



European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

Case Study on Housing

Terrassa, Spain



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Foreword

This report is part of the Eurofound project “Cities for Local Integration Policy” (CLIP), which started in 2006. Terrassa is one of the 20 European cities that cooperate in exchanging information on their Integration Policies to start with on the terrain of housing and in the future on more terrains.

The project aims at collecting and analysing innovative policies and their successful implementation at the local level, supporting the exchange of experience between cities and encouraging a learning process within the network of cities, addressing the role of social partners, NGO’s, companies and voluntary associations in supporting successful integration policies, providing objective assessment of current practice and initiatives and discussing their transferability, communicating good practices to other cities in Europe and developing guidelines to help cities to cope more effectively with the challenge of integrating migrants, supporting the further development of a European integration policy by communicating the policy relevant experiences and outputs of the network to: European organisations of cities and local regional authorities, the European and national organisations of social partners, the Council of Europe and the various institutions of the European Union.

The CLIP network is also a cooperation between cities and research institutes. Five research institutes in Bamberg, Amsterdam, Vienna, Liege and Oxford are taking care of the publications of the CLIP project. The researchers of the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) of the University of Amsterdam are responsible for this report on Terrassa. Together with the contact person of the municipal of Terrassa, Joan Chicon of the International Relations Department, an enormous effort has been undertaken to find all necessary data on Terrassa for this report. Many officials and other parties who are involved with integration policy, housing policy, the statistical service and specific projects areas have been interviewed, as the list at the end of the report shows. They have provided us with reports, statistics and comments on the concept version of this report. Secondly representatives of neighbourhood social work, two volunteer associations of inhabitants and a volunteer Senegalese association have been willing to provide us with information. Thirdly researchers from the University of Amsterdam and the Autonomous University of Barcelona have provided us with data and useful comments. I want to thank all those who have cooperated in giving information and particularly Joan for coordinating the search of data.

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Anja van Heelsum

4 July 2007, Amsterdam

1 Background information on Spain and Catalonia

1.1 History of migration and composition of migrant populations

- 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 a lot of movement took place towards Morocco in the south and Italy in the east. In 1236 the Christian 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 the areas in Africa, Asia, Oceania, and a large part of the current United States and of South America and the Caribbean.¹ Except in North America, Spanish is still the national language in many of these territories and there is some movement of people up and down, for instance from Spain to Latin America and back. To put it shortly, 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 very successful. Emigration became more common than immigration. Between 1850-1950 3.5 million Spanish left for the Americas (Ortega Perez, 2003). From 1950 onwards Spain's workforces moved to the richer industrial areas in northern Europe. Because of the 36-year dictatorship of General Franco Spain became internationally isolated. Only some former emigrants to and political refugees from South America immigrated to Spain. After Franco's death in 1975, Spain made the transition to a democratic state and the economic situation improved fast, with King Juan Carlos as head of state. In the constitution of 1978 respect for linguistic and cultural diversity within a united Spain is expressed, contrasting the suppression during 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. Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia have a special status with their own language and other rights. Catalonia has extra powers in taxation and judicial matters after the referendum of 2006 when a Catalan constitution was approved. One of Spain's most serious domestic issues is a left over from the dictatorship and related to the autonomous regions: the problem with the ETA and the tension in the northern Basque country.

Emigration of guest workers to the north came to a halt because of the world wide economic crisis of 1973. Since 1975 650,000 Spanish returned to the country, while approximately two million Spanish improved their position in and continued to live abroad (Borkert e.o 2007). On the other hand a considerable part of the foreign residents in Spain in 1981 were retired people from the European Union who moved to the Spanish coast.

¹ It included the following areas: Spanish Sahara, Equatorial Guinea, Spanish Morocco (Africa), Philippines (Asia), Guam, Micronesia, Palau, and Northern Marianas (Oceania) a large part of the current United States (North America), Mexico, Panama, Guatemala, Equator, El Salvador, Peru, Costa Rica, Chilli, Bolivia, Colombia, Venezuela, Paraguay, Uruguay, Argentina (South America) and Cuba, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, Santo Domingo, Trinidad, Tobago (Caribbean). The Canary Islands, Ceuta, Melilla and the other plazas de soberanía on the northern African coast have remained part of Spain.

Economic growth increased further when Spain became a member of the European union in 1986. The Spanish economy boomed from 1986 to 1990, averaging 5% annual growth. After a European-wide recession in the early 1990s, the Spanish economy resumed moderate growth starting in 1994. Immigration accelerated fast after this, and Spain changed from an emigration country to an immigration country. Between 2000 and 2004 the number of migrants to Spain tripled, amounting to 7% (3,050,847). In 2004 Spain received the largest number of immigrants in the European Union.

Table 1: Largest immigrant groups to Spain (nationality), 31 Dec 2006

	Number	%
Total	43,964 million	
<i>EU countries (in 2006)</i>		
United Kingdom	175,870	0%
Italy	98,481	0%
Germany	77,390	0%
<i>Rest of Europe</i>		
Romania	211,325	0%
Bulgaria	60,174	0%
Ukraine	52,760	0%
<i>Non-Western Countries</i>		
Morocco	543,721	1%
Ecuador	376,233	1%
Colombia	225,504	1%
China	99,526	0%
Peru	90,906	0%
Argentina	86,921	0%
Dominican Rep.	58,126	0%
Total South Americans	1,064,916	2%
Total immigrants	3,021,808	7%

source: Boletín Estadístico, Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración, January 2007

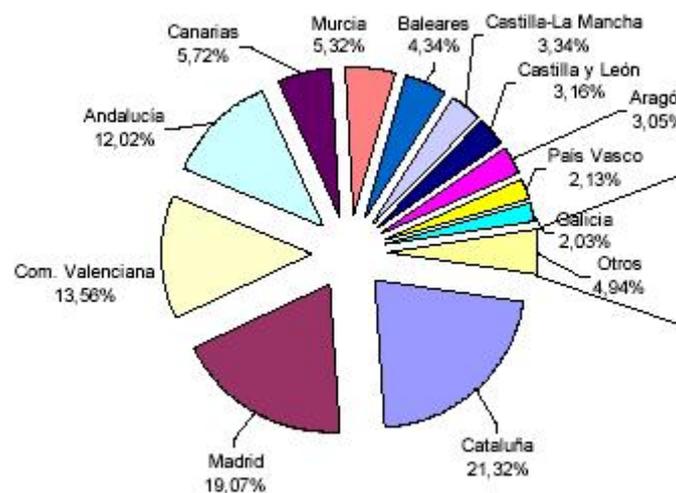
Borkert and others (2007, p.28) note that the country has a significant number of irregular entries and/or stays. Irregular immigrants can get access to the national health system, by registering at the municipals. Research has shown that half of the immigrants registered at the municipal do not possess a valid residence permit. Because of five large

regularisation programmes, many former illegals have been legalised. On the other hand Spanish authorities failed to renew all residence permits within the compulsory period due to understaffing.

- Catalonia

Catalonia has been economically more successful than many other parts of Spain. It had a leading role in the industrialisation in the beginning of the 19th century and is still ahead in GDP and economic growth. First the fast growing industry attracted labourers from other parts of Spain, particularly from Andalusia where the agriculture was collapsing. Andalusians were considered as different than the native population in language and habits, since they didn't speak Catalan, and many of them were farmers. Near industrial areas like Barcelona city and Terrassa, housing districts were sometimes to a large extent inhabited by these national immigrants. Since 2000 labourers also come from countries outside the European Union. Figure 1 shows that Catalonia receives 23% of all immigrants in Spain, compared to 19% for Madrid and 14% for Valencia and 12% in Andalusia.

Figure 1: Share of immigrant population in the different Spanish regions.



Source: Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración (<http://extranjeros.mtas.es/>)

As table 2 shows, the percentage of immigrants in Catalonia is higher than the percentage of immigrants in Spain as a whole. Catalonia is subdivided in four provinces. We have also given the figures for the Barcelona province of which Terrassa is a part. The figure of the Barcelona province is not very different from the Catalonia figure, slightly more South Americans and Asians and slightly less other Europeans and Africans.

Table 2: Immigrant categories to Catalonia and Barcelona Province (based on nationality), Dec 31st 2006

	Catalonia		Barcelona province	
	Number	%	Number	%
Total Spanish	* 6,256,110	88 %	not known	-
Total immigrants	* 878,890	12 %	441,599	-
EU countries	84,265	1%	55,882	-
Rest of Europe	54,495	1%	23,117	-
Africa	216,852	3%	126,642	-
South America	212,615	3%	172,858	-
North America	3,054	0%	2,592	-
Asia	71,027	1%	60,064	-
Other	521	0%	444	-

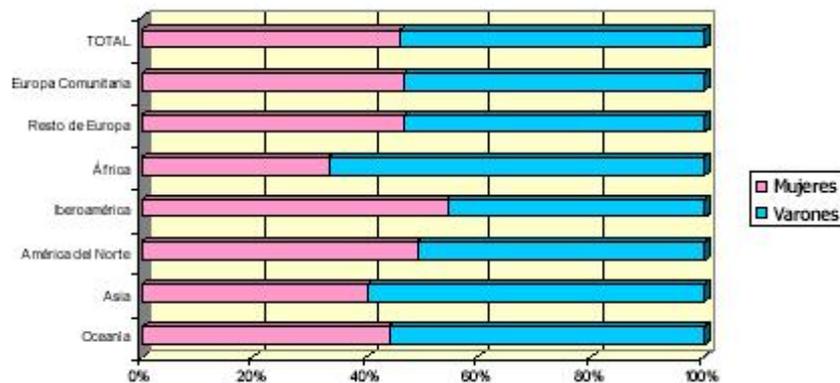
source: Boletín Estadístico, Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración, January 2007 (* due to missing data we have used another source here!)

The average percentage of immigrants in Catalonia is 11%, although some cities reach higher figures, such as Barcelona 15%. In Terrassa the percentage of immigrants has recently increased from 3% in 1999 to 10% in 2004. It is clear that the economic boom that is taking place since 2000 has led to an explosion of activities, especially in the field of building, on which the Spanish economy depends heavily.

1.1.1 Composition of immigrant/ ethnic minority populations in the country: nationality, age, gender, and socio-economic status

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 percentage of males still exceeds the percentage of females in most ethnic groups, while among the Spanish population the percentage of females is slightly higher. Figure 2 shows that this unbalance is particularly visible among African (66% males) and Asian immigrants (61% males). The groups with the lowest percentage of females are Senegalese (81 % males) and Pakistani’s (85 % males). Only among South Americans (or Ibero Americans as they are called in the figure), the percentage of females (54% females) exceeds the males.

Figure 2: Male-Female ratio of the immigrant groups in Spain (left females, right males) per 31-12-2006

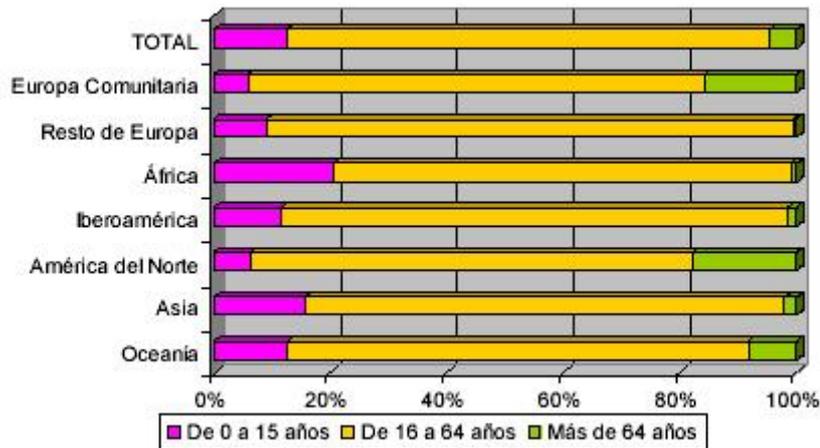


Source: Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración, <http://extranjeros.mtas.es>.

Note that total is the total immigrant population!

Another consequence of the recent arrival is that there are not yet large numbers of elderly, as we can see in figure 3. The large majority of immigrants are in the working age (15-64). Only immigrants from the European Community and North America have a considerable number of elderly. While the percentage of people above 64 is 18% among the Spanish, we nearly don't see elderly from Africa, South America and Asia.

Figure 3: Age division of the immigrants in Spain, per continent, 31-12-2006



Source: Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración, <http://extranjeros.mtas.es/>

Note that total is the total is the total immigrant population!

One of the most significant socio-demographic phenomena in last years has been the increase of the number of elderly in Spain. That the age division of immigrants is very different is in many cases the reason why there is no decline of the population in cities. The estimated fertility rate in Spain in 2006 is only 1.28 children per women, which is one of the lowest in Europe. Immigrants have an important share in the number of births. Not all ethnic groups get a lot of children, since there is a surplus of single men. The percentage of children between 0-15 years old is the highest for the African immigrants.

The total unemployment figure in Spain is 8.3 % of the active population in the fourth quarter of 2006, and in Catalonia 6.7% (Monthly newsletter of labour statistics, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs). Though immigrants are attracted by the economic situation, not all find work. Table 4 shows that some immigrant groups suffer more from unemployment than others. South Americans seem to have more problems to find work than the other groups, and North Americans, Asians and Oceaneans are below the mean unemployment figure.

Table 4: *Number of foreign workers in labour discharge in the social security for Spain in 2007 and in Catalonia in 2005 per continent of immigration (illegals also receive welfare!)*

	Spain 2007		Catalonia 2005	
	Number	%	Number	%
Autochthonous Spanish	16.995.200	90%	not known	-
imm. EU countries *	595.453	3%	60,823	-
imm. Rest of Europe *	69.354	0%	38,430	-
imm. Africa	371.414	2%	102,062	-
imm. South America	6.844	0%	150,554	-
imm. North America	708.442	4%	1,426	-
imm. Asia	119.876	1%	42,855	-
imm. Other	5017	0%	214	-
Total immigrants	1.876.400	10%	396,860	-
Total	18.871.600	100%	-	-

* Note that Bulgaria and Romania were part of EU in 2007, not in 2005

Source: Ministry for Labour and Social Affairs

1.2 General national integration policy

Spain didn't have an immigration policy until the 1980s. When it joined the European Union, the country was under pressure to restrict non-EU citizen immigration. The immigration policy of 1985 'Ley de Extranjería' approached most immigration as a temporary phenomena, immigrants were conceptualised as workers, who required regulation by the Ministry of Labour (Ortega Pérez 2003). When Amnesty International criticized the toughness of the 'foreigners law' in 1989, the first attempt to draft an integration law took place in 1990 (Borkert a.o. 2007). This led to the establishment of the Dirección General de Migraciones (General Directorate for Migration). Initiated by left wing politicians, a large regularisation of illegal immigrants took place in 1991. This ultimately had little impact, since three years later 50% of the immigrants that had legalised their status with a one year work permit, had in 1991 fallen back to the illegal status. To compensate for ineffective and

restrictive admission policies, regularisation programs have taken place in 1994 (on ground of family reunification), in 1996, 2000, 2001, 2002 and 2005.

Besides measures to control the immigration, at this point a start was made for programmes for immigrants' social integration. In 1994 an 'Inter-ministerial Plan for the Integration of Immigrants' was presented, with the intention to grant immigrants the same civil and social rights and responsibilities as Spanish citizens. The concept 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 autonomic regions, Spain tends to promote and recognise the cultural autonomy of migrants (Borkert a.o. 2007:29). The policy was not directed at specific groups, but at granting equal rights for instance for immigrant children at schools.

Only in 1998 the Law on the Rights and Freedoms of Foreigners in Spain and their Integration was passed, which focussed clearly on integration and political and social rights of non-EU foreigners. It took force in January 2000.

When Partido Popular got to power in 1996, this centre right wing government led by Prime Minister Aznar was interested in liberalisations and in privatisation. A new organ, 'Delegación de Gobierno para la Extranjería y la Inmigración' was established within the Ministry of Interior Affairs, which meant a shift of power away from the Ministry of Social Affairs during the Socialist times. In 2000 the so-called 'Plan Greco' was presented, which went more in the direction of migrant adaptation. The plan Greco addresses four key areas (quoted from Ortega Pérez, 2003):

1. Global, coordinated design of immigration as a desirable phenomenon in Spain, as a member of the European union;
2. Integration of foreign residents and their families as active contributors to the growth of Spain;
3. Admission regulation to ensure peaceful coexistence with Spanish society;
4. Management of a shelter scheme for refugees and displaced persons.

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

The current left wing (PSOE) government led by Zapatero that took over in 2004 tends to focus more on improving the social provisions and work situation for immigrants. Officials who work for immigrants experience this as more positive, and the money allocated for initiatives in the social sector has gone up.

The complicated bureaucratic system limits the possibilities. National laws, regional Catalan laws, provincial Barcelonan laws, the layer of the county and after this the municipal make things complicated, also because the budget of the municipals is limited. Immigrants' access to social services depends on their registration in the municipal administration.

2 Background information on the city and its integration policy

2.1 General structural data of the city

Terrassa is situated 25 km from Barcelona city and part of the Vallès Occidental County, in the province of Barcelona. It is located on the foot of the Sant Llorenç del Munt Mountain. The city dates back from the Roman times, then named Egara. Several interesting buildings from the middle Ages - like a castle, a large bridge and the Sant Pere churches - and from the beginning of the 20th Century show that it has been influential for the area in the past. The textile industry was one of the reasons of the economic attractiveness of the city from 1900 onwards. The large textile factories in the city centre were built around 1907. Terrassa has the image of an art town, and has been called the Catalan 'Athens'. There are many Gaudi like modernistic buildings like the Masía Can Freixa, dating from 1907-1910. Its successful textile industry has left many interesting architectural highlights, factory buildings, shops and houses of factory owners. Related to the textile industry, a university was founded with technical subjects that could serve the textile industry. As in most of Catalonia the booming economy between 1950-1960 led to an influx of a large number of Andalusians and to less immigrants from other parts of Spain. Recently there is an influx of (international) immigrant groups.

The old city centre of Terrassa was built between 700 and 1900. The first expansion phases of the city took place around the 1920's with the growth of the textile industry. At this time the first areas for labourers were built just around the old centre. The second extension phase occurred in the 1950's, during Franco's reign. The Franco government wrote a five-year plan 1950, and because only Catalonia and the Basque Country were economically successful at that time, the government stimulated economic growth further. 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. The 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 went down and they were sold to the inhabitants. Nearly all inhabitants bought their flats, and that is why there are currently nearly no rentals left.

In 1978 with the return of democracy, a new housing law was implemented and the situation changed dramatically. The city could act autonomous and worked on its own city planning. The empty areas between the centre and the isolated blocks were connected to turn Terrassa back to one town. The missing services like parks, schools, and offices were built up and the general situation of sanitary fittings was improved (sewer systems, bathrooms). Buses started to run, and in 1986 the railway line to Barcelona was opened. At this point there were no social houses at all, but buying a house was still possible with limited money. The 1993 city plan made the town a connected unity. Several extra bridges were built over the rift that divides east and west and renovation of the old buildings took place.

Terrassa has only high-rise on the edge of the city, the houses built in the fifties were mainly four to six floor apartment buildings.



Between 2000-2006 a second economic boom took place, caused a dramatic rise of the house prices, up to 24% in 2003. The average price of a house in 2005 was €264,000. The consequence is that even for the middle class it is not as easy anymore to buy a house and there is a need for public housing. With the 2002 Urban Catalan Law, project developers were forced to give a percentage of their buildings to social housing. Terrassa was the first city to implement this. Currently there is an action plan to move towards more social housing, as we will see in chapter 3.

Terrassa position in the region is central for the surrounding villages and smaller towns, though the city of Barcelona is the busy capital nearby. It is the second largest municipality in the Vallès Occidental County, after Sabadell (203.317 inhabitants). It is much bigger than the next city Sant Cugat del Vallès, which has only 70,514 inhabitants. Terrassa also has the biggest surface in the county (70 km²), while the second largest Sant Cugat del Vallès has 48 km².

The city council of Terrassa is governed by the Catalan Socialist Party (PSC) in coalition with the ecologist, socialist and left coalition from ICV-EUiA and the pro-independence Left Catalan Republican Party (ERC). The second party, Catalans centre right wing party (Convergència i Unió) obtained five seats in the last local elections (2003). Currently both the Terrassa and the Catalan government have the same coalition, and also the national Spanish government is mainly leftist, which make its easy for Terrassa to operate.

Terrassa is relatively wealthy in the region. The gross family income is the second in the county and the fourth in Catalonia. In 2001 the gross family income was €10,390 a year, though there are big differences between the city districts. Between 1996-2002 the gross family income has increased 36%. In 2006 Terrassa had an unemployment rate of 11% of the active population, which is 3,26 points above the Catalan average. A problem is that population is aging: there is a lack of people from 18-45 years old and immigrants have to fill that gap. Most of Terrassa's work force is employed in the industry, but the service sector is growing fast, construction and agriculture are going down. Also the size of the companies (number of employees) is going down.

2.2 History of municipal migration and composition of migrant populations

What we have described above for the rest of Catalonia is also true for Terrassa. International immigration is very new; it is a phenomenon of the last ten years. On January 1st 2006 Terrassa had a total population 201,442 inhabitants, of which 22,032 foreigners (12%). This while there were only 3528 foreigners (2%) in 1995.

As table 5 shows the largest immigrant groups in Terrassa: first are Moroccan (5%), followed by Ecuadorians (1%), Columbians (1%), Senegalese and Argentineans.

Table 5: Immigrants in Terrassa: countries of origin, January 1st, 2006

Nationality	Women	Men	Total	%
Spain	90,914	87,036	177,950	88%
Morocco	3,714	6,873	10,587	5%
Ecuador	1,593	1,409	3,002	1%
Colombia	617	477	1,094	1%
Senegal	168	759	927	0%
Argentina	433	413	846	0%
Dominican Republic	339	205	544	0%
China	284	292	576	0%
Romania	244	235	479	0%
Bolivia	228	178	406	0%
Peru	214	201	415	0%
Italy	197	306	503	0%
Chilli	169	210	379	0%
Others	1,840	1,894	3,778	2%
Total	100,954	100,488	201,442	100%

As the table shows, some groups have a sizable surplus of men, like Moroccans, Senegalese and Italians. In other groups women are a majority of women, like among Colombians, Argentineans, Dominicans and Bolivians. This is caused by the kind of jobs available in Terrassa. There is a labour market segment where migrants are employed with jobs in a non-qualification situation, low salaries, high rotation, and lack of promotion. The activities of men focus in industries and construction, which need intensive labour, while the activities of women in domestic services, hotel and catering and elderly and child care. There is also a wide range of activities developed in the black market by undocumented immigrants. The most visible are the Senegalese men selling newspapers, DVD's and leather in the street. While the precarious conditions of the labour market affect the whole society, it appears more pronounced among foreigners.

Migrant women have less access to the labour market than men; their role is limited to the domestic service and to care at home or in geriatric institutions of elderly. The precarious employment conditions and the incidence of the black economy make it hard to change from illegal to a legal status. Since their labour contracts are not for permanent posts, people are changing their administrative position constantly. Upward mobility is hard to achieve, except in some parts of the secondary sector in which a permanent job implies a better labour situation. Generally speaking, migrants, one of the most vulnerable groups (like youth and women) have less negotiating power, and depend on jobs that can disappear when the economy goes down. Only East Europeans have better opportunities, because of their higher educational and training level. But also these groups get frustrated, as their educational level doesn't fit to their professional category.

Obstacles appear in health at work. Precarious conditions, such as dangerous task and high-risk activities may comprise higher occurrence of accidents. On the demand side, illegal business practices are common such as no overtime payment, no recognitions of sickness, or no payment of Social Security. Intense physical work causes more health problems, and this leads to expulsion and replacement by a younger worker. In some communities, particularly the Latin Americans and Moroccans, the legal vulnerability goes hand in hand with poor negotiation power and lack of knowledge of labour rules. Labour training by trade unions and employers would be suitable for the immigrants that first access the labour market, don't know the language and have limited education. Some communities like the Pakistani and Chinese, who have a strong tradition of entrepreneurship, pursue self-employment.²

2.3 Municipal integration policy

Facing the a sociocultural, ethnic, demographic and economic changes that have affected utmost all collective aspects of life, including work, organisation and living together, Terrassa is one of the Vallès Occidental county cities that developed an Action Plan on immigrant integration matters as early as 2003. A department was set up to manage the new citizenship, which coordinates a variety of direct or indirect actions and social agents in Terrassa. These transversal actions are meant to face an adaptation of the society towards diversity and towards new manners to live together to realise a more diverse society.

The 'Management of Immigration, Diversity and Living together Plan of Terrassa' (PGID) from February 2003 defines a coherent strategic framework for the local reality. This action plan aims to foster the integration through the involvement of all government levels, to improve the settlement process of immigrants, its integration in the social network and the welcome and integration by natives. The PGID has been divided in five main work axes:

1. Welcome policies/tools for immigrants;
2. Settlement management;
3. Adaptation of public services to population diversification;
4. Collective building of a new living-together model;
5. Management of the interterritorial and interadministrative cooperation.

² A table on socio economic status of Spanish and immigrant groups in Terrassa or mean income is not available.

The overall aim is to manage the phenomena from a viewpoint of an Integration Policy framed within the Welfare State and with due respect to law and democratic values. The PGID plan 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 but also includes intercultural aspects and some multicultural elements like the right of migrants to preserve their own roots. 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 natives: acceptance on the one hand, adjustment on the other. It stipulates some aspects that are considered relevant for the integration of newcomers; amongst labour and training, housing is one of the priorities for integration of migrants for the council. Less difficulties or even facilities to get access to housing implies a better easier integration, while too much difficulty leads to failure of the process.

The Council has adopted two key tools: the Permanent Observatory of Interculturality and the New Migration RoundTable. The former was created with the aim to supervise the councils internal actions and to discuss the councils interventions before their submission to the RoundTable. The latter aims to be a service of debate, counselling and participation, follow-up and assessment of the local policies linked to integration and above all, a shared working space for the different entities that conform the tool.

Hence, the New Migrations RoundTable is composed by migrant entities representatives, NGOs, neighbourhoods associations of Terrassa, political groups with democratic representation in the Council and the different Council departments with the collaboration of other entities. All these agents permit to build up an important network to ease the counselling to migrants, to follow up the local policies and to solve the possible socioadministrative barriers that migrants often face quicker.

The participant members of the PGID action plan are:

- Terrassa City Council and its municipal companies: Department for Citizenship and Civil Rights; IMSAV (Health and Elder Municipal Institute); PAME (Municipal Institute for Education); Ca la Dona (Women Promotion Department); IMSS (Social Services Local Institute); and political parties.
- Trade unions, CITE; AMIC; Carites; Red Cross; CIREM (Center for the Initiatives and European Research in the Mediterranean; employers association (CECOT); Neighbourhood Associations; Cultural and social migrant Associations; Centre for the Language Normalisation (Catalan language).

It is important to keep in mind that migration is a new reality in Spain and it changes the social structure. As stated in the PGID like in other official guidelines, the main local objective of current policies is to incorporate the phenomena and to guarantee social cohesion, respect to society roots, development and individual rights.

- Characteristics of city's discourse about integration vs. the national discourse

Both on the national level and on the local level, the aim of the discourse on integration is to guarantee social rights. Since the national, the Catalan and local political set up is currently all left wing, there are not many differences.

For the local policy-making centre the specific aim is to maximise the services supply for migrants in terms of accessibility and its adaptation to migrant features, not only cultural, but in their social structure. Migrants, as is commonly understood at both levels, should have the same social equality or disadvantage as the rest of the Spanish or Terrassan citizens. From this perspective, the foreign population is socially included if they are not in a situation of social vulnerability just like other native citizens groups might be.

Cities face challenges and do not always have the resources nor the competencies to tackle them. The main challenges include:

1. Quantitative migration flow management;
2. Management of settlement of migrants and their inclusion in basic social systems (work, housing, language, health, education);
3. Adaptation of the collective working and organisational structure of the society in major culture diversity, religious choices, lifestyles and behaviours and individual and collective values and vital needs;
4. Building a new 'living-together model', where native and foreigners might share physical and social space to assure cohesion, social peace and an integrated society with respect to recognised rights for all.

With the new Regional Constitution of Catalonia that entered into force last August 2006, some of these competences will be adopted on the regional level. This means that more money will be allocated to the regional and local level.

2.4 Inter-city cooperation

Terrassa's City Council Department for International Relations is part of the Mayor's-Presidential Area designed to develop Terrassa's positioning on the international scenario, to monitor the public policies generated in this area and to analyse the city's participation in them. Other activities feature participation in city networks, bilateral cooperation and projects in the different spheres of municipal action. It also acts as a driving force and provides support to other municipal departments and other organisations in the city in any matters pertaining to European and international relations.

Terrassa participates in the following networks:

- European Cities for Development and Co-operation (ECDC), this is the network of European cities driven forward by Terrassa.
- ENSA - European Network of Social Authorities, a network of cities and European Regions with the aim of promoting international co-operation in the social field.
- RETIS - European Transregional Network for Social Inclusion, a political institution composed of European regional and local communities working altogether in the social policy field.
- the URB-AL programme, a decentralised co-operation programme co-financed by the European Commission and aimed to local authorities in the European Union and in Latin America, as well to other local development involved agents. (URB-AL Network 14 – Public security in the city, URB-AL Network 13 - Towns and the information society, URB-AL Network 12 - Woman and city).
- the Catalan Council of the European Movement;
- the Art Nouveau Network;
- the Association of Town Centre Management (ATCM);
- SAFE, European cities and regions for road safety;
- the European Textile Collectivities Association;
- Network of Local Authorities for the Information Society;
- the European Forum for Urban Security;
- EUROCITIES, Economic Development Forum; Mobility Forum; Knowledge Society Forum - Telecities;
- International Association of Educating Cities;
- Mayors for Peace
- CLIP Network

Other ongoing EU-projects are:

- P2P for Major Events (e-TEN): Use of P2P technology in several city events.
- E-Teams (Interreg IIIC East): Creation of a platform for enterprising and little enterprises focused to the internationalisation.
- PIMMS (Interreg C West): Exchange of experiences between cities in the mobility management as an innovative approach to promote sustainable mobility.
- A project on entrepreneurship of immigrants in the countries of origin (Spanish project on national level).

3 Housing situation of the city

3.1 Housing stock and housing market in general

The housing market in Spain has been subject of enormous changes in the last 30 years. In the first half of the 1980's, rental housing in Spain constituted around 60% of all housing. At the beginning of the 21st century, the percentage didn't even reach 10% anymore and social renting by municipals is only 2% of the total supply, whilst the average in the 15 EU countries is over 15%. The attitude of the public is currently strongly oriented towards buying a house. Firstly there is no rent protection, and a landlord can double or triple the rent every five years. Secondly buying a house has been profitable, since the house prices have been risen at a tremendous rate in the last ten years. Mortgage provisions made it easy, with low interest rates and a time period of 50 years. Speculation and buying and selling at a fast rate increased this further.

Since 2002, Catalonia is trying to increase the portion of social housing in new buildings. As we noticed earlier economic growth depends to a large amount on construction. With the 2002 Urban Catalan Law, project developers were forced to use a percentage of their buildings for social housing. Terrassa has been the first city to implement this and wrote the Local Urban Ordination Plan that was approved in 2003. It aims to give an answer to the demands to build houses, to provide land, and to respond to future requirements of growth. The increase per year was about 20% in 2003 and 12% in 2004, according to figures of the Catalan Land Institute INCASOL.

Terrassa intends to build around 28,828 new houses in the near future, so there is a strong growth in building effort. The increasing demand is due to the growing industrial naves, to university students, and to people who find Barcelona city impossibly dear. But in 2007, the percentage of rental housing is still at only 9%, data on percentage of private rental are not available. According to the officials of the municipal, about 30% of the people that are looking for a new home, need some kind of help, they cannot find an affordable house. Young couples spend more than half of their income on mortgage. Still the number of applicants that turns up when a house is sold is much higher than the number of applicants when a house is rented out.

The building effort concentrates in designated extension areas and inside the city and a few in the periphery of the city. Terrassa has currently more large building projects ("promocions" as they are called in Catalan) than other large cities in Spain. When a building project is planned, the housing department needs to cooperate with project investors, since the municipal has not enough money. Because of the financial arrangement around the building process, it is not probably that an area with 100% municipal owned social housing will develop in the near future.

When the new apartments are ready, they have to sell a reasonable amount to be able to raise funds and keep the finances in balance. According to Catalan law 30% of the apartments have to be sold cheap, while 70% can be sold commercially (market price). In Terrassa 10% of the ground and 20% of all projects are reserved for cheap housing. The building of so called 'protected' housing does not mean in Catalonia that these houses will become the property of the authorities or of the connected management company (Societat Municipal d'Habitatge de Terrassa) that rents them out, but it means that this section of the houses are sold cheaper (for instance €125,000 for 80 m²). These protected houses are not meant for the poorest section of

the population. The income margins that apply for people that want to buy such houses are well above the minimum and run into the middle class. Since the number of applicants is always enormous, and selection is done through lottery, the chance is big that they are sold to a middle class family.

The number of houses that is rented out by the Sociedad Municipal d'Habitatge de Terrassa for vulnerable groups on the housing market - like single mothers, unemployed or immigrants - is still limited (around 400 in April 2007), but growing. These groups have considerable problems to get an independent house. The prices of the houses rented out by the municipal company are around €200.

- Significance of its segments (public housing, privately rented housing, housing associations, home ownership, others)

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

Because of the large section of privately owned houses, the local authorities have relatively limited power to demolish blocks or to reconstruct areas in neighbourhoods. The financial resources of the Catalan cities are limited, because they don't own a lot of ground or houses. To demolish one block, they have to buy all the inhabitants out and provide them with affordable new housing. This is the reason why big reconstruction projects for neighbourhoods are not undertaken. There is only one small-scale plan to demolish a six-floor apartment block, which is too near to other buildings. It is also difficult to change the layout of the city and sometimes a part is renovated, but some owners refuse and a part is left which is not improved.

Though Terrassa has managed to improve the city centre and to renovate the old parts in a beautiful way, there are some areas south of the centre that look rather messy.

Another consequence of the large share of ownership is that not only among Spanish but also among immigrants there are more house owners than in other European cities. Moroccan families have bought apartments in not well-maintained blocks and live often with many in one house. They have become part of the associations of owners of the building, and become members of these special social communities. A lot of the actual integration process of immigrants takes place within these communities of owners. The Moroccans in Terrassa are often from the country side of the Rif mountains and have no experience living in apartment blocks. Trouble with dirt and noise, common responsibility for the maintenance of the building and communication between natives and immigrants all takes place here. On the one hand discussion about the payment of maintenance can cause quarrels, since most immigrants have limited money. On the other hand this integration in the flat has a lot of positive aspects: people take care of children and elderly neighbours, they arrange common activities in the common room of the building, and they work in the common park around the flat. The process that takes place within these communities is significant for the integration of the newcomers. In countries where immigrants all end up in social housing there is less contact between inhabitants and less to share.

- Information on housing owned or controlled by the city and its distribution across the city as well as information about the role of the city on the housing market other than direct ownership of housing stock and/ or regulations such as funding of external bodies

The 'Sociedad Municipal d'Habitatge de Terrassa' is a company within the municipal. It's staff is located in the municipal building but the institution acts as a private company because of the financial regulations. Its board of directors consists of the same politicians as the city government and project developers and builders. In 2007 it nearly doesn't own apartments, since it is a new development that cheap rentals are needed, but the intention is to increase the number of cheap rentals. The few apartments they have are relatively new and of good quality.

The laws and regulations about the housing stock and funding come to a large extent from the Catalan Regional Government, while the implementation is in the hands of the Municipal. The Catalan government has introduced both rent and buying subsidies. The room for manoeuvring by the city is limited, which is mainly due to the fact that its budget is limited.

- Relation of demand and supply; overcrowding of housing units

At present the demand and supply situation is out of balance. The demand exceeds the supply and the house prices have been rising with 20% per year. Because there are nearly no provisions for the poorer segment, poor people depend on renting a room on the private market. While hostels and lodgings are officially forbidden, they are needed for people with limited means.

- Quality of housing

In most cases the quality of housing depends on the (associations of) owners. The municipal tries to stimulate renovation of privately owned blocks by giving subsidy and support. It is not always easy to convince the associations of owners, since a part of the cost has to be covered by the owners. On the other hand the value of well-maintained houses goes up. The complaint is heard that Moroccan owners are blocking expensive renovation of housing blocks, since they have limited money.

- Affordability of housing

The average price of a house in Terrassa in 2005 was €264,000. With an increase of more than 20% every year, prices have risen to an impossible level. Combined with the fact that there are nearly no social housing and nearly no provisions for immigrants, one can safely conclude that it is most difficult for anybody with limited means to find an affordable home.

- Developments and trends

In 2007, Terrassa is on the way from a town with nearly only inhabitant owned houses to a town with a limited percentage of social rentals owned by the municipal company. It

will take at least a decade before a similar percentage of social housing is reached as in the rest of the EU (15%). If the house prices continue to rise, it will become even more difficult to escape to the private sector. It is considered dangerous that there are nearly no provisions for poor people and the risk of social unrest increases when an economic crisis would occur. The poorer house owners, and among them the immigrants, would be the first ones to lose their jobs, and will not be able to pay their mortgage. Forced selling for a lower price and homelessness might then cause a lot of unrest in the poorer areas. The municipal managed to stop nearly all shantytown development, but that of course becomes much more difficult when the number of unemployed increases. Around other towns in the region some immigrants live in the forest in self-made shelters.

It is to be expected that the immigrant population increases further and the fact that there are no provisions to help newcomers to get a house or a room will lead to problems in the future. On the short term there seems to be a need of pension-like facilities with clear safety, price, and crowding rules.

- Neighbourhoods considered as being problematic and their characteristics (incl. physical quality of housing and quality of infrastructure) (since there is another chapter concerning segregation: short!)

Defining a problem area is done in standardized manner in Catalonia. A problem area shows the following characteristics:

1. A process of regression in the quality and the conservation of the housing and public space;
2. Demographic problems caused by a) the population is too old; b) rapid increase or decrease of population (migration has a lot to do with this);
3. Considerable economic, social or environmental problems;
4. There are deficits in the planning of services or the capacity to solve social problems, for instance transport, parking, schools, health care.

There are four or five indicators per characteristic; the area gathers a certain number of points, which are added up. When the number of points reaches a certain limit, the area gets prioritized and receives more attention. There is also priority for old historic inner cities, large states, and marginal developments (informal housing, etc.). For a problem area a so-called 'Pla de Barris' (neighbourhood plan) is made.

Figure 4: Map of Terrassa with its neighbourhoods.



Within Terrassa the areas that receives most of the attention are on the east side of the centre: Ca n'Anglada, Torre-Sanna, Vilardell and Montserrat. In Ca N'Anglada, the oldest part, the houses are of relatively low quality, there is a problem of decaying concrete, and in some blocks bathrooms are lacking and there are no elevators, which is a problem for the elderly. One of the blocks is too near to the others and has to the current standard not enough direct light. The three others areas are on the other side of the gorge and had limited access routes and a lack of facilities. There is more high-rise in this part. A new connecting bridge over the gorge is build, and the existing bridges are improved. Parks and squares are refurbished, street lighting is repaired, the public transport needs to be broadened and one of the schools in Vilardell is improved. In general there is too much traffic running trough the area. Apart from the physical improvements, the municipal is aware of the fact that it has to cope with competitiveness for public resources amongst poor segments of native and immigrants, both with low incomes. Terrassa is trying hard to solve this.

- The Riots

One of the main reasons why Terrassa became aware of a growing problem around immigrants, and started with a diversity policy was a riot between Moroccans and Spanish in the Ca N'Anglada neighbourhood in 1999. This riot was even described in the national press, so it became widely known. The neighbourhood was build for the immigrants from Southern Spain that had arrived during the 50's and 60' (Ballarín Elcacho a.o., 1996). Because of the street structure, it was physically isolated from the city centre. Its inhabitants didn't speak Catalan but Spanish and already had a history of fighting within the trade union against the authorities over the rights of the textile workers. When Moroccan men started to arrive in the 1990's, they moved into the most Northern blocks of Ca n'Anglada. The Spanish felt threatened and started to move out, both because they were afraid that house prices would go down and the area would degrade further. But also because they were feeling that their squares and other public spaces were taken over by the Moroccans that loved to sit outside, just like Spanish. During a neighbourhood festival some fighting erupted on one of the squares. People got wounded, cars were set on fire and a demonstration was held. The festival had to be cancelled further. Because of this event, immigration and its influence on neighbourhoods was put on the political agenda.

- Mobility within the city: typical housing careers, difference between typical "careers" of natives and migrants

Very simplified, one could say that the housing career of the native population traditionally was: someone lives in his or her parents' house until they marry and then they buy an apartment or house of their own, and if they have money they buy a better one. Since the welfare system is not as well developed as in Northern Europe, the mortgage has to be paid before people retire. It is seen as a right that young couples need a house, but currently the prices are so high that it is difficult for young couples to buy something. This is one of the reasons of the building effort.

In the case of immigrants, the housing career often starts as a renter of a room in somebody else's house, or as a renter in a hostel or lodging. A special group of immigrants are the maids and nannies. They often live in the house where they work, which is usually not in the poorest areas. A next step could be to buy a house with two others that have a permanent income. The situation that three men buy a house is not uncommon among immigrants. When the income goes up, partly because of the extra rent, a second apartment is bought and the first one is rented out completely. It may be clear that this system easily gives the chance to abusive practices.

3.2 Housing situation of residents with migration background

Contrary to the native population, which in majority owns their homes (85%), immigrants live more often in rented houses (58%); only 25% are owners (the left over 17% probably subletting). It is assumed that everyone buys a house, but access to housing is difficult for immigrants due to their limited income and the increasing prices in the building sector. According to a census from 2001, the lowest percentage of home owning occurs among Ecuadorians (24%), Rumanians (26%) and Argentineans (27%). Moroccans more often buy their house (55% buys, 44% is renter), and Dominicans and Peruvians are on the high end of the list (resp. 72% and 64%).

There are no housing provisions for immigrants. They join in the lottery that takes place when 'protected' cheap houses are sold, but their chances are limited. On the private market houses are sold through networks, advertisement and brokers. Immigrants are the victims of discrimination. Owner associations, but also project developers are afraid that the value of their property goes down if there are too many immigrants in a building. They expect social problems, and are reluctant to rent houses to immigrants, particularly Moroccans. In some cases the lottery is not as blind as it is supposed to be, and only a few immigrants get through.

It is easier for immigrants to buy apartments in blocks where countrymen already live. From the demand side this has advantages, since it is easier to live in a community with friends and relatives with mutual aid, informal networks and some shops with products from the country of origin. On the supply side, the Spanish prefer to sell their apartment when the number of foreigners goes up, because they are afraid that the value goes down further. This doesn't mean that houses are cheap in the areas where immigrants live.

3.2.1 Housing-related aspects of "problematic" neighbourhoods

As we described in paragraph 3.1 the houses in Ca n'Anglada, Torre-Sana, Vilardell and Montserrat are in general of a lesser quality than in other parts of town. They are not as well renovated (elevators, bathrooms), and less well painted. Electricity wires are hanging from some buildings and street lighting is not always working. When walking through these neighbourhoods, the satellite dish receivers show where the immigrants live and especially Moroccans and Senegalese are the most visible in the streets.

The schools in these neighbourhoods have a mixture of children from Catalan speaking and non-Catalan speaking background. Though there is experience with Spanish speaking kids, the low educational level of the new immigrant parents is another challenge. Language training is important to reach the level of the education at the Catalan mean.

About the safety and crime rate in Ca n'Anglada, Torre-Sana, Vilardell and Montserrat in comparison to other parts of Terrassa we have no information, except our personal impression. Walking around in the neighbourhoods, it doesn't look very unsafe. We have noticed only one bar that was watched by the police because it was supposed to sell kiff (marihuana).

The municipal is aware that the public services in these neighbourhoods need extra attention, because there is a higher need and there is a lot of competition.



3.2.2 Quality of housing for migrants (physical quality, overcrowding, environmental quality, personal safety etc.)

Large families - which means those composed of more than five members - represent 8% of the total number of families in Terrassa. Both among Spanish and EU citizens around 8% large families occur. In general they are concentrated in houses of 61-90 m². Among Africans 41% of the families have more than five members, among Latin Americans 38% and among East Europeans 29%. Overcrowded housing units with more than 8 members are rare among Europeans (1%), but frequent in the latter groups (between 8 and 13%).

Also the number of immigrants that live in small houses (<45 m²) is three times as much (7%) as among natives (2%). On the contrary the number of people that live in large houses (<105m²) is 17% among foreigners and 25% among Spaniards.

3.2.3 Conditions for specific groups of migrants (e.g. according to legal status, length of stay, country of origin, first/ second/ third generation)

Spain has a considerable number of undocumented immigrants. Most of them are registered in the municipal administration, because this gives them access to education and health care. Hunting illegals by using the municipal database has been forbidden by the Spanish court, so the police are not allowed to use the data.

The position of undocumented immigrants is of course more problematic than the position of immigrants with a work permit or even a Spanish passport. But all depend to a large extent on

the private housing market. Only a permanent contract gives immigrants the possibility to apply at a bank for mortgage. There are no income rules to protect low-income groups against a too expensive mortgage.

3.3 Segregation: Spatial concentration of residents with migration background

The total percentage of immigrants in Terrassa is 12%. The city is divided into six city districts, which differ in the percentage of immigrants. Table 6 shows the number of foreigners that live in the various districts (please add number of Spanish to calculate concentration per district).

Table 6: Concentration of ethnic groups (foreign born) per district in 2005

District:	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total	%
Total Spanish	29777	13835	27138	32815	39782	34603	177,950	88%
Morocco	626	3618	1735	1572	847	2189	10,587	5%
Ecuador	439	588	387	522	455	568	3,002	1%
Colombia	158	159	205	137	155	264	1,094	1%
Argentina	194	84	93	146	189	129	846	0%
Dominican Republic	42	95	99	86	76	146	544	0%
Bolivia	47	37	71	59	82	110	406	0%
Chilli	60	40	70	51	76	82	379	0%
China	112	93	52	196	69	54	576	0%
Senegal	72	254	166	62	81	292	927	0%
Cuba	66	12	62	66	48	64	318	0%
Venezuela	64	7	30	53	42	35	231	0%
Peru	59	64	53	82	85	72	415	0%
EU citizens	389	111	208	265	336	151	1,460	2%
other	939	256	611	944	1044	585	2707	3%
Total foreign born	3267	5418	3842	4241	3585	4741	23,492	12%
Total	29778	13837	27141	32819	39787	34609	201442	100%

* district data include people born outside Spain, note that some are not immigrants but holders of Spanish passports.

Table 6 shows that national groups tend to group in certain areas, for instance Moroccans and Senegalese are concentrated in district 2 and 6, Colombians in 3 and 6, while Chinese are concentrated in district 1 and 3. Sant Pere Nord in district 6 has a concentration of South Americans. But on the other hand, there are no areas without immigrants and some groups like Ecuadorians are spread trough all districts. Note that maids and nannies also live in the richer areas of town.

When we look more closely at the neighbourhood level certain neighbourhoods within the districts have the highest concentrations. Table 7 shows that three neighbourhoods have a concentration of non-EU immigrants above 30%.

Table 7: Neighbourhood with the highest percentages of foreigners on Jan, 1st 2006 (see figure 4 for their location).

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

The first neighbourhood is Montserrat in district 2 with 37% non-EU immigrants. This is a high rise area with flats of more than 10 floors on the western edge of town with considerable numbers of Moroccans and South Americans. The second highest concentration is found in Can Palet II, just South West of the centre in district III, with 34% non-EU immigrants. The third concentration is Ca n' Anglada, an area with maximum six floors flats west of the city centre in district II, which has 33% immigrants, of with over 3000 Moroccans and 254 Senegalese.

Experts state that with the current arrangement of the housing market and the large portion of owner inhabited houses in Spain segregation will automatically occur. Immigrants group together in the neighbourhood with low quality houses, since that is the cheapest part of town. The limited access to houses forces them to live in each others' apartments, and the first chance to buy something is usually in the close vicinity. In the meanwhile Spanish owners move out, and when the neighbourhood gets known as a 'Moroccan' neighbourhood, nobody else wants to live there anymore except Moroccans. The local authorities have nearly no instruments to influence where people live, since all houses are private. This process has taken place in the last 10 years and will probably go ahead. It is expected that the segregation will increase further.

- Size of segregated areas (in relation to city)

The size of the three neighbourhoods with a segregation percentage above 30% (Montserrat, Can Palet II and Ca n' Anglada) is about 7 % of the total surface of Terrassa. The neighbourhoods with the high concentrations are small parts within the neighbourhoods that are considered problematic.

3.4 Accessibility of the housing market system for people with migration background

It is most difficult for poor immigrants to find their first house. Usually they have to rent a room in somebody else's house or in a pension or lodging. Sometimes they can rent a full apartment. Relationships based on family and friends are for migrants, are the most usual channel to get access to housing (65%). Secondly estate agents are used (17%). Thirdly, they can get access through advertisements (12%). Finally, just in very few cases, migrants got access to housing by associative networks or NGO's (1,6%) or by public insitution mediation (1,1%). In the Catalonia region, migrants tend to address real estate agents more often (23%) than in Terrassa.

There are differences between ethnic groups. Friendship networks (20%) and advertisements (15%) are very important amongst Latin Americans to get access to housing. Africans tend to use more frequently estate agents (23%) and family (19%). Finally, the Eastern Europeans tend to use national friends to get access to housing (37%).

The more people stay in Spain legally and with a job, the more they use estate agents services. To buy the first house, the mortgage provider asks a regular job and work permit, they are part of the same competition as the Spanish. Newly arrived immigrants with low incomes and non legal employment resort to informal migrant networks (no family) to get access to their housing.

Particularly in the areas with a lot of Moroccans there are tensions between the Spaniards and immigrants. Issues that cause irritation among the Spaniards are: language (lack of Catalan), religion, the position of Moroccan women, authoritarian habits of Moroccan men, their clothing, food smells and supposed delinquency, and harassment of Spanish women. While Terrassa is a city which also had labourers from other parts of Spain, it has not yet recognized cultural diversity as an asset.

4 Institutional setting and relevant actors

The privatised company 'Sociedad Municipal d'Habitatge de Terrassa S.A.' (SOMUHATESA) is the office that arranges the renovation and new housing affairs. Its' duties are:

1. Ground provision, preparing the ground, developing the streets, initiating development plans and initiating the construction. Somuhatesa promotes council housing on different locations in the city in order to ease access to housing to those who have difficulties. Over 300 council houses are built every year (and part of it sold).
2. Managing the public flats, renting them out and maintaining them. To increase the number of rentals further, they play the role of a mediator to rent out private property. The mediator provides the owner with the certainty that the technical state of his house will remain the same or otherwise the authorities will repair and make the renter pay for repairs.
3. Foster renovation of houses and building: promotion of restoration, installation of elevators with private funds, improving buildings with specific needs and removing architectural barriers. This includes advise to citizens (Oficina Local d'Habitatge) concerning subsidies for private owners to allocate money for renovation, allocating money for public flats, consultancy for groups of owners who want some kind of renovation. An example of the last role is the attempt to convince owners associations that elevators are needed in blocks with more than four floors. Elevators are necessary because of the increasing number of elderly. But the already not very rich immigrants find them unnecessary and only expensive, so they don't want to add to the common costs.

Somuhatesa depends on the council and works in coordination with Generencia Municipal d'Urbanisme (Local Urbanism Management), which main role is city planning. It is the city councils' autonomous agency that was initially created to execute the General Planning of Urbanism, a law from 1983. Currently it is a representative of the Catalan Territorial Planification of Areas Office. Competences are among others: granting urban licences, town planning/ territorial management, undertaking urban discipline on offenders of the planning laws.

Beside the group within Social Affairs that implements the diversity policy and that takes care of all immigrant provisions in the town, there is a special office that implements the neighbourhood law of the Catalan government (like in other cities). In Terrassa this office is called the 'Oficina Tècnica del Pla de Barris', it has been established in 2004 in the framework of the neighbourhood plan of the city (2005-2008). The office explicitly keeps social and urban affairs together, it is a pilot project for interventions in other neighbourhoods. The functions are: operating as a front service to coordinate different programmes within the plan, becoming the meeting points of the different working groups, and assessing reports for the Catalan government. It has set up a 'time bank', of volunteer activities for elderly.

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

4.1 Non-municipal actors, churches, migrant organisations and other NGOs

Though the Catholic Church owns houses for poor people in other Spanish cities, this is not the case in Terrassa. The Church owns some private Catholic Schools.

Migrant associations arrange cultural, social and religious activities and are not very involved in the housing sector. Their sole participation is in the implementation of the PGID. The civil society has tried to organize temporary lodging together with Cáritas and the Red Cross (Cruz Roja).

Other attempts include: rental housing management intermediation - to ease renting for migrants from private landlords through mediation - and organising information and advice agencies for migrants who are searching for housing. The aim is to give advice to migrants and to give them personal support. Normally, this service is supported by other services such as help to find a job or basic language training. Some regional governments and councils have created centres for migrants with intercultural mediators aimed to care for a variety of aspects of the immigrant conditions, and housing is one of them.

5 Discourse, concepts and policy concerning housing

5.1 Vision, concepts and policy of administration and Local Council on the issue of access to affordable and decent housing, segregation and integration of migrants

On the one hand policy makers of Terrassa state that they consider housing a key area to assure good management of diversity. Concentrations of migrants already exist in certain neighbourhoods, for instance Moroccans, and they believe that an efficient housing policy is required to integrate them.

On the other hand there are not really specific instruments to provide migrants with a house. With a rental housing stock of only 9%, of which even less is public housing, the local authorities have not much to act on. The most important instrument currently used, is to stimulate sales in a cheaper segment and also to increase the number of public rentals as fast as possible. Terrassa stimulates newly build housing with economic incentives and rewards investors that promote housing in the cheaper segment.

On the other hand private owner associations are supported. The municipal also tries to stimulate renovation and the improvement of privately owned blocks by giving aid for specific situation, like adding bathrooms. The neighbourhood policy targets more directly at immigrants than the housing policy. Trying to help immigrants with social services is something that the local authorities can more easily achieve in a city where most of the housing is privately owned.

Local conflicts have affected policy makers' perception of the problem. The riots and demonstrations in the Ca d'Anglada area in 1999 for instance have caused a sudden awareness of the problems in this neighbourhood. It led to improvement of facilities and more resources to face the specific problems in that neighbourhood. The participation structure of the RoundTable in which citizens talk with the politicians and officials of the city council makes a negotiation process possible. Claim making by citizens becomes possible and the requests are incorporated in the public agenda. Because of this manner of working,

better conditions in certain neighbourhoods have been achieved, such as public lighting, safety, public transport, public facilities.

5.1.1 Criteria for defining any success or failure of housing measures

Criteria for defining success or failure have not yet been applied to housing measures. In general in all public policies, assessment is a key aspect to be developed. In this sense, assessment indicators to ameliorate public housing policy would have an added value. Some of those indicators could be the following ones:

- number of building projects and the number of cheap houses in each of them;
- total number of applications;
- number of migrants among applicants;
- number of migrants getting access to city council housing by purchase or hiring;
- number of people working in the city council or on public companies trained on multicultural issues.

5.1.2 Comparison and relationship to national policy

There are no remarkable difference between the national policy and Terrassa's policy, beyond the respective legal competencies. Generally speaking, both policy-making levels take a similar integration concept into account from which the housing policy is build up. But some formal reports on national level use the term assimilation, whilst this is not used anymore at the local level, where integration is considered the suitable term.

The Catalan Parliament approved the Housing Law on December 12th, 2006, which considers housing as a general interest service. It was the first law of their 2006-2009 term. The main points of this law are that housing needs to be treated with a global approach and includes subjects as harassment, overcrowding, and undercrowding. Provisions for social housing have become general interest services. In the past years there were a lot of demonstrations in Spain for dignified housing, the largest one in Barcelona. The new law also includes an economic aid system for renting that is now applied in the current housing plans.

5.1.3 Recent changes due to actual events such as 9/11, Van Gogh etc.

The bomb explosions on the commuter train in Madrid on 11 March 2004, in which 191 people died, had seriously influenced the national policy. Because this drama took place just before the elections, it influenced the outcomes considerably. The Aznar government had allied itself closely with Washington and London and was cooperating militarily in Iraq, even though a majority of the Spanish was against this war. Aznar was quick to blame the Basque separatist group ETA for the bombings. But as the election day approached suspicion that Islamic militants were involved mounted fast and some concluded that Aznars pro Iraq policy had invited the aggression. Several people suspected of having links with Islamic militancy were later detained over the attacks. The new Prime Minister Zapatero described both the war

and the occupation of Iraq as a 'huge disaster' after his election victory, and pulled Spain's 1,300 troops out of the country (BBC country profile 2007).

Catalonia's already leftist government had also been very clear in its standpoint against the Iraq war. After Zapatero's victory, the national and regional governments could work more easily together. It was surprising for the rest of Europe that neither in Spain nor on the regional or municipal level, the explosions have led to considerable increase of anti immigrant or anti Muslim sentiments. Though racism in Spain is not an unknown phenomenon, immigrants in Spain were not blamed for the attacks. Within a month the European Union announced an anti-terrorist policy. Up to now there seems to be less Muslim hatred in Spain than in the Northern European countries. This tendency is seen on nation, regional and municipal level.

5.1.4 Tenancy agreements to prevent exploitation and other regulation of the private sector

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

There are no regulations on the height of the rents that house owners can ask when they rent out apartments, rents are determined by the market.

As we described under 4, a system has been set up in which the municipal serves as a mediator between a house owner and a renter. This system was set up because owners were reluctant to rent out their apartments and were afraid of possible damage or bad maintenance. Of course a large part of this fear actually concerned immigrants. We have for instance heard prejudice about Moroccans slaughtering sheep on balconies.

The municipal is functioning as a mediator by signing the contract with the house owner to keep the apartment in the agreeable technical condition, and the renter signs his contract with the mediator to ask him for help when technical problems occur. The mediator has access to legal means to force the renter to pay for the technical problems that are his share.

5.2 Public discourse on housing, segregation and integration of migrants

Both Spanish and immigrants in Terrassa are convinced that everyone has the right to buy a house. The main complaint is that speculators get the chance to buy and sell and therefore they are driving the prices to a sky rocketing level. Renting an apartment is risky, since there is no protection of rental prices and a house owner can double them every five years. That incomes are going up too (though slower than house prices) and that house prices are going to a level that we see in other popular areas in Europe is not so much discussed.

Most Spanish are not in favour of concentration areas with a high percentage of immigrants. Though Spain has not reacted negative towards Muslims after the Madrid bomb, there is racism in the neighbourhoods, according to our information. The riots in Ca n'Anglada in 1999 were a warning that things could get worst, if the concentration of Moroccans would increase further.

- Role of the media

It is not easy to cooperate with the media to improve the image of the problematic neighbourhoods. As stated in the local diversity PGID action plan, the local media - MCM in general and some local papers particularly - maintain a non-collaborative position concerning migration issues. They tend to confirm prejudices and have been found with lack of and untrue information. For the media, housing, neighbourhood problems and migration are an issue. Immigration is often shown as problematic and unpleasant (illegal migrants, poverty, mafias). It is often linked to delinquency and it goes without saying that media may increase or dismantle society's prejudices. It has to be said also that specific programmes such as 'Un Sol Món' (Just a World) in Catalan TV (TV3) with collaboration of a local Foundation focused on migration issues (Fundació Jaume Bofill) aims to show personal experiences and daily life of settled immigrants or 'best practices' launched by entities or associations linked with migration matters. Several commissions have been established in different public organs at local and regional level such as the Immigration Secretary of the Catalan Government to analyse the issue.

6 Interventions on housing and integration: measures and projects

6.1 Physical improvement of housing

The building of new housing blocks and the physical improvement of neighbourhoods is taking place in many parts of the city.

A lot of attention is giving to the area where the riots with Moroccans took place in 1999, Can n'Anglada. Building projects are limited there, because of the limited space. In Can n'Anglada few blocks need to be demolished because it is too near to other buildings, for the rest a renovation programme is under way. As we have said, this has to take place per block and a lot of discussion is needed to convince the owners. In the case of the northern part of Can n'Anglada, the Moroccan owners do not easily cooperate since they have very limited financial means. That's why they find elevators not their first priority and also not their business, since it are the elderly Spanish that need them.

The largest building project under preparation is in Torre-Sana, where a completely new neighbourhood will be added. The ground is prepared, plans have been approved and building is starting. One part Torre-Sana-Habitatge includes two large u shape apartment buildings, which will altogether provide 900 houses, 20% one bedroom, 45% two bedrooms, 25% three bedrooms and 5% with four bedrooms. Another part is Torre-Sana- Edifici (A -H), which includes 490 new apartments in differently shaped flats, the number of rentals still has to be decided.

Several smaller building projects are also under way: Can Roca II (95 apartments for sale and 34 renting), Ctra. Montcada (23 apartments for sale and 7 for renting), Baldrich (13 for sale), Rda Ponent Sant Lluís (47 for sale and 37 for renting), Palet I Barba (14 studios to be rented by young people), Sant Ildefons/Sant Leopold (45 apartments for elderly) and many others. In Can Roca II a tree bedroom apartment of 80 m² would be sold for €125,000 and the rents would be around €200. The same place would cost €600 when it would be rented

out privately. The Can Roca II has won an architectural prize because of the solar heating systems that are integrated in the walls of the apartments.



6.1.1 Infrastructure improvement such as open spaces, outdoor spaces, public transport

In Ca n' Anglada, Montserrat, Torre Sana and Vilardel the public space is being improved, by fostering different avenue axes and making the neighbourhood more attractive for new inhabitants. Trees are planted along the large connecting roads. A large community centre has been build, which includes an elderly home and a medical service. An older building is now used for the Ca n' Anglada neighbourhood centre. This centre houses the 'Oficina Tecnica del Pla de Barris' for Ca n' Anglada, Montserrat, Torre-Sana and Vilardel.

A facility that is part of the Pla de Barris, is the multi-sportpark that is build in district II. The current sport facility is just a concrete square with a fence around it, and it is important for children and youngsters to engage in sport. The sport complex will include football and basketball fields, a swimming pool, a tennis court, a gym, and a bar.

6.1.2 Financial support for housing programmes, e.g. tax reduction or grants for e.g. individual house owners, housing associations

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

Also to private owners, there is a possibility to get support for renovation, there are (limited) rent subsidies and house buyer subsidies.

6.2 Neighbourhood-based social policy measures and projects

The Pla de Barris Office employs coordinators and social workers for the neighbourhood. It encompasses social projects, like welcome to new immigrants, information service, a work service, courses and support for elderly. It was founded because of a subsidy of 17 million by

the Catalan government, while the other half of the required funds is added by the municipality of Terrassa.

1. Immigrant reception. New immigrants are - after registration - immediately guided to the project coordinator of the reception service. They can get juridical advice, a welcome session, they are immediately send to Catalan language course of 8 tot 10 lessons, and they get about 20 hours of social training on the services in Terrassa. This training includes: how health care functions, education, work, rules, laws and the constitution, and correct behaviour on for instance the cultural habitat and relations between men and women.
2. Language. Beside this immigrants can go on with an advanced language courses in Catalan. There are also language courses in Spanish and oral (Darija) Arabic for Spaniards. All courses are free and have professional teachers.
3. Work. There are courses for uneducated unemployed in four fields: shop assistant, cleaning, painting, and metal work. This is specifically directed at youngsters between 18-25 years old, who haven't finished any job training. Immigrant families usually have a work permit for the father, but when sons become 18 years old, they need an independent work permit. An employer has to request a work permit for them, and that is difficult to arrange for the sons and daughters of immigrants. The course puts them in a system which gives them the possibility to prepare for a job, and helps them to find work.
4. Information. At least three times a year a public lecture is organised with a known speaker on issues like 'Women and Islam', 'Cities and Immigration', 'the Andalusian immigration', etceteras.
5. Neighbourhood work. Activities for elderly, and children, activities to keep the neighbourhood clean, an exchange of small services like shopping for elderly or picking children from school (el banc del temps). Another initiative, everywhere in Catalonia, is an information leaflet on behaviour in public places: where to put garbage, not making noise in the streets, keeping dogs on a line, dish receivers. Information related to living in an apartment building, like how the association of owners work, but also more simple things like not watering plants when someone passes below, not leaving prams or bikes in corridors, not making noise in the building.
6. Cultural events. Every now and then a 'cuisine du monde' (world kitchen) is organised, where immigrant and Spanish women cook dishes from all over the world. Also the 'danse et musique du monde' (world dance and music) meetings are held in a civic centre. And 'henna workshop', which actually attracted the gypsies in the area. These events are meant to encourage the Spanish to find out about their new neighbours and to meet each other.
7. Participation. Within districts 2, which includes these neighbourhoods there are in total 60 associations of youngsters, elderly, immigrants, culture, etc. The Pla de Barris Office arranges boards of inhabitants that deal with different issues and that are active in the neighbourhood. For instance once in 1½ months a meeting of about 20 citizens is arranged to talk about keeping the neighbourhood clean. There are several different subjects that all involve a group that meets and an executive committee of about 7 or 8 people.

Some discussion on the radio is organised, and also neighbourhood talks about the past, present and future.

8. Cultural diversity management and mediation. Translation service is offered and the possibility to call a mediator in case conflicts occur between inhabitants in certain blocks. The results are good three out of four conflicts are solved, before they escalate from a complaint into a bigger conflict. Most complaints were about rubbish, cleaning, not paying the common fee for maintenance and noise. With the larger number of kids and often 8-10 people in the house, there is a lot of noise. Beds have to be moved to let all these people sleep and the neighbours downstairs cannot sleep. The combination of young Moroccans with many children and a lot of activity on the one hand and elderly Spanish living alone or as couples increases the chance of conflict. About 90% of the complaints come from Ca n' Anglada.
9. House visits. All together 2047 house visits are held, by people who speak Arabic, French, etc. This is a prevention policy, under the label 'Fostering Living Together'. First the president of the owners associations are visited, and then all inhabitants. The information booklet about living in apartment buildings is presented and in case there are social problems, they are referred to offices that can help. These activities are focussed on breaking the cultural walls within the block, at living together in a good way and at mutual respect. An exercise in three sessions on first aid and fire protection is used as a first step to get to know the people and to stimulate them to join in a communal activity, but this is a kind of excuse to get in and to look further at conflicts and prejudices.

6.3 Anti-segregation policy measures

As we have already described Terrassa assigns a percentage of its' new building stocks for cheaper sales and rentals. This is not directly meant as an anti-segregation measure, but indirectly it functions as a way to mix poor and rich.

According to information from researchers in Barcelona, the Catalan Government is much more convinced of the need to do something for immigrants than most inhabitants. The Spanish population is often scared that with the immigrants, social problems will come to their building, and municipals has to operate between the two.

6.4 Measures and projects for specific migrant groups

There are no special housing programmes for the most vulnerable migrant groups on the housing market. All housing measures are targeted at all low-income groups. But a lot of social measures have been initiated as we have described above, like information service, translations service, etceteras.

6.5 Measures supporting access to affordable and decent housing

Measures to support access to affordable and decent housing have been discussed in paragraph 3.4.

6.6 Safety Measures

In the case that more police activities is needed to improve safety, this first shows in the number of policemen/women in the neighbourhoods. Neighbourhood people can claim a higher number of policemen because they feel insecure and the city council attempts to face this problem by increasing the number of policemen. Likewise, the local police gets responsibilities in the sensitive areas, in order to give a coordinated and efficient response to local needs. Police has participated in roundtables with citizens in problematic neighbourhoods to listen to them, expose potential solutions and explain the local policy on the issues concerned.

Beside police there are civic agents, who walk around in the city. Their main task is to observe whether parking rules, rules on letting out animals and rules on dirt in the streets are respected.

6.7 Financial incentives

As we have described already the municipal of Terrassa allocates 10% of the ground and 20% of all project for cheap housing. Project developers are forced not to sell everything in the expensive segment. Beside this, there are rent- and buying subsidies in Catalonia.

6.8 Political round tables, expert committees

As we have described in chapter 2.3, Terrassa has organised a New Migrations RoundTable of immigrants. The New Migrations RoundTable is composed by migrant entities representatives, NGOs, neighbourhoods associations of Terrasa, political groups with democratic representation in the Council and the different Council departments with the collaboration of other entities. All these agents permit to build up an important network to ease the counselling to migrants, to follow up the local policies and to solve the possible socioadministratives barriers that migrants face quicker.

6.9 Monitoring of housing developments for migrants

The main monitoring of the developments of the migrant population is carried out by the municipal Statistics Institute, which publishes Terrassa Statistical Yearbook. Data on housing have also been collected in the housing census in 2001. Many departments gather data, like the department of urbanism; some of it can be found on Terrassa's website <http://www.terrassa.cat> (in Catalan).

A full list of links with bodies that somehow gather information on Terrassa can also be found on the website of the municipality:

<http://www.terrassa.cat/laciutat/xifres/A2005/statlinks.html>

Two very important ones are

- the Diputacio de Barcelona (<http://www.diba.es/>).
- the Spanish national institute for statistics (INE) (<http://www.ine.es>).

As we have described in chapter 2.3, Terrassa has a Permanent Observatory of Interculturality. It was created with the aim to supervise the council's internal actions and to discuss the councils interventions before their submission to the RoundTable.

7 Highlights and Failures: Learning for CLIP

Two characteristics of Terrassa are striking: firstly that international immigration is relatively new (from the last ten years) and secondly that the housing market is dominated by owner occupied houses. Terrassa is very active in initiating activities to support migrant integration, but on the terrain of housing the local authorities have limited power and money. Terrassa allocates 10% of the ground and 20% of all projects for cheap housing, and all project developers are forced to stick to this and sell part of their houses cheaper. The municipal intends to increase its social housing stock as fast as possible, but it will still take time until this goal is reached.

Terrassa has chosen for general measures for the poor segment of the population and not for specific measures for newcomers or vulnerable groups. Because of the large percentage of private ownership the city is not in the position to demolish or renovate large areas at once, since there are always some owners who refuse. Some critics say that Spanish cities develop social policy, but do not implement far going policies for immigrants on the terrains of housing, work and education. Of course it is easier to implement social policies rather fast, than to change the set up of the other three fields in which a lot of established interests have to start moving.

Considering the late start of the immigration, the integration policy in Terrassa has developed fast and the implementing of social measures has been undertaken in a dynamical and energetic way. Measures include preventing problems in apartment buildings by visiting immigrants, giving courses and mediating, and in organising newcomer welcome, language courses and courses for unemployed. The focus on 'weak' areas of the cities is also successful, with the help and money from the Catalan government. The combination of urbanistic, infrastructural and social measures in the Pla de Barris, is one of the pillars of its success. The neighbourhood office has initiated an enormous amount of activities in a relatively short period, and the house visits have led to intervention at the very local level of the blocks. Trying to stop conflict and working against prejudice at the level of an apartment block is something that we haven't seen in other cities and which seems to be a successful approach.

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

The condition that so much of the housing is privately owned is a serious limitation for Terrassa's striking power. On the other hand the neighbourhood policy worked out in the 'Pla de Barris' is very well designed and something that could be successfully implemented in other cities in Europe.

Interviews

- Joan Chicon, Department of European and International Relations Terrassa (city representative)
- Joseph Aran, Political representative on housing (Planificació del Territori)
- José Zaguirre, Political representative on diversity (Participació i Relacions Ciutadanes)
- Àngels Mira, head of the Terrassa Municipal Housing Company/Housing Department (Societat Municipal d' Habitatge de Terrassa)
- Two officials of the Department of Citizenship and Civil Rights (Participació i Relacions Ciutadanes), responsible for the Diversity policy
- Representatives of the neighbourhood office of Pla de Baris
- Representatives of the Women and Children's project in Montserrat
- Head of two volunteer associations of owners in Montserrat
- Representative of the Senegalese association in Terrassa

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Ortega Perez, N. (2003) Spain: forging an immigration policy, Migration Information Source MPI.

Terrassa City Council (2003) Management of Immigration, Diversity and Living together Plan of Terrassa (PGID), Terrassa.

Useful links

Eurofound	http://www.eurofound.eu
IMES	http://www2.fmg.uva.nl/imes
Municipal of Terrassa	http://www.terrassa.cat
Provincial Statistics Barcelona (DIBA)	http://www.diba.cat
Catalan Statistics Institute (Idescat)	http://www.idescat.net/
Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE)	http://www.ine.es/