39	45	5	6	0
Morocco	32	45	20	1	2	0
Ecuador	17	19	56	4	3	0
Colombia	16	11	57	5	10	1
Senegal	26	33	34	3	4	0
Argentina	15	11	59	8	8	0
Dominican Republic	20	22	50	2	6	0
China	44	25	29	1	1	0
Bolivia	25	13	52	5	5	0
Peru	19	8	40	12	21	0
Chile	18	10	57	7	9	0
EU countries*	24	11	44	7	13	1
Total foreigners	26	27	37	4	6	0

Note: * The illiterate Europeans come to a large extent from Romania.

Source: *Terrassa City Council (Foment de Terrassa), on request, 2009*

As Table 5 shows, some nationalities have both considerable low educated and considerable highly educated groups, such as the Peruvians and the Chileans. Some eastern European groups 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. Table 6 shows the economic status of Spanish people and foreigners in Terrassa.

Table 6: *Economic status of Spanish people and foreigners older than 16 years, Terrassa, 2001*

	Spanish	% of total number of Spanish	Foreigners	% of total number of foreigners
Labour force:	83,382	50	4,119	59
Working	74,637	45	3,400	49
Unemployed	8,745	5	719	10
Non labour force:	82,675	50	2,860	41
Military service	0	0	0	0
Pensioners	26,497	16	80	1
Disabled persons	5,789	3	17	0
Students	29,972	18	1,461	21
Housewives	11,907	7	681	10
Other	8,510	5	621	9

Source: *Terrassa City Council, 2005, pp. 43–44. These data are from the census; no update is available for 2009*

The table shows that the proportion of foreigners who are part of the labour force (59%) is higher than the share among Spanish people (50%). The proportion of working foreign nationals is also higher than the indigenous population (49% compared with 45%); on the other hand, the proportion of unemployed people among immigrants is also higher (10% compared with 5% of the Spanish population).¹³

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 replaced by a younger person. In some communities, particularly among 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.

City's Muslim population and its characteristics

No data are available on religious denomination in Terrassa. By counting the total number of citizens from countries that have a majority of Muslims (12,270 Moroccans, 1,330 Senegalese and 100 Pakistanis), an approximate estimate indicates a total of 13,700 Muslims in Terrassa, representing about 6.5% of the whole population.¹⁴

The Muslim groups consist to a large extent of men: among Moroccans, 62.3% are men, among Senegalese 83% are men and among Pakistanis 87% are men. No information is available on the denominational substructure of either the Christian or the Muslim population. Most of the Moroccans and Pakistanis are probably Sunnis. Latin Americans are probably either Catholic or a member of one of the Pentecostal churches.

¹³ Data on the mean income of Spanish and immigrant groups in Terrassa are not available.

¹⁴ As noted earlier, in Senegal, 5.7% of the population is Christian; however, since this calculation has not included the small number of Nigerians in Terrassa, the totals might balance out.

Moroccans live in all neighbourhoods of Terrassa, although a concentration is quickly growing in district 2, west of the city centre – particularly in the Ca n'Anglada neighbourhoods, where 3,702 Africans live. Other concentrations are found in Can Palet, La Maurina and Sant Pere Nord.

An awareness of the problems that could develop if integration policy fails to be addressed was raised by incidents between the indigenous population and Moroccan immigrants in the Ca n'Anglada neighbourhood in 1999. A riot was reported in the national press so it 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 but Spanish, 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 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. The media were not very positive about the Moroccan immigrants and wrote articles that have not improved the peaceful coexistence of the groups. Because of this event, immigration and its influence on neighbourhoods was put on the political agenda.

Local intercultural policies in general

This chapter will first examine Terrassa's policies towards immigrant integration, which are actually formulated as intercultural policies. It will then consider its policies towards immigrant organisations and religious associations. The study will go on to explore intercultural and interreligious dialogue by associations, both formal and informal. The section 'Relations between ethnic groups' will focus on attitudes in the population and not on associations. Finally, the study will look at public communication and media.

Responsibility in the city and general approach to ethnic issues

The elected representative responsible for integration is Vice Mayor Albert i Agut, the alderman of Social Action and Civil Rights. Terrassa City Council is governed by the 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*) – obtained six seats in the 2007 local elections. Currently, both the Terrassa and the Catalan governments have the same political coalition; furthermore, the national Spanish government is also mainly liberal, which makes it easier for Terrassa to operate.

The Department of Citizenship and Civil Rights implements policy in this area. Terrassa developed an Action Plan on immigrant integration issues as early as 2003, entitled the Terrassa Plan for the management of immigration, diversity and Convivència (*Pla per a la Gestió de la Immigració, la Diversitat i la Convivència de Terrassa*, PGID). The New Citizenship Department was set up to manage this action plan, 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 ways of living together. Because the PGID is approved unanimously by the council, it is not difficult to reach agreements with other departments or services whose work is affected by immigration.

The PGID defines a coherent strategic framework to suit the local situation. It 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 measures 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 immigrant integration 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.

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. The Council has adopted two important tools: the Permanent Observatory of Interculturality and the Citizenship Forum. 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 Citizenship Forum.

As already noted in the introduction, in the case of Terrassa, the central concept of the policy is *Convivencia*. Beyond the simple translation of 'living together', as Vice Mayor Albert i Agut explains, *Convivencia* also includes sharing values, sharing a common idea about society, having similar ideas about the use of public space and a kind of public identity. It is necessarily bidirectional, with both immigrants and autochthonous people having these same values, and all sides should be aware that immigrants will be staying in Terrassa. For the municipality, *Convivencia* is an ideal and a policy to avoid and solve conflict. It is not particularly directed towards interethnic relations but towards all intergroup relations between citizens in Terrassa – including between younger and older citizens, between religious groups such as Muslims and Catholics, or people who have a different opinion on the use of public space. Finding a common ground and a common identity for all is important with a view to agreeing on a common sense of living in a neighbourhood.

The programme is about the promotion of coexistence and peaceful relations in neighbourhoods and aims to:

- make clear what duties, habits and customs are expected in order to facilitate integration and improve peaceful relations;
- promote meeting places for intercultural relations between persons of different origin, with the intention of dissolving prejudices and bringing people closer;
- promote interrelationships between associations of different types, that is, not only ethnic associations but all kinds of associations.

Specific projects include reporting on migratory facts through conferences, roundtables or chats, and educating people about the different cultures that coexist in the city. For example, an intercultural kitchen has been set up, as well as henna workshops. In addition, a number of activities create meeting places for people of different origin sharing common interests, such as cooking.

Terrassa tries to listen actively to migrants by having a Citizenship Forum, the follow-up of the New Migration Roundtable that was mentioned in earlier CLIP reports. The forum aims to be a service of debate, counselling and participation, following up on and assessing the local policies linked to integration. Above all, it provides a shared working space for the different entities involved. This will be discussed further later.

Issues, demands and interests of immigrants

The major issues that concern immigrants in Terrassa are firstly social needs, such as legalisation of their status, finding suitable housing, employment, children's education and health. With the economic crisis, employment has become the major issue, as it directly affects the ability to pay rent or a mortgage.

Immigrants make their demands clear through the Citizenship Forum. So far, no elected representatives in the city council come from local ethnic communities. According to the persons interviewed for this study, it is still too early to attain this achievement. The fact that most immigrants are still foreign nationals and have no voting rights or right to stand as candidate is one of the reasons for the lack of representation. The Spanish Constitution allows third-country nationals to vote and stand in local elections on the basis of reciprocity but this currently only applies to Norwegians (Migrant Integration Policy Index (Mipex), 2009). This means that most of the immigrants in Terrassa do not vote. In

June 2006, the government announced its intention to sign reciprocity agreements with five Latin American countries, but this will cause another problematic situation, in which the largest immigrant group – Moroccans – will still not have voting rights.

Immigrant and religious associations and policies towards them

This section first examines the number and type of immigrant associations; it then looks at religious associations. The study also considers funding and the issues that associations consider relevant.

Immigrant associations

The number of associations of immigrants has grown from seven organisations in 2003, to 14 in 2005 and to 20 associations in 2007. Most work on sociocultural issues, religion, education and developmental aid, often in combination. Terrassa treats ethnic and religious organisations basically as any other association, although it takes greater effort to work together for the integration of the people whom they represent. The administration explains to them that their participation in the field of civic participation is very important, more so in terms of general interest than regarding specific interests related to origin and religion. Thus, organisations that promote integration, language and knowledge of the environment are especially supported. This can be true also in the case of religious associations, in particular the two Moroccan mosques and the Senegalese association, which are actually of a mixed cultural and religious nature. The work with them consists of:

- training the members on working with resources, services, the city and new technology – mainly computers – since they can pass on this information to others;
- free training in languages for the members of these associations;
- explaining that the City Hall is more likely to subsidise integration projects which are open to everybody and promote coexistence, rather than projects that could promote segregation;
- encouraging newcomers to work with already existing associations and bodies of residents, sport or culture, and even to join these associations;
- occasional support if necessary in bureaucratic proceedings.

Most organisations carry out activities for their compatriots to preserve their customs, such as folklore activities, and some provide aid, such as food or toys, for families with economic difficulties who come to their centre. They also occasionally organise activities that are open to the whole population with the aim of promoting their culture. Some associations organise classes of Catalan and/or Spanish, usually with financial support from the administration. However, as one of the officials remarks, the activities of ethnic and religious organisations do not always contribute to improving intergroup relations in the city, because most of the associations generate activities for their own compatriots and are not regularly open to other people. Occasionally, there is for instance an open day of the mosque or a cultural event for the general public. Some of the associations also have religious interests, but often the aims are mixed. Organisations composed of members of diverse ethnic backgrounds also exist. Different associations do not often share spaces.

When asked what organisations the city council finds the most relevant in the context of integration and intergroup relations, the two Muslim organisations are mentioned. During the city visit, this study interviewed representatives of both Moroccan Muslim associations, and of the Senegalese association. This will be described further later.

The study also visited the Latin American Cultural Association of Terrassa (*Unión Cultural Latinoamericana de Terrassa*, UCLT), an example of an association that is not involved in religious issues.¹⁵ This Latin American association has a centre at Carrer Huelva in the industrial area of Terrassa, with a large bar, a space for flamenco, salsa and merengue lessons, a women's centre, a football competition, a library of Peruvian books and a virtual library. Catalan language lessons are organised in cooperation with the municipality. Although the two board members that this study met were Peruvians, the centre also works for other Latin Americans. The main goals are: social integration through cultural activities; promoting mixed activities such as dance lessons for all citizens of Terrassa; and solidarity and international cooperation.

An example of social integration through cultural activities is the women's meeting of Latin Americans in Terrassa. The organisations of Honduran, Ecuadorian, Peruvian and Argentinean women came together to talk about work and employment, and the difficulties of combining domestic work with having children. Many are single mothers, often divorced, and they work in people's homes, so it is not easy to get together; however, if they do not meet, they can become very isolated. By having more contacts among each other, they can more easily share worries and problems, exchange information and watch each other's children. The Peruvians tend to be very isolated, and participation needs to be encouraged. Everyone has problems with work permits, with finding jobs and with regard to children. Until 2008, the influx of new immigrants was considerable but, with the economic crisis, some people are returning to their own countries; for example, there are currently more job opportunities in Argentina. Another specific problem for Latin Americans is that if they lose their job and ask for welfare, the employment office tells them that they can solve their own problems because they can speak Spanish. Because Moroccans, for example, do not speak the language, they are supported more by training, for instance, which the South Americans perceive as being unfair.

On 6 December 2008, a conference was organised to discuss four issues: working in unpaid jobs, family problems, associations and women as entrepreneurs.

An example of promoting mixed activities for all citizens of Terrassa is the Latin American Festival, which was to be held for a second time in 2009. UCLT also hosted the Terrassa Diversity Festival 2009¹⁶, at which dance groups from Bolivia and Equador were scheduled to perform. Singers from Chile and Nicaragua also performed at the festival.

An example of solidarity and international cooperation is working together to support schools in Atahualpa, Chavni and Tsiari in Peru. Computers are bought for the schools, and the virtual library is made available in Peru through the internet.

Religious associations

Terrassa has relations with 15 religious or ideological associations, which are registered in the Municipal Record of Associations¹⁷:

- *Comunidad Islámica de Catalunya*;
- Brahma Kumaris;
- *Sociedad Teosófica Esponyola Rama Bhakti*;

¹⁵ <http://www.uclt.net/>

¹⁶ <http://usuaris.tinet.org/uclt2/mostra.htm>

¹⁷ The annex to this report provides the full list of religious associations in Terrassa, including those not registered in the Municipal Record, as compiled by the researcher Maria del Mar Griera in June 2009 (see list of persons interviewed).

- *Comunidad Bahá'í de Terrassa;*
- *Manantial de Vida;*
- *Movemento Gnostic Cristia d'Espanya;*
- *Iglesia Evangelica Samaria;*
- *Movimiento Misionero Mundial;*
- *Associació Maria Rovira, Fe, Cultura, Solidaritat;*
- *Iglesia Evangelica Luz y Vida;*
- *Iglesia Evangelica Betania;*
- *Federacio de Cristans de Catalunya;*
- *Esglesia Evangelica Unida de Terrassa;*
- *Iglesia Evangelica Bautista la Natividad;*
- *Associació Cultural Christiana Catalunya Agape.*

The list contains Catholic associations and other Christian churches, such as Pentecostal churches, as well as Muslims, Bahá'í and Hindus. It should be noted that the Catholic Church has a bishop in Terrassa, which means that it has an important power centre in the city.

According to the authorities, most cooperation takes place with the Islamic Community of Catalonia (*Comunidad Islámica de Catalunya*), which will be discussed further below. As far as the author knows, there is no official contact with the Evangelical churches, which are probably established by the Latin American communities.

Funding for ethnic and religious organisations

The local, provincial and Catalan administration and other institutions like developmental aid organisations subsidise activities and projects of migrant associations when the purpose is the promotion of participation and intercultural coexistence (*Convivencia*). Organisations are eligible for ordinary subsidies and projects are subsidised depending on their ability to promote integration and interrelationship with the autochthonous population. In most cases, the dialogue is permanent and fluid.

In general, associations are supported financially to hire spaces and to give courses, but specific multi-ethnic or cultural and educational activities have also been subsidised, such as:

- the 'WFAE-V Day of Intercultural Participation', organised by the WFAE Association. Many young people from many nationalities work together on this project; the day aims to raise awareness and respect for basic values and diversity, and to foster interest for others through the participation of children and young people in a range of activities such as Arabic calligraphy, Moroccan tattooing, storytelling for children, painting and make-up;
- educational activities of the Cuban Association in Catalonia, which organised a conference on the current Cuba, an exhibition on the 'Catalan influence in Cuban culture' and a season of Cuban cinema and activities to raise awareness about people's Cuban background and to educate others in this regard;
- cultural and educational activities of the Immigrants' Association without Borders, including crafts, a national meeting of folklore dances and exhibitions;
- activities of the Cultural Association for Coexistence and Hope concerning school reinforcement.

Issues, demands and interests of immigrant and religious organisations

The administration describes the following issues that have been raised by immigrant associations.

- The Associations of South Americans and Senegalese immigrants request funding for cultural and folklore activities, which are the dominant activities in their organisations. The administration considers this to be a legitimate request but explains to them that municipal funding is limited in this regard; their financial autonomy is promoted.
- In the case of the Associations of Moroccans and Muslims – and the Senegalese – there are occasional demands for spaces for special days of religious celebration. Provided that it is legally possible according to fire regulations, these spaces are given to them. The majority of the costs are subsidised. The issue of expanding the mosque will be discussed later.
- An issue for all of the associations is organising Catalan language training. Since this is one of the key policy issues of the city administration, all of these demands are fully subsidised, either directly by the municipality or through the autonomous Catalan government. There is close cooperation in work on language courses.
- A South American association and a Senegalese immigrant association are requesting a space for their activities. The administration is trying to help them to find municipal buildings or local places of other associations, in order to share spaces – thereby promoting interrelationship. In fact, numerous associations are located in the same street in the industrial area of Terrassa Carrer Huelva; however, this was not a consequence of policy but of low rents.
- Another important issue is that associations request humanitarian aid for their countries of origin. This is done in cooperation with the Solidarity Council, a body that decides each year what projects will receive city council funding for cooperation projects (see below).

Evangelical churches, as they are called in Spain – referring to Protestant movements like Pentecostalism – are increasing with the arrival of South Americans. Among other religious movements, the *Església Evangèlica Unida* – which is a Baptist church, mainly of Catalan industrial workers – is building a large church in the Can Tusell district, which includes a social area and a kindergarten. At first, about nine years ago, people from the neighbourhood complained, but the authorities convinced them that the church had the right to be there and the building process is ongoing. Also of note is the Agape church of the Romany people (Gitano), which used three smaller premises, but one had to close due to high noise levels. It became a difficult situation. Neighbours complained and, as one of the officials remarked:

‘the criteria in the law were clear and the premises had to close. But politicians have to be pedagogic when they cope with these issues: on the one hand explaining to neighbours that there is freedom of religion in Spain and people have the right to have a church, and on the other hand explaining to the church authorities that there are laws on noise levels.’

Forms of relation and dialogue

This section will distinguish between two forms of dialogue: intercultural dialogue and interreligious dialogue. Intercultural dialogue includes organised cooperation between associations from different cultures. Interreligious dialogue is not yet formally established in the sense of organised cooperation between associations of different faiths. However, this study will show that religious organisations initiate informal cooperation between people of different faiths.

Intercultural dialogue

The clearest example of intercultural dialogue in Terrassa is the Citizenship Forum, which is formed by migrant association representatives, NGOs, neighbourhood associations of Terrassa, political groups with democratic representation in the city council and the different council departments, with the cooperation of other entities. All of these agents form an important network to offer counselling to migrants, to follow up on local policies and to solve more quickly the possible socio-administrative problems that migrants often face. The administration promotes the participation of immigrant associations in different working groups on diversity in terms of policy design and implementation; it is considered essential to take into account their point of view in order to legitimise these actions and policies. Recently, immigrant associations have been taking part in the process of approving the new strategic plan of civil participation. The group comprises not only representatives of associations but also immigrant individuals with personal capacity.

The Citizenship Forum is a permanent body with four tasks, namely to:

- promote the collection and analysis of quantitative and qualitative information;
- promote knowledge production, such as study demands and conferences;
- make proposals, evaluations and recommendations;
- encourage and develop the Strategic Plan for Citizenship, and monitor its implementation.

It is headed by the Vice Mayor of Social Action and Civil Rights, Mr Albert i Agut, and is supported by the Department of Citizenship and Civil Rights, which coordinates the committees and working groups and develops activities. The forum consists of a policy committee, an administrative committee and a social committee. The policy committee, comprising five parties, proposes and approves strategic plans and, as appropriate, communicates with the city council. The administrative committee develops action plans, carries out policy decisions and makes proposals. Its members are organised in working groups depending on the field. If necessary, other participants can be incorporated into the working groups, such as experts or representatives of associations. The members that participate to discuss the policies are:

- several municipal service representatives – the Department of Citizenship and Civil Rights, the Municipal Institute for Social Services (*Instituto Municipal de Servicios Sociales*, IMSS), the Economic Promotion and Social Observatory, the Youth and Pre-adolescent Leisure Department, the Department of Citizenship Support and Census, the Department for Women (*Ca la Dona*), the Municipal Institute for Culture and Sport (*Instituto Municipal de Cultura y Deportes de Terrassa*, IMCET), the Department of Health, the Municipal Board of Education (*Patronat Municipal d'Educació*, PAME), the Department of Neighbourhood Planning and Public Spaces, and the Institute for Catalan Language Normalisation;
- representatives from organisations of the third sector, comprising charity, voluntary and not-for-profit work, that are service and resource providers in Terrassa – the Information Centre for Foreign Workers (*Centro de informació para trabajadores extranjeros*, CITE), the Catholic charity Caritas, the Red Cross, the Mutual Aid Association of Immigrants in Catalonia (*Associació d'Ajuda Mútua d'Immigrants de Catalunya*, AMIC), providing juridical support for foreigners, the NGO social centre Ateneu Candela and the social enterprise PROGRESS;
- professionals and experts in related fields – such as representatives from the Secretary for Immigration of the Catalan government, representatives from the Department of Citizenship and Immigration of Vallès Occidental County District Council and representatives from the Department of Equality and Citizenship of the Provincial government (*Diputació de Barcelona*).

The third committee – the social committee – gathers association representatives on different subject areas that are affected by particular plans. For instance, it comprises representatives from: the university council, the employer organisation the Terrassa County Business Confederation (*Confederació Empresarial Comarcal de Terrassa*, CECOT), the association of lawyers, the Chamber of Commerce, the financial enterprise Caixa Terrassa, the hospital consortium or healthcare institutions, and interested citizens. In the administrative committee and the social committee, working groups can be formed, which other members are invited to join.

In 1995, the Trade Union Confederation of Workers' Commissions (*Confederación Sindical de Comisiones Obreras*, CCOO) set up the Information Centre for Foreign Workers (*Centre d'Informació per a Treballadors i Treballadores Estrangers*, CITE), and the representative of this office participates in the dialogue of the Citizenship Forum. CITE offers free advice to both regular and undocumented immigrants, providing orientation about immigration law, family reunification and procedures to acquire a work permit, residence permit, citizenship and a visa. Trade unions find that practical issues are the most urgent. CITE also organises Catalan language courses and mediation and communication with educational centres around Catalonia. The information centre has 43 offices throughout the region. In Terrassa, CITE is run by a Moroccan, who was interviewed for the CLIP diversity module (van Heelsum, 2008b). The trade union receives, for instance, complaints from migrants of underpayment and long working hours and takes these cases to court. This problem is particularly evident among undocumented migrants but also among immigrants whose diplomas are not recognised. Undocumented migrants are easily exploited in the labour market and it is also difficult for them to prove that they have done the same work as others who were paid more. The trade union has lawyers to support undocumented migrants with these kinds of problems. If employers are caught with irregular migrant workers, the employers are penalised and the illegal worker is not deported from the country.

Contact between the city administration and migrant organisations can be both formal and informal. As outlined earlier, Terrassa has numerous formal relations with the organisations, for example, regarding the PGID and the Citizenship Forum, cooperation on language courses and subsidising cultural and religious activities. Due to this active attitude, both politicians and administrators have rather close contacts with the representatives of associations, which are highly valued by the associations. The representative of the Moroccan mosque expressed this positivity by stating that the mayor is like his brother – a Moroccan way of expressing appreciation and respect.

The administration also takes part in the Municipal Solidarity Council on International Cooperation, known as the Solidarity Council – an initiative by developmental aid NGOs in cooperation with immigrant associations that carry out humanitarian projects in their countries of origin.

The Solidarity Council aims to organise, coordinate and spread local support for development cooperation, to raise awareness and train citizens regarding global inequalities, and to cooperate with communities in disadvantaged countries to combat poverty and to improve in other areas. The city council supports cities in the third world to become more humanitarian cities that are enabled to extend humanitarian activities towards the most disadvantaged population.

The Solidarity Council was established on 23 February 1995. The permanent committee comprises a councillor – who chairs the committee – as well as representatives of five municipal groups, advisers and representatives of eight associations representing all of the more than 50 associations that take part in the Solidarity Council, and a secretary. The immigrant associations that participate are: the Catalan Association of Senegalese Residents, focusing on projects in Senegal; the Latin American Cultural Union of Terrassa, looking at projects in Peru; and the WAFAE associations, covering projects in Morocco. There are no relations with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

The Solidarity Council is renewed every four years and the mayor appoints the new members for the municipal groups and the associations registered in the Municipal Record of Associations.

The principal line of action is raising civil awareness in schools, among young people and more generally. It focuses on fair trade, emergency actions, humanitarian solidarity, childcare and projects of decentralised cooperation. All of the members of the committee meet three times a year in a plenary session: first to present the budget, the calendar and the work programme; secondly to approve the cooperation projects; and thirdly to prepare and present the accounts. The Solidarity Council sends its proposals to the appropriate sections of the city council so that they are adopted and implemented.

In addition to these organised structural meetings, regular meetings also take place between officials and political representatives of the city council and the different ethnic and religious organisations. The mayor, vice mayor and some representative councillors attend activities that migrants organise and to which the council is invited, for instance open days of the mosque or national days. They also support bilateral meetings with their representatives. The city council invites immigrant groups to all the participative activities, and provides special support to underline the importance of their attendance.

Other initiatives particularly aiming to prevent social exclusion include encouraging contacts with two presidents of sport clubs – athletics and football – to promote incorporation in this field. Because of this contact, the representative of a Senegalese association has joined a sports association. Social services are usually general in nature, so the same healthcare and education services, for example, are applied to immigrants as to the rest of the population. If translation is necessary, this is available.

Interreligious dialogue

Interreligious dialogue is understood as cooperation between organisations of religious groups. It is not very institutionalised in Terrassa but this does not mean that there is no cooperation in the city. For instance, as part of its ideology, the Bahá'í community undertakes initiatives to organise interreligious dialogue; there have been occasional but significant interreligious activities.

An example is the *Taula Rodona Religió i Ciutadania*, held on 7 May 2007. Among the participants were: the Secretary of the Terrassa Mosque, Elies Torres; a member of the *Consell d' l'Eglesia Evangelica Unida*, Sebastian Viedma; Helena Boix of the Bahá'í Community; the Catholic Archbishop of Terrassa, Mossen Josep Pausas; and the Director General of Religious Affairs of the government of Catalonia, Montserrat Coll.

These kinds of activities are not directly supported by the city, although the vice mayor may for instance attend meetings. The Bahá'í community is the driving force behind this; therefore, the author of this study spoke to Ms Boix.

The Bahá'í originated as a branch of Islam in Iran, and now has its head office in Haifa in northern Israel. Although the first Bahá'í in Catalonia 55 years ago were an Egyptian and an English traveller, the current followers are mainly of Catalan origin. Ms Boix explained that one of the main principles of the Bahá'í religion is that there is no difference between people. The organisation is an independent movement closely related to the Friends of the United Nations (FOTUN). The international network gives courses on existential problems, depression, death and moral leadership. Since interreligious dialogue is one of the pillars of this religion, all activities are carried out with this theme in mind. The leaders organise conferences, roundtables and gather together Christians, Jews and Muslims. It is notable that faith issues are not discussed, since that would not lead to a useful discussion. Themes are human rights, children, the family, citizenship and religion and integration. The process is flexible and it changes according to the issues that are relevant. The Bahá'í owns its building – although it could not be used during General Franco's reign because the organisation had

to go underground – and the community finances its own activities. Members in other cities are not always interested in joining councils related to the authorities, because they do not like the political consequences. In Marseille in France, for instance, the Bahá'í do not participate in the interreligious council. However, in Terrassa, relations are good. The municipality values the Bahá'í initiatives, and uses the meetings to establish contacts with new communities. In recent years, more Muslims and Africans have arrived, as well as South American communities and their churches. For the Bahá'í, it is easy to establish contacts with the new churches.

Another point of departure on interreligious dialogue was revealed in an interview with Josep Espluges, who works at the ecumenical department of the Bishop's office of the Catholic Church. Terrassa only recently became the seat of a bishop. Fr Espluges considers that the interreligious dialogue in Terrassa is limited. Of course, the ecumenical work involves Catholics, Protestants and Orthodox Christians; however, beyond that, he only has contacts with a few Bahá'í and the Brahma Kumaris from India, amounting to just three people. Only relations with Protestants are fluent and easy, as he sometimes preaches at the *Eglesia Evangelica Unida*. There is no Jewish community and, in the opinion of Fr Espluges, establishing contacts with the Muslims in Terrassa is difficult. He blames the lack of internal organisation in their faith: there is no pope or archbishop equivalent that the Catholic Church could address, which is dissimilar to the hierarchy in Catholicism. Because there is no clear leadership and staff members keep changing, the Catholic clergy do not know who to contact in the Muslim religion. In any case, according to Fr Espluges, there is no great urgency in this regard, since no religious conflicts have emerged.

That the Catholic Church is not a monolithic bloc became clear after another interview. The mosque authorities explain that they cooperate closely in the neighbourhood of Ca n'Anglada with the local priest of the Ca n'Anglada church. Politically left-leaning Catholic parishes are often found in worker neighbourhoods like Ca n'Anglada or La Florida in the Catalan city of Hospitalet, as well as parishes that have connections with the right-wing parties and sometimes with Opus Dei – as is the case in Hospitalet. These sharp differences were intensified during the civil war and the dictatorship era, and are still noticeable.

Fr Espluges at the Bishop's office is not aware of the local contacts in Ca n'Anglada, but he is involved in the establishment of a council at Catalan level. The Permanent Working Group of Religions (*Grup de Treball Estable de Religions*, GTER) will function in the future and will deal with all religions in the region: Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Jews and Muslims. The first congress to establish the network took place in December 2004 during the Religious World Parliament in Barcelona. A conference in 2008 aimed to strengthen the connections with other European interfaith experiences and groups. The objectives are formulated to:

- prevent tensions;
- know each other and know about each other;
- keep good relations and be able to work together.

This working group will be able to give advice on issues where possibilities should be created for citizens to live according to their faith, but also on social issues, such as work and social integration. With the expected new law on religious premises (*centros de culto*), the emphasis will be on equal rights.

Figure 4: Image of Catholic Cathedral in old city centre of Terrassa



Fr Espluges also explained about a completely different form of cooperation with the local authorities, namely the maintenance and restoration of medieval buildings, common publications on religious subjects, and exhibitions in the church. Through reduced taxes, the municipality makes these kinds of activities cheaper. Another rather close cooperation is directly with the mayor. It is no surprise that some of the high officials have personal contacts with the church – and not only to baptise their children, to marry and to bury the dead. Such elite networks are not always visible or officially recognised, but they have an important influence on the functioning of a city. However, relations with the bishop's office are not considered very fluent by the staff of the citizenship department; they find the current bishop too conservative.

Relations between ethnic groups

As explained earlier, the riot in the Ca n' Anglada neighbourhood has become a famous incident in and outside Terrassa. According to all involved, this riot was blown out of proportion by national media. Most of those involved explain that it had nothing to do with the autochthonous population versus immigrants, but that it was in fact a neighbourhood quarrel about the use of public space. The Moroccan population in Terrassa is large and visible and has this history; however, it seems to be generally quite happy and unfrustrated in Terrassa, compared for instance with Moroccans in Amsterdam. The generally positive attitude of the municipality and the starting point of Convivencia may have helped to achieve this situation, although political representatives are worried that the peace may fade away when unemployment increases further.

A general problem in Spain is that the conservative People's Party encourages unfriendly attitudes towards immigrants. Around the time of the elections, leaflets were distributed accusing immigrants of causing neighbourhood problems. Some conversations show certain prejudices and dislike of 'moros' (Moroccans) because they put pressure on social facilities. The autochthonous population generally believes the false rumours that the city council will pay for a mosque and that all the aid goes to immigrants. However, at the time of the city visit, there were no opposing public positions.

Public communication

Terrassa's City Hall has a television station, a radio station and a website; however, they are not developed media but rather a source of information on the city's services.¹⁸ Some other cities in Catalonia, such as Hospitalet, have developed their television station into a real news provider. Terrassa has only one independent local newspaper, *Diari de Terrassa*, and no local ethnic media. The municipality's public communication strategy on immigrants is based on the Convivencia ideology, which means that all citizens have equal rights and want to live peacefully in neighbourhoods. Some of the Barcelona, Catalan and national newspapers also report on the local situation if anything notable occurs (see for instance *La Vanguardia* <http://www.lavanguardia.es>).

Diari de Terrassa reports in Spanish to some extent on immigrants and the ethnic and religious associations of immigrants. For example, in recent months, there was a follow-up on traditional Muslim celebrations, a description of the mosque open day and an article on the Muslim community's desire to open another mosque in the La Maurina neighbourhood because they are overcrowded in their current building; this article included a picture of men praying in the street. Some journalists are especially interested in this group; however, the newspaper has not employed members of the minority groups as journalists, although this may be simply a matter of time.

An interview with the journalist Josep Arnero of *Diari de Terrassa* took place at a time when the newspaper is under heavy financial pressure, due to a lack of advertising and competition with free newspapers. Mr Arnero explains how difficult it is to maintain serious journalistic standards of being neutral and hearing all sides, when other papers have a tendency to put a certain slant on news and to publish poorly researched and sometimes stupid stories. He was, for instance, very irritated by the manner in which the Ca n'Anglada riots were reported by some of the other newspapers. From their reports, it looked like Terrassa had turned into an impassable war zone, and events were highly exaggerated – with the consequence of stereotyping Moroccans. Not only from the point of view of a serious journalist but also as a responsible citizen – who knows the people whom he is interviewing, just as they know him and his family – Mr Arnero believes that it is extremely important to be neutral and to always show both sides of a story. For instance, regarding the current subject of mosque building, the neighbours were against it but that was not enough to put the story in the newspaper. However, if *Diari de Terrassa* did publish an article, it would also ask the Moroccans for their opinion.

Summary and lessons learnt

In general, relations between the authorities and ethnic groups are good in Terrassa. The already long-established Citizenship Forum is an example of good practice, which shows that the authorities consider immigrants' views as important and that they are active in engaging them in policy. Immigrants are recognised as being a potentially relevant partner to promote integration and they have institutional support, although the city representative explains that it is sometimes difficult to find reliable representatives of the immigrant groups. The city council would like to promote the participation of immigrants into general Catalan cultural, sports, student, parent and other associations. The city council considers that migrant associations must play a vital role in the integration of ethnic minority groups; however, more general associations should also play a part. The council believes that there is still work to do to establish the best association model to meet this objective.

¹⁸ <http://www.terrassa.cat/>

Although occasional complaints arise that the immigrant organisations tend to support segregation and parallel societies rather than integration, visiting Terrassa does not give that impression. The organisations seem to be positive in working with the authorities on Catalan language courses and events, and are cooperative in evaluating policies and taking part in the Citizenship Forum. Of course, they are also busy with their religious and cultural celebrations, but usually in combination with integration in terms of information provision, housing support and education.

The fact that the city council organises the language courses with and in the building of the migrant organisations is another sign of active cooperation from both sides. The Institute for Catalan Language Normalisation provides the teacher, while the immigrant association takes care of the advertising and the venue. The initiative is successful because migrants see the need to study the language, and also because the schedule of the teachers and the classroom has been adapted to their needs; for example, a course was offered on Sundays. In other Catalan cities, like Hospitalet, language teaching is only left to the official body, the Institute for Catalan Language Normalisation, and the more isolated groups may not be reached.

Terrassa City Council values the integration projects for immigrants that combine immigrant associations with other non-profit associations of the third sector, for instance the cooperation on developmental aid through the Solidarity Council. The immigrant associations mostly do not have the structure or sufficient capacity to carry out projects on their own, and together with the existing NGOs they can be much more effective. Cooperation with the Red Cross in work on languages and social skills for young men of immigrant background is another successful initiative because the teachers are well-prepared professionals and make a strong team. The main problem from the point of view of the administration is to involve the associations with the already existing civil society, such as sports or residents associations, instead of forming small ethnic groups for everything – for example, a South American soccer team, a Senegalese soccer team and teams or other groups for other nationalities. The city council prefers interrelationship, provided that individual identity is respected.

Local intercultural policies towards Muslim communities

Major issues, demands and interests

As shown earlier, the Muslim community in Terrassa mainly comprises the Moroccan community (12,270 people) and the Senegalese community (1,330 persons). The 100 Pakistanis are too small a group to be considered separately. The Moroccan population is mainly rural and comes from northern Morocco; their educational level is low. When the city administration is asked which immigrant organisations are the most significant, the Muslim associations are mentioned. This is firstly because the Moroccan community is the largest foreign group in Terrassa and needs to be represented in relation to the municipality, and secondly because those who practise Islam are perceived by the population as being different in their religious habits. Promoting integration through religious associations is not considered a problem, as long as it concerns social activities. Within the Moroccan community, this study interviewed two associations and, from the Senegalese community, one association was interviewed. The three associations all address both religious and social issues, but the Moroccan community is better informed about the reasons why they have to distinguish between the two types of activities when they want financial support. The Senegalese, who have arrived more recently and are less informed, are not yet used to this distinction. Issues for the Muslim community are: supporting the social needs of their community, finding bigger premises for the increasing number of worshippers and deciding who is the official representative of Muslims towards the Catalan government.

The Terrassa Mosque or Terrassa Cultural Muslim Association (*Associació Cultural Musulmana de Terrassa, ACM*)¹⁹ was founded in 1992 and is located close to the Ca n'Anglada neighbourhood, at Calle Doctor Pearson 149. In general, the objective was for the mosque to be a religious centre; however, later on, cultural activities also received attention. Of course, the first purpose of a mosque is to provide the large Muslim community of Terrassa with the possibility to join religious services and to celebrate the main Muslim festivals, such as Eid-al-Adha, the Feast of the Sacrifice, which is celebrated during Hajj (the annual pilgrimage to Mecca), and Eid-al-Fitr, the Feast of Breaking the Fast, at the end of Ramadan. A problem is that the current space is too small during festivals, so during the main celebrations worshippers gather outside in front of the mosque on the street.

Other usual activities of a mosque are Koran lessons and Arabic lessons for children and in this case also for adults. Mosques hardly ever have a purely religious function, and this one is no exception. It also serves as a centre for all kinds of social functions and as a reception point for new immigrants, since the mosque is the first place where Moroccans who do not know anything about the city go to for advice and information. In the mosque, people can ask for social advice, support with administrative and legal issues, and help in finding or legalising a job. In addition to Arabic courses, Spanish classes are given. Women can come separately from Monday to Thursday, and can also learn to read and write. To be more open and to form relationships in the neighbourhood, the mosque has started sports activities. During Ramadan, they organise 'open door' activities and invite people from the neighbourhood. There have always been good relations with the local pastor of the Catholic church on the other side of the road, although a new priest was recently appointed, so contact had to start again. They have been inviting each other to attend on important days, and they hold regular meetings. It is an explicit wish of the board of the mosque to discuss important issues. An issue that was preoccupying the members at the time of the city visit in January 2009 was the situation in Gaza, with bombardments by Israel in response to Palestinian rocket attacks. Thus, on this sensitive issue the Muslims hold roundtables and debates, as well as on any other item that people want to discuss.

¹⁹ The mosque is of the Malaquita school, the Moroccan school in the line of the King of Morocco. The official interviewed emphasises however that they have no relations with the Moroccan authorities, and that they gather members of different Islamic currents.

The mosque board is well aware that Terrassa is very positive towards Muslim associations, compared with other municipalities around Barcelona, and it considers itself fortunate in this regard. As noted earlier, the Muslims consider the mayor as ‘a friend and brother’, which is a Moroccan expression of respect. They know that there is a mutual interest between the mosque and the administration, and they help each other, even though their organisation is fully run by volunteers.

When asked what is needed to have such a positive situation for a Muslim community, the mosque representatives mention the following elements:

- ‘it is something between two parties and you both have to work at it;
- politicians have to cooperate, like in the case of Terrassa’s vice mayor, who is fully behind this cooperation;
- one needs the right people in charge, who make it their personal aim to establish and maintain good relations;
- both parties have to be open to other meanings; it will not work if a closed person is in charge. It has to be a respectful person, because with mutual respect it is always possible to talk.’

In the second Moroccan Muslim association – the Islamic Community of Catalonia (*Comunidad Islámica de Catalunya*) – this study interviewed Hassan Bidar. This Moroccan organisation is situated in Terrassa, but it is a second-line association, which means that it supports Moroccan associations in the whole of Catalonia. This association was founded in 1998, five years after the mosque. As is not unusual in Moroccan communities, there is little unity and members of the two umbrella organisations UCIDE and FEERI are competing in Catalonia to be the real representative of Muslims in Catalonia. The Islamic Community of Catalonia arranges monthly meetings with the leaders of 20 organisations of the Muslim community; unfortunately, however, one body for Muslims is not possible.

The Islamic Community of Catalonia examines the calls for proposals from the Ministry of Justice in cases where funding can be obtained from the Foundation for Pluralism and *Convivencia* for social activities – not for religious ones. To become an official partner of the Spanish government, the Islamic associations need to register with the Ministry of Justice in Madrid so that they can become an official and legal association, and to be entered in the database of religious and ideological associations. When a call for a proposal is made, the local Muslim associations are warned by this second-line association and are helped to fill in the forms and the financial papers, which are rather complicated. Thus, experts at the Islamic Community of Catalonia help them in their request for funding. Currently, some 93 Muslim associations in Catalonia are registered in the database.

As noted earlier, at national level, there are two Muslim federations – UCIDE (full Islamic) and FEERI (Christians converted to Islam) – who come together in CIE. The latter is the legitimate representative body giving voice to Muslims, and it communicates on legislative initiatives and with the Main Directorate of Religious Affairs of the Ministry of Justice. The main function is external (outside Terrassa); however, within Terrassa, this association works as an administration bureau and fund seeker for the local Muslims. For example, it managed to obtain funding of €7,000 for the local association. In fact, CIE also has a local function. Its space is available to local Muslims for meetings, and Spanish and Arabic lessons are offered. Every child has the right to ask for language lessons in his or her own language, but the separate schools never have enough children. Therefore, they gathered all of the Arabic speaking children from around Terrassa at the association, and applied for and received funding to pay the teacher. The building, located in Terrassa’s industrial district, is rented from a private partner, but has no heating; therefore, they have brought a mobile heater.

The third association included in this chapter on Muslims is the Spanish Association of Senegalese Solidarity (*Asociación Española Solidaridad Senegalesa*). This is not actually a Muslim association in name, but an association for the Senegalese in Terrassa. However, the sign outside the association's meeting place reads as follows: '*Sheik Amadou Bamba Association de Touba*'. Thus, the association is probably a mixture of a social or cultural and religious association, or two associations – one referring to the religious movement of Sheik Amadou Bamba and one for social or cultural activities – may be established at that location, or perhaps followers of Sheik Bamba gather there for social activities.²⁰ During the interview, it became clear that the Senegalese representatives do not differentiate between religious and social or cultural activities, and appear not to really understand this distinction or to find it useful. Although the municipality handles this issue flexibly and has actually funded celebrations of mixed nature, it officially cannot fund religious activities. During the visit, a discussion developed about the fact that a funding request was turned down because of this regulation.

The situation of Senegalese people in Terrassa is problematic, probably more so than for any other immigrant group. The legal status of the Senegalese population in the city is to a large extent irregular and the population consists mainly of men; those worst off financially depend on selling CDs and DVDs on the street, and they tend to live with more than 10 people in one apartment. The Sheik Bamba network throughout Europe and Africa is an important safety net to prevent Senegalese people from ending up homeless and without food on the street. De Bruin (2002) describes how this network takes care of travelling Senegalese people in Rome, and a similar method is used to take care of affiliates of the Sheik in Spanish cities. If someone is new in Terrassa and has nowhere to live, the association rents an apartment for a group of new immigrants. It solves urgent problems in this regard. Usually, the people can take care of themselves after a while, and either they continue sharing the apartment while paying part of the rent or they move into another shared apartment.

Since the Senegalese community is growing fast, women and children are also arriving. The people want to organise language and cultural activities for children, to teach them both cultures and to involve them in the community. Promoting Senegalese culture in Spain is one of their goals. Currently, courses are given by volunteers but, with the help of the municipality, they are organising it officially, using the right to hire a teacher in one's own language when enough children are gathered.

The Senegalese association uses its own funding to pay the rent for its premises – a dilapidated apartment in a house that is in such a bad state that it probably needs to be demolished; it is located in Terrassa's industrial district. As soon as the members are earning an income, they pay some money to the association. It only works with volunteers and is looking for a bigger space where the 100 members from Terrassa and visitors from the Senegalese associations in the cities of Sabadell and Manresa can meet together. They sometimes use a large centre belonging to other associations, which is an improvement. However, they are trying – with the help of the city authorities – to locate a better hall.

As Muslims, they have good contacts with the Moroccan mosque and sometimes go there to pray; however, they do not really cooperate as associations. The Amadou Bamba network operates throughout Europe, and it uses the Senegalese language Wolof rather than Arabic, so it is better for the Senegalese if they can arrange their own celebrations.

The three associations examined in this section cannot be considered representative of all Muslims in Terrassa or of all Moroccans or Senegalese. Firstly, it is always a particular section of the population that gets organised, based on specific religious ties. Secondly, for the Moroccans, the two main competing umbrella organisations in Catalonia are active in Terrassa: one is based in the city while the other has followers there. An issue for these organisations is who is the recognised representative for the Catalan government.

²⁰ For more information on the Muride brotherhood of Sheik Amadou Bamba, see <http://www.sacredsites.com/africa/senegal/touba.html>.

General approaches and policies towards Muslim groups

Terrassa does not have any other policy towards Muslim communities than towards other immigrant groups. The same policy approach described in the previous chapter applies to Muslim communities and there is no other communication strategy. *Convivencia* is considered as being relevant for all and the administration tries to stop prejudice as much as possible. It is clear that the division between church and state is something that does not fit very well to the way in which Muslims perceive the role of organisations. All of the above organisations are both religious and also serve as an information centre, a centre for language learning and a representative centre towards the municipality. Terrassa does not consider promoting integration through religious associations to be a problem, although it is trying to convince the associations to submit funding proposals only for social and cultural activities. Both politicians and officials in Terrassa recognise that the associations are very helpful for people with urgent needs, and that they take care that their compatriots do not end up homeless in the street without food. Moreover, it is considered important to have contacts in the immigrant communities, and the associations are the clearest starting point. Both officials and politicians have rather close and good relations with the associations, albeit better developed with the Moroccans than with the new Senegalese groups.

The municipality considers that the lack of space in the mosque during the festivals of Eid-al-Adha and Eid-al-Fitr is an issue that needs to be resolved. People were praying in the street and pictures of this appeared in the newspaper.²¹ It is fortunate that the current mosque has a park in front and businesses to the left and right, as otherwise the traffic would have been blocked and the neighbours would have complained much more. In other cities – for example, Hospitalet – neighbours complained because the worshippers left their shoes outside on the street; that mosque would appear to be more of a problem for the neighbourhood.

Therefore, a risk prevention study is ongoing to examine the impact of establishing a new mosque in order to avoid conflicts about this. Mosque building is currently being discussed in the council. The Terrassa administration would prefer to have three smaller centres in the neighbourhoods where Muslims live, ‘normalising their citizenship’, which means that – like Catholics – they should have places of worship nearby. Plans are initially being developed in the La Maurina neighbourhood; unfortunately, this story was immediately reported in the newspaper. A rumour was spread that the municipality would pay for the mosque, which is not true. The officials of the citizenship department are worried that the autochthonous population in the neighbourhood – mainly former immigrants from other parts of Spain in the 1950s – will protest.

The option of a large mosque with minarets is also being discussed. To solve the immediate problem of a lack of space, the current mosque has bought the neighbouring social work building and will join the two together. Officials are worried that parking problems and complaints will increase, but they cannot stop the process since they have financed it themselves. In other municipalities, mosques are often pushed to the industrial district (see, for instance, the CLIP case study on Mataró, a town near Barcelona (van Heelsum, 2008a)). However, Terrassa has a clear standpoint on this: religious communities have the right to a place for prayer, preferably in the area where they live. The politician in charge is strongly convinced of this right, but the problem is that it is politically sensitive in the socialist party. Workers are their voters and they live in these neighbourhoods. The independent left party can more easily promote mosques in worker neighbourhoods, because their voters do not live there.

²¹ See article in La Vanguardia, 14 April 2008 – unfortunately the picture is not shown online:
<http://www.lavanguardia.es/premium/edicionimpresa/20080414/53455376056.html>.

According to the researcher interviewed for this study, an issue that has not yet been solved is Islamic burial. In a case in 2007, the authorities insisted that the deceased have to be buried in a coffin, whereas Muslims bury their dead in a simple white shroud without a coffin. In Mataró, the problem was creatively resolved by the council, by adhering to the rule on the obligation to use a coffin, but letting Muslims put sand in the coffin before it was closed as a compromise. A general ruling by the Catalan government will probably be necessary to solve this dilemma.

Good practice examples of improving relations with Muslim groups

In general, the strategy described in the previous chapter to involve immigrants in all processes in the municipality is a good practice – for example, in the Citizenship Forum, in the Solidarity Council, in the organisation of Catalan language classes and in encouraging them to cooperate with existing local associations. No distinction is made between Muslims and other immigrants. Religious associations like mosques are considered to be relevant partners, as long as they organise social activities in addition to religious activities.

Another good practice is that Terrassa explains clearly to the public that mosques belong in the urban centre and should not be isolated in the industrial district, in the same way that churches are part of neighbourhoods. The municipality is supportive with regard to large celebrations of the Muslim calendar, by looking for bigger spaces than usual, and the police give support to manage the occupation of public space. The administration has also helped in relation to the inauguration of the mosque. The Muslim community of Terrassa feels supported and accepted due to this standpoint of the municipality. The same strategy is used for all religious or other communities.

In addition, a number of lectures about Islam and Moroccan society have taken place – for instance, a lecture about fasting addressed to all the population. Furthermore, although not specifically for Muslims, the position of new migrants and older migrants from the rest of Spain has been put into a logical sequence in the exhibition in the city's textiles museum.

Public communication

There are no specific communication strategies on Muslims, except that the Convivencia ideology is used in general and this also applies to Muslims. The main strategy is to avoid prejudice and to explain that all citizens have equal rights.

Summary and lessons learnt

Terrassa considers none of its experiences as being specific to Muslim groups; all of its projects and policies in this area are meant for all immigrant groups. The most important condition to maintain a positive relationship between the city council and Muslim communities or any other community is to establish and keep fluid contacts between their representatives and local experts and politicians. Respect for the rule of law as a basic principle is a better starting point than all kinds of normative discussions. For example, starting a religious institution is a basic right in Spanish, so people have a right to establish them, and the state should emphasise this fact if it is questioned. Thus, the administration sometimes has to make clear to the local population that, for instance, mosques belong in the urban centre and should not be isolated in the industrial district.

The organisations and the municipality seem to have a different perception on combining religious, cultural and educational activities. The organisations find it natural to combine all these aspects of immigrant life, while the municipality tends to consider these as different things.

Intergroup relations and radicalisation

Radicalisation within majority population

In the whole of Spain, right-wing extremism and anti-immigrant movements are a small element. Even the conservative People's Party only discusses laws and regulation on the huge number of illegal immigrants and not problems of integration. The People's Party does attract voters who feel uncomfortable about immigrants but it does not go to extremes. However, two extreme parties at national level are National Democracy (*Democracia Nacional*) and *España 2000*, which have had relations with criminals, such as money launderers, and which pay skinheads to mob foreigners. In fact, mobbing has only occurred very occasionally, such as once in Madrid, so the scale of the problem is not large.

The two Catalan nationalist parties, both politically left and right, are mainly in favour of the integration of immigrants, particularly by learning Catalan; nonetheless, they believe that immigrants have a right to keep their own language. After 2000, a political party with clear anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim views was established in Catalonia, called Platform for Catalonia (*Plataforma per Catalunya*). It actually had members from outside Catalonia but it never gained large numbers of votes in the Catalonian cities. In Terrassa, an attempt was made to form such a party; however, there were too few members to have an effect.

In other towns, problems arise with skinhead groups – for example, in Sabadell – but no instances have been reported in Terrassa. The police are tough on skinheads when incidents arise.

Radicalisation within migrant and/or minority population

The issue of Muslim radicalisation is something that is not easily discussed with all parties. The city officials state that the mosque contact person does not react much when they try to discuss the subject, this study did not manage to talk to the police and the mosque representatives was very careful on this topic.

In fact, the local authorities are not in charge of this issue. It is the national police (*Policia Nacional*) and the Civil Guard (*Guardia Civil*) that are responsible for these kinds of issues. The Civil Guard controls the borders, issues papers for immigrants and is responsible for drugs, while the National Intelligence Centre (*Centro Nacional de Inteligencia*, CNI) is responsible for terrorism, both from ETA and international terrorism. On 20 January 2009, a Pakistani man was arrested in Barcelona by the Civil Guard; he was suspected of tax evasion and paying large sums to jihadi terrorism.²² The police were already aware of radicalised Muslims before the Madrid train bombings on 11 March 2004; after that attack, they became even more informed about the problem and the local public considers the police information systems to be of good quality. The Catalan police force, known as *Mossos d'Esquadra*, which was re-established after the dictatorship regime ended, is also considered to be of good quality. According to an interviewee, the services are well able to investigate issues in relation to radicalism in a sensible manner.

The citizenship department is not aware of any radical Muslims in Terrassa, but it knows that the police have contacts with the mosque about the problem. The officials of the citizenship department do not interfere with the choice of imams – religious leaders or teachers – since that is not their business. Usually, they do not even talk to the imams as they are hired on a temporary basis and often do not speak Spanish. On one occasion, the officials heard about a man selling DVDs outside the mosque, but when they went looking for him they could not find him. The officials believe that the mosque is moderate – the moderate Muslims complain about the radicals, and any radicals do not want to talk to the municipality. The Catalan government has established training for imams, including language skills and information on how Catalonia works; however, the city officials do not know whether the local imam has attended that training.

²² <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7438406.stm>

However, Terrassa Mosque has a policy line in relation to radical elements, with three ways of preventing radicalisation among its members. Firstly, it is very careful about who preaches at the mosque. It does not welcome travelling imams, and it investigates the background of a new imam before hiring him. The umbrella organisation UCIDE has founded an imam school in Madrid, where 20 boys were studying at the time of writing, to ensure that they hire the right kind of imam. Secondly, the mosque tries actively to keep young people in the community. It helps young people to investigate the right path, although it has not encountered many who became interested in the website of the ultra-conservative Wahhabi sect. The mosque believes that keeping the community together and having young people involved will prevent them from going in the wrong direction. Thirdly, the mosque considers that communication within the community and with outsiders is key to avoiding 'the wrong kind of Islam' gaining influence in Terrassa. An active attitude is therefore a first requirement.

Communication strategy concerning radicalisation

From the municipality perspective, there are no specific communication strategies on radicalisation, except that the Convivencia ideology is generally used and this also applies to radicalisation. The main strategy is to avoid prejudice and to explain that all citizens have equal rights.

Radicalisation: Summary and lessons learnt

The author is unaware of any extreme right-wing groups in Terrassa, although problems arise with skinheads in the adjacent city of Sabadell. The risk of radicalisation of Muslims is the responsibility of the national authorities, which have not made any arrests or given any warnings in Terrassa, such as was the case for instance in Barcelona or Hospitalet. The mosque is the only association that has some active policies in this regard: it takes care not to encourage radical imams by hiring imams from the school in Madrid, and it tries to be active and aware towards its own community. The good relations between the authorities and the mosque work in a positive manner, but do not seem to be open enough for dialogue on this subject. The fact that the mosque representative does not want to talk about this issue to the officials means that the mosque primarily wants to solve this kind of issue within its own community. It is unclear to what extent the Muslims trust the police, but it seems that they might not involve the officials if a problem were to arise with regard to radicalisation.

Key challenges and lessons for CLIP

This report has examined the policies of Terrassa on intercultural and interreligious dialogue, focusing in particular on the Moroccan and Senegalese Muslim associations in Terrassa, as well as the issue of radicalisation. Terrassa became aware that relations in worker neighbourhoods between its new – mainly Moroccan – population and the established Spanish citizens needed extra attention in 1999, due to the riot in that year in the Ca n'Anglada neighbourhood about the use of the square. The municipality used this incident to its advantage and reacted proactively compared with other cities in Catalonia in designing a model and policies to keep Terrassa a nice place to live for all, taking into account the changing population in the last 10 years. The general ideology based on *Convivencia* – that is, living together while sharing values, having a common idea about society, having similar ideas about the use of public space, and a kind of public identity – seems to be a suitable approach to cope both with the new reality and also with the prejudices of the autochthonous people, who see their neighbourhoods changing rapidly. The city's integration policies are all formulated in terms of intercultural policy, which appears to be a good idea, since it involves all citizens.

The well-established Citizenship Forum is a good practice, showing that the authorities consider immigrants' views to be important and that the administration is active in engaging them in policy. Immigrants are recognised as being a potentially relevant partner to promote integration and they have institutional support, although the city representatives explain that it is sometimes difficult to find stable representatives of the immigrant groups; they would like to increase the participation of immigrants in general Catalan cultural, sports, student, parent and other associations. Terrassa City Council believes that migrant associations – including religious organisations – must play a vital role in the integration of ethnic minority groups; general associations also have a part to play in this regard. The administration considers that there is still work to do in establishing the best association model to meet this objective.

The authorities are very positive towards immigrant associations, but are overly optimistic as to what a voluntary association – which is usually not established to cooperate on government tasks – can achieve. Seeking representativeness from volunteer associations is too great a challenge. Immigrant associations cannot replace elected bodies, since they always comprise a specific section of the population. The misunderstandings between the Senegalese association and the authorities on the difference between religious and cultural activities also show that the activities of immigrant communities do not always fit into the structure that the administration has in mind.

Radicalisation of autochthonous groups does not seem to be an issue in Terrassa and the radicalisation of Muslims is considered to be the responsibility of the national police. Maintaining good relations between the city officials and the Terrassa Mosque is essential to avoid problems. Openness on the issue of radicalisation may need to improve in the future. The cooperative and positive attitude of the authorities and the lack of mistrust towards Muslims is not something that is often seen in other European countries. Keeping close and positive relations with mosques and being aware that Muslims are more fearful of radical groups than most autochthonous people are makes it easier to cooperate in this regard.

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List of persons and organisations interviewed

Joan Chicon, Head of the Department of European Affairs, Municipality of Terrassa

Juan Luis Aparicio Romero, official at the Department of European Affairs, Terrassa – who explained several general characteristics of Spanish church–state relations and outlined some aspects of the issue of radicalisation

Gemma Garcia Ciurana, Head of the Department of Citizenship (*Servei de Ciutadania i Drets Civils*, SCDC), Terrassa Administration (*Ajuntament de Terrassa*)

Andrés Montoya Vallejo, SCDC official responsible for migrant associations

Isaac Albert i Agut, Third Vice Mayor (*Alderman*) of Social Action and Civil Rights (*Tinent d'Alcalde Àrea*, ASDC)

Helena Boix, representative of the Bahá'í community

Hassan Bidar, representative of the Islamic Community of Catalonia (*Comunidad Islámica de Catalunya*), a Moroccan organisation located in Terrassa and supporting other Moroccan associations in Catalonia

Visit to the Terrassa Mosque and meeting with Mohamed Amzadouy and another board member of the Terrassa Cultural Muslim Association (*Associació Cultural Musulmana de Terrassa*, ACM)

Visit to the Latin American Cultural Union of Terrassa (*Unión Cultural Latinoamericana de Terrassa*) and meeting with two Peruvian representatives, Marcos Oswaldo Quispe and Eduardo Atao

Visit to the Spanish Association of Senegalese Solidarity (*Asociación Española Solidaridad Senegalesa*), meeting with four board members, including Mousa Fall. The building has a sign outside that reads '*Sheik Amadou Bamba Association de Touba*' so it appears to be a mixture of a social and religious association

Josep Espluges, pastor in charge of ecumenical affairs of the Roman Catholic Church, Terrassa

Josep Arnero Arguello, journalist and editor of *Diari de Terrassa*, the independent local newspaper of Terrassa

Visit to Moroccan coffeehouse to see the inauguration of US President Barack Obama on the television station Al Jazeera during the Gaza crisis in January 2009

Adela Collel Blanch, official at Barcelona Provincial Council (*Diputació de Barcelona*), providing provincial support for integration policies

Ferran Adelantado, official at Barcelona Provincial Council, Office for Integration Policies (*Àrea d'Igualtat i Ciutadania*) – who knows a lot about the Immigration Reception and Welcome Project (*Project Reception Acogida Immigrants*, PRAIM)

Maria del Mar Griera, researcher at the Department of Sociology of the Autonomous University of Sabadell – the main investigator of religious institutions in Terrassa assigned by the municipality

Blanca Garces Mascarenas, researcher writing a doctorate thesis on Spanish migration and integration policies, University of Amsterdam

List of religious associations

Associació Espiritual Mundial Brahma Kumaris (Terrassa-Rambla Egara)

Associació Budista Zen Deshimaru (Terrassa-Martín)

Marpa Term (Buddhist)

Església Adventista del Setè Dia (Terrassa-Passeig Vint-i-idos de Jul)

Església de Jesucrist dels Sants dels Darrers Dies (Barri de Terrassa)

Societat Teosòfica Espanyola Rama Bhakti

Centre de joves evangèlics de Terrassa

Església Bíblica

Església 'Bethel' Unión Evangèlica Bautista de Catalunya (UEBC) (Terrassa-Barcelona)

Església 'La Natividad' UEBC (Terrassa-Cabanes)

Església 'Unida' UEBC (Terrassa-Galvani)

Iglesia Cristiana Evangélica Esmirna

Associació Juvenil Pueblo Unido

Jesús Vive Hoy

Assemblees de Germans 'Nova Jerusalem' (Terrassa-Antoninus Pius)

Església Cristiana Evangèlica Bethesda

Església de Filadèlfia (Terrassa-I)

Església de Filadèlfia (Terrassa-II)

Església de Filadèlfia (Terrassa-III)

Asociación Cultural Cristiana Terrassa

Església independent (Pentecostal)

Cambiando tu destino (Pentecostal)

Assemblees de Déu (Terrassa-Alexandre Galí) (Pentecostal)

Moviment Missioner Mundial

Iglesia Cristiana Evangélica Samaria (Pentecostal)

Body of Christ Mission Church (Terrassa-Montcada) (African Pentecostal Church)

Federación de Iglesias Evangélicas Independientes de España (FIEIDE) (Terrassa-Almería) (Baptist)

Església Evangèlica Independent de Germans

Església Evangèlica 'Luz y Vida'

Església Evangèlica de Les Fonts

Associació Evangèlica Cristo Viene

Comunitat Bahà'í de Terrassa

Junta Islàmica Catalana (JIC)

Unió de Comunitats Islàmiques a Catalunya (UCIC-UCIDE)

Comunitat Musulmana de Terrassa

Testimonis Cristians de Jehovà (Terrassa-Solsona)

Testimonis Cristians de Jehovà (Terrassa-Italia)

Moviment Gnòstic Cristià d'Espanya

Anja van Heelsum, Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES), University of Amsterdam