Economic Immigration: Second-Class Citizen?

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ABSTRACT---- Economic immigrants are resigned to limit their labour aspirations to market conditions and to accept all offer of employment available for them. Moreover, their offspring have a much less opportunities to establish network relations with other students from diverse cultural and social backgrounds. That is to say, government immigration policies are not centred on family issues, but only on labor needs to new population based on economic criteria.

The background’s study is shared civic culture in social spaces common to parents and children: civil rights and civic responsibilities. The social and political effect of this shared civic space is to support the inclusion and integration, in the medium and the long term, of the foreign population living in a stable situation in the host country.

The problem that results from this social disadvantaged situation is a weak social mobility for second generation of immigrant population. Furthermore, in this paper I describe indicators to explain a situation marked by deprivation, especially of economic and social necessities in a region of the southern of Spain.

The main finding of the study is a good civic culture of adult economic immigrants, in spite of their marginalized conditions and low social and economic mobility in the host country, and critical mind of the young people who do not accept this deprivation situation both their parents and themselves.

Keywords--- immigration, social integration, second-generation migrant, civic culture

1. INTRODUCTION

The current literature argues that immigrants’ family is a critical emotional and social reference in promoting integration into the host country (Aleksynska, 2011; Antón, Muñoz de Bustillo, & Carrera, 2010; Lubbers et al., 2010; Ebert and Ovink 2014) for several reasons: first, immigrant adults are more reluctant to adopt social and emotional connections with foreigners; second, immigrant adults tend to create closed spaces of social relation in which peers and family are the only frame of reference for their social ties (Docquier, Özden and Peri, 2013; Rodríguez-Planas, 2013), principally needed for two reasons: On one hand, family communication involves different perceptions of proactive engagement with the host country. On the other hand, the younger generation feels a sense of accomplishment, while also obtaining a chance to interact with many different people of their communities.

This study aims to create a framework for analyzing family integration in both the first and the second generations in immigrant families (Scholten, 2013; Korteweg and Triadafilopoulos, 2013). The need for integration occurs primarily because of each generation’s different goals. The first generation of immigrants comes to the host country to improve their social status, whereas their offspring establish strong ties of belonging with the new country.

Further problems arise when local non-immigrants hold certain attitudes about the assimilation of immigrants based on the latter’s economic culture of adaptation to the working and living conditions in the host country and the host culture’s perception of them as so-called second-class citizens. This xenophobic attitude (Herranz, 2008) has been studied by examining data from national surveys (CIS, 2009 ; FOESSA, 2008; Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración, 2011) as well as data from our own survey on immigrants’ perceptions of civic issues related to political participation, friendship networks and working conditions..

This paper seeks to determine how to create a family policy promote immigrant cohesion in a multicultural context (Bueker, 2009; Sonn, 2002). Family is clearly the primary social unit in society, because it contains all social relations – most fundamentally, a sense of belonging, emotional stability, and cognitive openness by furthering social progress. These social relationships are one of the most significant functions of the family life, since the family is the chief or even
sole generator of altruism in human society, and it is on altruism that society depends for advance through cooperation and collaboration amongst immigrant people and native residents (McWhirter, Ramos and Medina, 2013)

2. DISTRUST OF IMMIGRANTS

In various countries, a problem of distrust of immigrants arises due to the social and political situation of the working class (Percival and Curran – Percival, 2013). This distrust occurs mainly in rural areas involved in primary economic activities, areas with weak traditions of upward social mobility (Hammar, 1985; Kahanec, Kim and Zimmermann, 2011, Stephan, 2012).

In these conservative societies, the immigrant population is seen as a competitive threat to unskilled native workers. Both populations live together in the same neighborhoods and share shops, leisure spaces and other common public services (Constant, Kahanec, & Zimmermann, 2009). Yet this perception of a threat also exists in the middle class, in which the phenomenon of immigration is viewed through cultural narratives endorsed by economic contribution and assimilation behavior. Here, evaluations of immigration are constructed around aspects of social and emotional sharing with native people and the concept of cultural adaptation and adoption of the key aspects of the host community.

The question then becomes how immigrant populations respond to these perceptions.

First-generation Immigrants’ Response to this Feeling of Distrust

The first-generation immigrants’ most immediate response is to become consumers of social and cultural services in the same way Spaniards are. In other words, immigrants are new consumers using education and health services, employment and labor training, and they intend to become citizens in the context of a welfare state (Bueker, 2009; Hepburn, 2011; Myrberg, 2011; Stoll and Wong, 2007; Voicu & Rusu, 2012; Tiberlake and Wllinas, 2012; Dzurová, Winkler and Drbohlaz, 2014).

This “ethic” view of immigration has been understood through the government’s narrative of Spain as a new country for immigration, an image designed for a pragmatic policy to host new workers contributing to national development in terms of capacity-building, training, cultural development, etc. This narrative emerged in a context of tremendous growth in the immigrant population following the Royal Decree of December 30, 2004, no. 2393/2006 (BOE 2004), which produced exponential growth in the immigrant population, 45% up to the year before Spain’s profound economic and institutional crisis. The immigrant population has increased significantly over the last decade. These profiles of first-generation immigrants, 55% of whom are women, add a new dimension to the description of the phenomenon of immigration in the Kingdom of Spain, according to the Observatorio Permanente Andaluz de las Migraciones (June 2010) on maternity and family reunification, nowadays in a clear recession process of declining immigrant population and, subsequently, a severe growth of Spanish young people migrant to Europe and Latin America.

Reviews of the current literature on the adult socialization process (Berry, 2006; Portes, Vickstrom, Haller, & Aparicio, 2013; Reandall and Parker, 2014) show that the response of people who have recently settled in a different culture and social structure varies according to different and interrelated contents. In general, the loss of a sense of personal and human dignity, as well as of identity as a citizen, renders the sense of belonging the most important issue for immigrant populations when considering enforcement of community ties, social networks, and family bonds, and a mentality of engagement that influences a variety of social and psychological actions. Such belonging has a strong impact on the formation of one’s own identity and self-esteem as a human being and mitigates the risk of exclusion and marginalization in the new country. For this reason, one of the most important social phenomena in the global context is the flow of immigration from developing countries, motivated by economic and employment issues. This phenomenon can be understood as a risk factor in the immigrant population’s working environment, especially for those immigrants at greater risks of social exclusion and self-marginalization (Sejersen, 2008).

3. RESULTS OF SURVEY RESEARCH

The survey was performed in June 2014 in the Andalusian provinces of Seville, Huelva, Malaga and Almeria, with the major concentration of immigrants located in the region of Andalucia. The original sample of 232 adult immigrants were surveyed individually because most respondents did not speak Spanish, and many were semi-illiterate. A sample of 957 adolescents from immigrant families were also surveyed, both samples represent 1 percent of total population considered adult legal immigrant and 0.5 percent of students considered as belonging immigrant families (Junta de Andalucía, 2013).

These surveys are often created as primary sources of information to enable description of individuals’ sense of belonging to the host country. Both information sources were designed to determine whether the immigrants felt accepted
by the host culture, as articulated by assimilation demands on the part of civil society and government policies, using the following terms:

- How does immigrant perceive the host society?
- How do immigrants evaluate family life?
- Which civil associations does the immigrant population perceive as potentially helpful in improving its social and work situation?
- Why do immigrant people now want to stay long term in the country where they are living?
- What is immigrants’ attitude to civic skills and political participation?
- In terms of self-perception, how do people understand and evaluate their personal and social position relative to other immigrants and Spaniards?

In the sample of adult immigrants, the demographics of the respondents show that most are women; men represent only 32% of the sample. As to the education and training levels of the participants and their marital status, 66% of the sample members have education levels ranging from secondary school level to qualifications or background in higher education, and 72% stated that they are married. In terms of years of residence in Andalusia, 52.15% of the sample have lived in Andalusia for 6 to 20 years. Thirty-two percent come from East Europe and 31% from Latin America. Finally, the distribution of participants by age indicates that 61% of the sample were of or over the age of 36, and the rest were individuals under 36.

**A Strong Sense of Citizen Culture**

We studied a target population of people who want permanent residency in the region of Andalusia. The population aspires to obtaining citizenship in the host country while maintaining a dual cultural identity, which includes common sharing of democratic values (see Figure 1) in terms of social, civil and political rights.

**Figure 1.** Duality in the political culture of citizenship

Citizenship usually appears as two spatially and jurisdictionally separate dimensions. The first dimension is achieved through personal action involving political issues that influence both personal status and personal interest in one’s cultural community. In the second, one is a member of a nation state in which immigrants’ dual identity will never permit them to become full citizens. Given these two dimensions, the migration literature is mistaken in insisting on the dimensions of Berry’s acculturation model (Berry, 2006), in which cultural heritage and the host culture do not necessarily create compatible demands on immigrants as they integrate into the host country (Badea, Jetten, Iyerand, & Er-rafiy, 2011). Figure 2, for example, relates civic culture to four practical parameters of integration. The result is a discrepancy between becoming a member of society and sense of belonging to this social space.

**Degree of integration of the ethnic elite**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political participation of all members of the ethnic community</th>
<th>Degree of integration of the ethnic elite</th>
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<td>High</td>
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**Figure 2.** Political participation in the collective structure of the immigrant community
Figure 2 shows the sharp contrast between the two social and jurisdictional realities mentioned above. We see high participation in both Spanish and immigrant associations, as well as low rates of identification with Spaniards’ rights, followed by low levels of knowledge about citizen’ rights.

Spanish immigration policy responded to this discrepancy by undertaking a massive regulation effort in 2006. Its extraordinary regularization campaign turned some 560,000 irregular immigrants into regular immigrants (Sandell, 2006). This regularization included no complementary policy decisions linked to social and institutional structure, people’s awareness about immigration, overall social objectives and economic sustainability that would frame the regularization within a project of workplace development for these people with weak social network relations, as shown in Figure 3.

![Figure 3](image-url)

**Figure 3. Level of participation and identification as citizens**

The information in Figure 3 after massive regularization shows that legal immigrants continue to be weakly integrated, that is, they have weak social relations in the host country.

The joint problems of legal and cultural status were not solved, although the legal problems were solved by rights of access to social and health services, as shown in Table 1.

By this, we wish to indicate that only the legal problem of regularizing the population was solved, through access to health services and education. The qualitative problems of integration and social cohesion have not yet been solved satisfactorily.

**TABLE 1. Degree of Satisfaction with Public Services and Perceived Quality of Education**

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<td>African</td>
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<td>9</td>
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At the same time the nation’s political actions create a discourse of integration based on access to public services, while civil society creates denigrating working conditions for immigrants, employing them as cleaning people, in exhausting agricultural labor, at unskilled jobs, and in other similar situations typical of marginalized populations. The result of this political and social dualism is weak integration of the family, in which an adult member suffers economic exploitation while his or her offsprings enjoy high quality of education and neighborhood entertainment opportunities.

**Weak Family Integration**

In Spanish culture, primarily that of southern Spain including Canary Islands, family structure is a good indicator of social acceptance (Navas, Rojas, García, & Pumares, 2007).

It is well known that family provides foreigners and immigrants with the most important social and emotional support in facing their work challenges. Our respondents attested that their families are not happy social units, and communication difficulties between parents and children are characteristic for over 70% of our sample. Such a diagnosis of the state of the family is also very common in the landscape of Spaniards, where young parents struggle to communicate with their teenage sons and daughters. Poor communication between parents and children occurs for several reasons. Children and teenagers are more integrated with their peers at school and in leisure activities than with their parents, who are more concentrated in their communities of origin, which are characterized by close relationships and stronger feelings of identification with those of their generation. Secondly, although a certain amount of arguing between parent and children is inevitable, its effects can be more devastating in a population at risk due to unfair labor conditions, as isolation and marginalization can occur if these people do not have a support network of social relationships. The data confirm that there is discord at the heart of the family across the three data sets analyzed in the survey. Intergenerational problems arise in the immigrant family, based on three well-studied parameters:

- Emotional identity of the family
- Relationship between parents and children
- Appreciation of family linkages
Figure 4. Characterization of the family

Data from Figure 4 show a general tendency: 80% of the respondents stated that they have an unhappy family. A climate of arguing between parents and children occurs in 74% of the cases and an unstructured family in 82% of respondents. This corroborates an international analysis that contrasts monocultural vs. bicultural orientation (Portes et al., 2013) and shows that factors such as leisure orientation, language skills, culture behaviors, and labor expectations in the country influence family structure.

The Response of Second-Generation Immigrants

This paper also analyzes social relations in local spaces. Two main dimensions have been studied—stability in peer relations and civic consciousness—using a well known survey (CIVED’99) (Amadeo, J.-A., Torney-Purta, J., Lehmann, R., Husfeldt, V., & Nikolova, R. (2002). The target population is adolescent students 14 years of age, a population that offers insights into how to guide the process of integration (Calvo de Mora, 2007; Calvo de Mora & Morales, 2008).

First and foremost, children from immigrant families establish permanent relations with other adolescents at school (see Figure 5), both during school and in spaces outside school.
Friendship is foremost in a structure of social support for individuals. Whatever problems people face, they are supported at least in part by an increasingly diverse and multilayered network of friendships. The difficulties immigrants encounter in forming social capital must be understood in the above-mentioned social and cultural context in which they live and in the context of how both natives and foreigners understand integration (Maya-Jariego & Armitage, 2007). The characteristics of these social networks in the population of children vary in size and content. For the purposes of this paper, it would be more interesting to study the content of the networks than the size, because the content depends on people’s mobility and this number varies. Moreover, the creation of friendship networks might provide an opportunity for new people to establish roots in the country and reinforce the opportunity for growth as they face challenges of personal development (Conradson & Latham, 2005) and trusting involvement in the host society that moves toward integration following common patterns of coexistence based on civic behavior that goes beyond merely tolerant neighborhood relations.

If we consider the other side of the issue, civic consciousness, the idea of a good adult citizen to whom adolescent population attributes proper values and rules of behavior, is produced by the social and cultural capital of every student. The references for the definition of this concept are (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2009): obeying the laws, voting, participating in politics, trusting institutions, feeling patriotism, and supporting women’s rights (see Figure 6).
Figure 6. Data on civic culture

**Obeying Democratic Laws and Voting in Elections**

In a liberal democracy, electoral voting legitimizes political power. It involves the adolescent population adopting certain rules and values as actions of inclusion and cohesion in the population in general: one citizen, one vote. Democratic citizenship is based, however, on values and rules shared by society (regional, national and international), such as political stability and implicit collective responsibility to respect democratic laws.

**Political Participation**

When it comes to the responsibility created by the existence of laws and democratic societies, an adolescent population is moderately interested in active traditional politics. This interest may involve affiliation with political parties, volunteering in non-profit organizations, writing protest letters, or other typical actions of the practice of democratic laws.

**Trusting Government Institutions**

A key element in the citizen’s identity is trust in democratic institutions (Luhmann, 1979) and understanding them as a voluntary agreement between professionals and users. The foundation of this agreement is to aid in understanding the complexity and thus to reduce the uncertainty of running institutions, while also anticipating the consequences of the decisions adopted by professional members. These two actions influence the population’s participation in institutions, both the value of trust and their involvement in public and private institutions (Misztal, 1996).

Torney-Purta et al. (2009) argue that there is a difference between reality and ideological content, between political institutions and social and cultural politics: an adolescent population trusts governmental institutions (except the police and the judiciary system) moderately.

Globally, this environment of mistrust towards the government and its institutions is due to a passive perception of a citizen’s identity (World Values Survey, 2010-2012) as based on the fulfillment of personal objectives rather than on the effort to achieve individual and collective goals. In other words, adolescents trust more organizations and institutions devoted to one issue in particular (immigration, women’s rights, care of homeless people) than government institutions whose generic actions (social services, education, health, parliament, etc.) are not clearly defined due to the rendering of universal services established on the grounds of standards and quality with no reference to assistance with individual needs. Furthermore, it goes against the individual benefits of every citizen’s perception to have an absence of internal democracy in public institutions (devoted to collective interest). Denmark, Norway and Sweden are the countries whose adolescent populations place the most trust in government institutions, whereas Bulgaria, the Russian Federation and Slovenia show lower percentages. The immediate consequence of trusting the government and its institutions is the population’s participation.
Patriotism

The definition of patriotism is the acceptance by every citizen of the values, symbols and culture of every region, nation or state. This definition is, however, a contradiction in terms. The contradiction between patriotism and citizenship lies in the obligation of having a single perception of nation that excludes critical views of people who recognize injustices done in the name of the common good of the nation or for the benefit of the state. Moreover, political societies are not created on the grounds of a stable consensus and unwavering unique respect for issues such as peace, international order, citizens’ rights, and obligations to national loyalty.

Inclusive patriotism is the term coined by Torney-Purta et al. (2009) to indicate the acceptance of diverse populations in the context of democracy when they assimilate to the basic norms of conviviality and symbols such as the flag and the constitution, among others. This positive attitude towards immigration depends, however, on the educational level of every adolescent’s family. Interaction with immigrant populations at schools is another circumstance that influences the positive attitude (more frequent in girls than in boys) towards immigration, but only in the limited context of national rules and the recognition of symbols.

Women’s Rights

Social cohesion and respect for diversity are important in most of the affirmative answers concerning defense of political, social, economic, religious and birth control rights, especially in the countries of central and northern Europe with strong democratic traditions and an open mentality toward the relations and structures of civil society.

In general, the adolescent populations support women’s economic and political rights—around 60% of the population. This acceptance shows adolescents’ civic awareness of their rights. Female adolescents declare that they have the same rights to an equal salary and job and participation in political life, and are equally qualified for political leadership and access to jobs for which they have the requisite trainingduring economic crisis and shortage of job opportunities.

4. DISCUSSION: THE INTEGRATION PROCESS THROUGH ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

Would social science knowledge be more useful if it could be more easily applied instrumentally?

The proposition advanced here is that social science knowledge, on one hand, and the system of public policy, on the other hand, are two very different worlds but are linked via the public sphere. Social science knowledge is used by policy makers when it serves the internal dynamics of policy making. At any rate, the social sciences, including not only sociology but also political science, anthropology and economics, have delivered such lenses galore, in the form of concepts dealing with human, economic, and social development. This proposition can be explicated in four issue areas. The first concerns public policy or public participation and research agendas based on family reunification, social order according stable friendship networks between immigrant people and local or native inhabitants, and the organization of research in the specific field of migration and development at fair and fair labor conditions.

A pioneer study by John W. Berry (1977) suggests that the process of acculturation is highly variable depending on a variety of factors—personal, social, economic, socialization background, and culture society of settlement—and political context in a plural society, where every individual is endowed with the status of citizen and where individuals trust national institutions (Fennema & Tillie, 2001) as the first step in creating a sense of belonging to the host country. Moreover, receptor countries like Spain have an identity of civic culture in which, according to the World Values Survey 2010 - 2012 and cumulative General Social Survey (2012), civic attitudes can strengthen myriad aspects of everyday life.

Political Participation

Our data are based on Spanish statistics selected under the theory of civic culture, which assumes that political participation in social issues increases incorporation of people into the community in which they live (Fennema & Tillie, 2001) and sharing of religious creeds as well as linguistic identity. According to this evidence, discrimination against immigrant people must be viewed in the context of culture common modes characterized by Latin Americans, who focus on Catholic religion and Spanish (Castilian) language as symbols of identity with Spaniards, although they are critical on some issues. First, colonialism intensified the nationalist Spanish tradition, establishing a sense of superiority over time. Secondly, it is not leaders who come to Spain looking for work, but women who have suffered marginalization in their own country. These women tend to have very weak social relations and support networks, and other social and cultural characteristics make them vulnerable to renewed marginalization in the host country.
Family Reunification

On other level of social involvement, the incorporation of foreign workers in their families constitutes a second category of data chosen, because family remains the most important factor influencing sense of belonging to the host country (Gómez, Pellicer, & Monllor, 2002; Pedone and Gil Araujo, 2008). Although the ways in which families are structured has changed considerably in recent decades, family remains the most important category of human social organization. It includes integration as well as continuity when living in the country, and most of the individuals are the main breadwinners in this process of reunification (Calvo de Mora, 2011; Newendorp, 2010;) among Spain’s immigrant people, where it has been considering this dimension of the civic culture.

Friendship Network

Moreover, friendship holds the foremost place in a structure of social support for individuals. Whatever problems they are facing can be alleviated, at least in part, by an increasingly diverse and multilayered network of friendships. The difficulties involved in the formation of social capital must be understood in the above-mentioned social and cultural context, where immigrants live and the sense of integration interpreted both by native and foreign people (Van Zantvliet & Kalminj, 2013). The characteristics of those networks into adult population varies in size and content; according to the object of the paper it would be more interesting to study the content of the networks instead of the size because it depends on the mobility of people and this is a no constant number. Moreover, the creation of friendship networks might be an opportunity to root new people in the country and to reinforce opportunity of grow and plan challenges of personal development and trusting involvement in the society towards integration according to common patterns of coexistence based on civic behavior beyond an acceptable patterns of neighborhood relations.

Immigrant Work Conditions

Basic attitudes towards immigrants that involve hostility, mistrust and indifference are indicators of rejection, as shown in the last survey of the OPIA, 2005 in the same space where immigrants and natives are living and working together. Furthermore, local perceptions of immigrant work conditions in a country with only recent inward migration, as is the case of Spain, gives special meaning to key aspects of this population’s civic culture across scenarios of poor working conditions and low pay, which appear to be related to the gender of the job sectors where there is a demand. Immigrants tend to complain about the poorer working conditions attributed to them (Agudelo et al., 2009), conditions of real exploitation imposed by the locals, which provoke general malaise because immigrant populations do not tolerate humiliating conditions and express a desire to leave the country. Other people choose to fight these bysmal work conditions, however, calling for solidarity with the local workers, primarily in a context of economic deprivation. This situation raises some serious dilemmas and difficult choices that present no easy solution, particularly when xenophobic culture most often prevails over values of solidarity and other actions whose interests do not fit with mutual respect, collaboration, sharing and working together with immigrants.

5. CONCLUSION: POLICIES ON COMMON TOPICS

Within this context of tremendous growth in the immigration population and social policy to foster a change of attitude toward immigrants, the Andalusian government launched its II Plan Integral Para Immigration en Andalucia (2nd Global Project for Andalusian Immigration), “whose main goal is a model of social policy to promote cohesion of immigrants in overall use of and access to public services and a change of mentality in the native population’s attitude toward the new population in a short period of time.

Immigration policy in Andalusia aims, on one hand, to promote basic humanitarian protection of the immigrant population during the first, recent stage of immigration and to grant immigrants a visible charter of rights and responsibilities in the use of education services, health programs, housing and other services by coordinating different social and education services. On other hand, it seeks to forge deep positive beliefs about the immigrant population.

The plan advocates a welcoming policy that is open to immigrants obtaining the status of citizens (García, 1987). This policy is likely to foster an immigrant population that seeks to belong to the host country, combined with controlled regulation of the mobility of newcomers. In other words, it establishes a double standard. On one hand, this regional policy defends an idea of belonging—not only as an individual or collective, but also as a new Andalusian—promoted by charity organizations, public administrations, and others, with a naïve intention of hosting people and giving them a status as full citizens. At the same time, however, the Andalusian government applies restrictive measures against the advancement of low-wage immigrant workers (Calvo de Mora, 2011). This dual policy ultimately has a profound effect on these foreign workers’ attitudes toward entrepreneurship (Mason, 2000; Spoonley, Peace, Butcher, & O’Neill, 2005).
The problem arises when the demand of contributing to the collective wealth is placed on a population perceived as others: a population that must adapt to mainstream social and economic culture. This paper investigates the topic of immigrants’ response within this top-down narrative. The paper seeks to determine the variety of reactions, both in the areas of economics and labor and in the social and political spheres of everyday life. We find, first, that, because Spanish law does not permit foreigners to have voting rights except at the local level, their awareness of policy issues is very weak; and, second, that labor and economic conditions are contributing to a rise in a civic sense of right as well as to social and political responsibilities of individuals who are identified as marginalized who do not possess all of the social, civic and political rights that native citizens have.

Europe as well as Spain needs new population members to cover demographic deficits that threaten Europeans’ cultural and economic relevance in global society. They gain these memberships overcoming colonial traditions and embracing a more cohesive policy aimed at generations that could in the long term settle in European countries. This policy does not, however, seek to support a broader understanding of the nation-state in its discourse of integration, nor does it embrace a post-national approach to understanding the new relationships of a diverse population living in the same space. On the contrary, in spite of common game rules among all people guaranteed by the Spanish or European state, this paper advocates the sustainable inclusion of newcomers in a full evolution that involves learning the new social relationships that have been transformed by this intake of people with very different references in the cultural, social, economic and political spheres of thought and action.

6. REFERENCES


