



COUNTRY CASE STUDY ON THE IMPACTS OF RESTRICTIONS AND ENTITLEMENTS ON THE INTEGRATION OF FAMILY MIGRANTS: QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

Spain

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**COUNTRY CASE STUDY ON THE IMPACTS OF RESTRICTIONS AND
ENTITLEMENTS ON THE INTEGRATION OF FAMILY MIGRANTS: QUALITATIVE
EVIDENCE
SPAIN**

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1 Introduction

In the context of the IMPACIM project, this report aims to offer an impressionistic overview of the situation of family migrants in Spain garnered from qualitative research, in relation to the application of policies and the impact of post-entry conditions on their integration in the receiving society. Attention will focus on what the system of entitlements (as described in Brey and Stanek 2013), means for family migrants' experiences once they are in the country. The results of the qualitative research will be presented, as gained through interviews conducted with stakeholders and civil servants in the cities of Madrid and Parla, and two workshops, organized in the cities of Madrid and Barcelona. A comparative dimension will consider the local policies implemented in the metropolitan areas of Madrid and Barcelona.

In Spain, given the absence of specific restrictions to many central rights for family migrants, the task of the WP4 report is to assess whether the reality is one of uncomplicated access that encourages integration or whether other informal barriers are in place. Indeed, due to the limited restrictions, family migrants are usually not considered a target group of public policies, so very little information is available on their situation after their arrival in the receiving society. Thus, the integration processes of family migrants can be analyzed from the situation of the children of migrants in relation to education, when they arrive in Spain through family reunification. The situation of family migrants who are adults is very similar to that of other groups of migrants who have come to Spain through channels linked to the labour market, for example. As with other groups of migrants, family members might have particular needs, such as learning Spanish, and they also have to find access to the labour market, welfare benefits, the housing and the health system, education and social participation. With regards to the different dimensions of their integration processes, local and regional administrations play a decisive role, together with NGOs and other associations that attend to the needs of migrants.

The report is structured into three main sections. The first section will address the specific or universal orientation of policies towards family migrants. The second will focus on family migrants' access to the labour market, welfare benefits, education,

health, housing and social participation. Finally, the policies related to the post-entry conditions once family migrants arrive in Spain will be analyzed in relation to the pre-entry conditions of the family reunification procedure, in order to gain a general understanding of the Spanish migration regime and its consideration of family migration. In relation to this aspect, the most relevant issue appears to be the tension between formal legislation and policies on one hand and the practices by civil servants, migrants and private actors involved in the process on the other. In addition, due to the specific timeframe during which the fieldwork was conducted, the consequences of the economic crisis on the situation of family migrants will be referred to. First, the methodology for the research will be described, with regards to the selection of the local contexts, the interviews and the workshops.

2 Methodology

A short note is here included on the methodological approach adopted for the qualitative fieldwork. First, some reflections are offered on the definition of the problem and the selection of the local cases. Detailed information will then be provided on the interviews and the workshops in Madrid and in Barcelona.

2.1 Issues, contacts and local cases

At the beginning of the fieldwork, preliminary interviews were conducted with experienced researchers from the Spanish Council for Scientific Research, in order to ask for their advice and for potential contacts in the field of family migration. However, it was difficult to generate relevant data; civil servants suggested that the interview might not generate relevant information, explaining that the department or area in which they are working does not have any information on family migrants. Probably for this same reason, quite a large number of NGOs and migrant associations working at the local level did not respond to the request for an interview. Another reason may be the precarious situation faced by such entities in times of economic crisis.

As will be explained in the following section dedicated to the local and regional institutions, the approach adopted by the City Council of Barcelona is different to the approach adopted by the City Council of Madrid and most cities located in the metropolitan area of the capital. This is the reason why the comparison of integration policies towards family migrants focuses on the variation between the local governments of Madrid and Barcelona, and the regional governments of Madrid and Catalonia. While Barcelona and Catalonia provides examples of more specific policies towards family migrants, Madrid provides examples of more universal policies.

2.2 Interviews

A total of 30 interviews were conducted, distributed in the following way:

- National government: 2 interviews

- Experts: 4 interviews
- Social organizations: 9 interviews
- Municipal services, Madrid: 5 interviews
- Municipal services, Parla: 10 interviews

Detailed information on the interviews and workshops are included in Appendices (1 and 2).

3 Universal versus specific policies on family migrants

The impacts of policies on the situation of family migrants after their arrival in Spain can be mainly observed at local and regional levels, as municipal and regional governments are responsible for administering their access to rights. Different perspectives towards family migrants have developed and vary between local governments in Madrid and Barcelona. Whereas the perspective adopted in Madrid is universal with the focus on family (as a unit), in Barcelona, a specific department was created to attend to needs related to family reunification, before and just after arrival.

In Madrid, the local administration is responsible for the coordination of municipal programmes, whereas NGOs and private entities are responsible for their implementation. Thus the municipal services are dominated by private actors. The municipal service in charge of overseeing migrants recognizes Sub-Saharan migrants and migrants under 18 years old who are staying in Spain by themselves as vulnerable groups, but otherwise family migrants are not considered as a specific target of policies. This is explained by the fact that specific needs were not identified among family migrants, and family reunification is conceived as a part of broader migration policies, which depend on the central government. This may be also explained by the fact that services are delegated to NGOs and private entities. Nevertheless, some specific initiatives have been implemented, especially in relation to the legal orientation of sponsors, welcoming of family migrants and mediation within families.

An initial example of specific policies towards migrants, to which family migrants also have access, is the Social and Intercultural Mediation Service (SEMSI, Servicio de Mediación Social Intercultural). This service was implemented between 1997 and 2009 by the Autonomous University of Madrid with the support of the City Council. For nearly 12 years, the SEMSI was in charge of the orientation of migrants (including legal information), translations, and intercultural mediation, in the city of Madrid. In one way or another, interventions by the mediators were related to family reunification. A report published in 2002, explain two different types of interventions with families (SEMSI 2002: 107-109). The first case is related to an intergenerational conflict between a young Moroccan girl, who had arrived a year before, and her father, so was thus concerned with the integration process of the family. Conversely, the second case

is related to the help provided by the SEMSI to facilitate the reunification of a Colombian young boy with his mother of Colombian citizenship, with the help of his father, of Spanish citizenship, (although the parents were divorced and there was an existing conflict between them). With regards to the first case, the SEMSI was informed of the situation by the school where the young girl received Spanish classes; in the second case, the woman directly asked for orientation, as she knew about the SEMSI from other Colombian citizens living in Madrid.

During the 2000s, small projects involving workshops were also used by the City Council of Madrid to explore the legal orientation of migrants. Among other topics, the aim was to give information to possible sponsors on the reunification process and the documentation they needed to present to the Spanish authorities. These projects have now disappeared, due to budget cuts and political decisions. In the previous decade, special attention has also been paid to migrants' children. For example, transitional classes are specific initiatives to welcome them when they arrive in the country. In this case, the initiatives are implemented directly within the school, at the local level, but they depend on the regional government of Madrid for oversight. Further detail will be provided in the section on education.

In Barcelona, although some services are also delegated to associations, through allocation of a specific budget, a service was created to attend to the needs linked to family reunification, before and after migration takes place. In 2013, thirteen professionals were working together in the *Programme for New Families in Barcelona: Attention to Family Reunification*. Activities are implemented before and after the reunification process takes place. After family members arrive in Barcelona, four types of activities are developed:

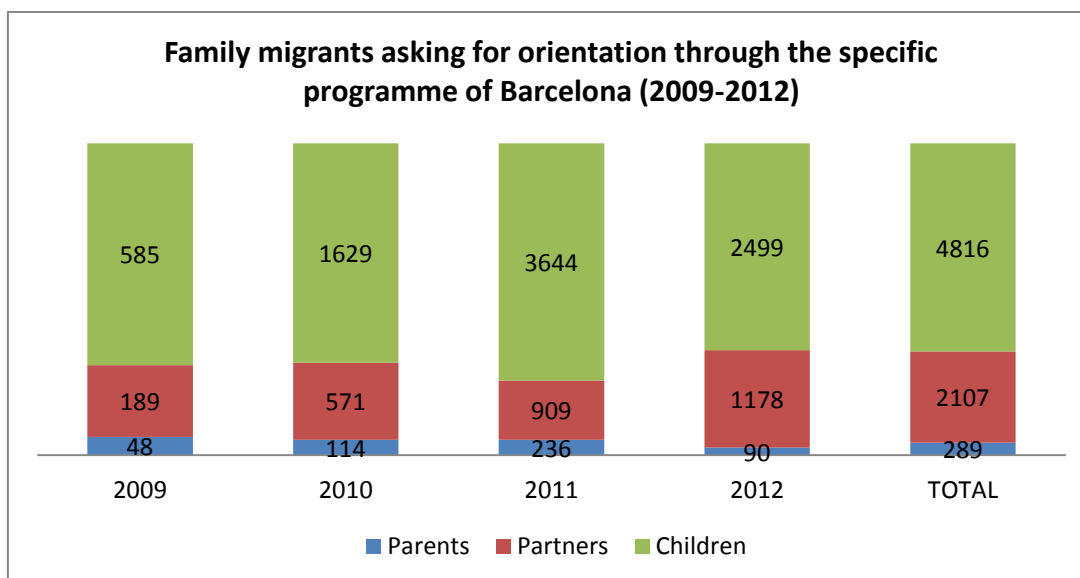
- Orientation, attention to families who have arrived in Spain after a reunification process.
- Providing a meeting point for mothers and fathers, in order to help them to deal with the arrival of their children, especially if they have not seen each other for several years.
- Attention to family migrants who are between 12 and 18 years old (see section on education).

- Workshop for reunified women, so women in the same situation can meet each other, discover the public services available in the city, as a way to alleviate loneliness.

The decision to create this specific service for family migrants was made by the City Council of Barcelona because social services could not attend to all the demands expressed by migrants in relation to family reunification. In times of economic crisis, the City Council has decided to maintain this service considering the long-term potential consequences, especially the positive effects for migrants' integration in the receiving society. Not all families who have presented an application for family reunification need support, but the service provides them with information so they can decide whether or not they wish to participate. Sometimes, migrants are not used to receiving help and support from public administrations, so they might feel they are being controlled when they have access to public services. However, the professionals involved in the service try to give a more positive vision of their role to facilitate contact with migrants (Marina Sánchez, Barcelona workshop). This programme has been implemented for family migrants during the first step of their stay in the country, as they may face specific problems, especially linked to access to education and legal orientation. As soon as possible, family migrants should aim to become full citizens of Barcelona, at which point they will be concerned by general rather than specific policies (Ramón Sanahuja, Barcelona workshop).

After it was created, the programme was recognized as an example of good practice by the European Website for Integration, and it is now being evaluated by researchers at the University of Barcelona. From its creation in 2009, the number of family migrants using the specific programme has increased, mainly in relation to the situation of children. In 2012, the professionals working in the specific programme detected that the needs of the family migrants were mainly related to legal orientation, training, and support in relation to children, especially when they are teenagers (Ayuntamiento de Barcelona 2013c).

Figure 1



During the interviews and the workshops, civil servants from the municipal and regional governments, together with workers from social organizations, expressed that they supported the recognition of family reunification as a right. They also suggested that family reunification has positive consequences for the integration of migrants, both the sponsors and the migrants themselves, as family ties bring different types of resources:

When the family is here, social capital is being supplied. Family members bring support and a good excuse to go ahead. It is an indirect effect of family reunification. (Caritas, Madrid).

Even when specific services do not exist, as in Madrid, social actors defend the need for support when family members are reunited, whether they are partners or parents and children. In relation to this issue, initiatives have been implemented both from NGOs (Red Cross, Madrid) and migrant associations (ACOBEM, Madrid). The main problems concern children who arrive in Spain as teenagers, after a few years living without their parents, and the situation of women who do not have access to the labour market and stay at home without any access to public or private services. As one former government employee explained:

The fact that family members are separated for five years has a very negative impact on the integration processes, so the integration processes become more difficult. (...) A group whose situation is especially worrying as they do not enter into any stable system are women from Pakistan and Morocco. Children follow the educational process, during a complex process for their integration, but they can be identified. We do not know anything about women. (...) It is not a problem for social cohesion, but we do not know in which situation they find themselves. Within spaces of invisibility, vulnerability can be greater. (Gemma Pyniol, former central government).

Due to the budget restrictions, specific programmes have disappeared and the whole system that oversees social attention to migrants is threatened. In Spain, before the beginning of the economic crisis, the central government ran a dedicated Fund for the Integration of Immigrants, whose aims were to improve the social inclusion of migrants, through universal and specific programmes (such as language courses and legal orientation, for example, to which family migrants had access), and to fight against xenophobia and racism. The budget was first distributed to the regional administrations, and then a second distribution was made from the regional to the local governments, depending on the number of non-Spanish nationals registered in the municipal registers. In 2013, the budget dedicated to this Fund was completely cancelled. In times of economic recession, this decision from the central government had some impact on the initiatives implemented by regional and local administrations. Regional and local administrations had on occasion previously decided to limit attention paid specifically to migrants. In Madrid, for example, the Social Intercultural Mediation Service (SEMSI) and the workshops for the legal orientation of migrants on family reunification were cancelled from 2009-2010. Meanwhile, universal services, in relation to professional orientation, welfare policies, public education and public health, have also been affected by budget cuts and while not targeted at migrants, nor specifically family migrants, they are among those affected.

4 The impact of entitlements and restrictions

Apart from the specific programmes addressing family migrants' needs following arrival, family migrants have access to broadly the same rights as other citizens living in Madrid and Barcelona, insofar as they have a resident permit and they are included in the municipal register. Sometimes, access to certain rights also depends on having been included on the register for a certain number of years, but this depends on the local context and the dimension of the policies. Once family migrants have arrived in Spain, the possibility of following their integration process in the country is extremely limited, as no statistics are available with regards to the situations of family migrants. In this section, the impact of entitlements and restrictions will be analyzed from the perspective of policy makers, civil servants and stakeholders, in relation to the labour market, welfare benefits, health, housing, education and political participation.

In general terms, we found that family migrants are perceived as a privileged group, especially if compared to irregular/undocumented migrants, as they obtain a resident permit as soon as they arrive in Spain. According to the former secretary in charge of migration issues in the previous central government, family migrants have access to the same rights as other migrants, receiving a regular resident permit in order to facilitate their integration into the country. Some of our participants reflected:

Family reunification is a privileged way for migration as family migrants benefit from a regular situation, which gives them access to training, health and employment. It is a very decisive step. It is easier for integration. (ACOB, Madrid).

Difficulties are more linked to the legal and the emotional dimensions of family reunification than to the access to rights (RED CROSS, Madrid)

Nevertheless, problems may occur if family migrants lose their resident's permit, in case they or the sponsor does not have access to the labour market through a regular job contract during the minimum period of time required to renew their resident's permit. Also, if the sponsor cannot evidence a minimum level of income through employment and welfare benefits to keep an independent resident's permit, family migrants may fall into irregularity. This situation seems especially to have affected

migrant families in 2012, since in 2013 they were informed of this risk, so they could better protect themselves (ACOB, Madrid). Several stakeholders have pointed out the crucial role played by informal networks in bringing relevant information to migrants, who sometimes trust these networks more than NGOs and public administrations. In Spain, family migrants might also fall into irregularity when they arrive to the country through other channels than family reunification, for example, when they enter on a tourist visa and overstay. In many cases, migrants have arrived for family reasons, but they are not officially recognized as family migrants (Madrid workshop).

On the other hand, when family migrants are affected by discrimination or when informal practices restrict their access to formal rights they are entitled to, their possibilities to protest are quite limited. On the one hand, a formal claim can be presented to one of the Forum for the Social Integration of Migrants, as the organisms in charge of migration issues, in the local, regional and central governments (see section on the labour market, in relation to the situation of Romanian migrants). On the other hand, a legal claim can be presented to the courts. In this case, restrictions would only be banned and the law could be reformed only if the Supreme Court would make the same decision on the same type of cases at least three times. Nevertheless, this situation is difficult and it would take many years to happen (at least 5 to 6 years for each case), according to the coordinator of the service in charge of legal orientation, in the City Council of Madrid. This service could be recognized as a good practice, as the City Council of Madrid collaborates with the Bar Association of Madrid, for the legal orientation of migrants, including information on family reunification procedures and discriminatory situations (see Brey 2013). Another channel to protest against restrictions for the access to rights would be through the annual report of the Ombudsman. In 2013, a claim was included with regards to the informal practices in consulates in relation to the pre-entry conditions for family reunification (Red Cross, Madrid), but no claims have been included in relation to post-entry conditions.

4.1 Labour market

Since 2009, family migrants have had the right to work without any special requirement. This change is explained in different ways by stakeholders. According to the legal expert working in the association ACOBE, in Madrid, it is conceived as a way to facilitate access to the labour market and to increase the income of the family, so they do not depend only on the sponsor. If the family maintains a minimum level of income through the regular labour market, they can guarantee the renewal of their resident's permit. Then they can have access to professional training courses or to other social rights in terms of health, housing and welfare benefits. In Spain, regular access to the labour market is the basic means of guaranteeing formal access to rights. A second explanation was pointed out by the former secretary in charge of migration issues in the previous central government. When facilitating access to the labour market for family migrants, the aim was to fight against gender violence, especially to help women to become independent, through having their own source of income and a resident permit of their own. This was a special demand from the former Ministry for Equality, with which women- and migrant associations agreed, as they had detected cases of domestic violence among family migrants. This trend has also been observed by participants at *Caritas*, the main NGO linked to the Catholic Church. According to the coordinator of the area in charge of migration issues in this NGO, the possibility to have a direct access to a regular job contract for family migrants was also agreed so they could pay contributions to the social security system. This explanation is reinforced by the fact that the Spanish migration regime is mainly linked to the economic and labour market needs of the nation:

There is a practical economic question here. They come with children so we should let them work. Also, this question should be analysed from the perspective of the economic contributions (of migrants) to the social security system. The migration policies cannot be explained outside of the labour market. You exist if you can work. From the beginning of the crisis, plans for the return of migrants have been adopted, so persons are being used in a mercantilist way. (Caritas, Madrid)

Nevertheless, since the beginning of the recession the level of unemployment has been higher among migrants than among the Spanish population. In order to limit the impact

of unemployment, social actors have assumed new functions to support the population, including migrants. In Madrid, the director and one of the social workers of ACOBE (Association for the Collaboration Bolivia-Spain) explained that, before the economic recession, the association received calls from businesses looking for workers with different qualifications, whereas from 2010-2011, social workers are looking for job offers, in order to help the migrants who are unemployed. As a participant explained:

In general terms, there are no opportunities for work, the situation is bad. Before, there was less unemployment, and now, nobody has a regular job, or regular incomes. (CEAR, Madrid).

The lack of a regular job contract can have a double impact, through both reducing household income and meaning that migrants are unable to renew their resident permit when they cannot evidence the minimum income through regular access to the labour market. Within migrant families, if this new irregularity affects the sponsor, dependent family migrants will also lose their resident permit. In the case of minors, this should not have a decisive impact on their access to rights, as they can still have access to health and education with the same conditions as applying to other children. In the case of adults, however, family members may more easily fall into irregularity and the situation may be hard to resolve, especially for dependent women who have never had access to the Spanish labour market, and who are sometimes left by themselves while their husband is working in another region or abroad. The lack of income makes it also difficult for any sponsor to present an application for the reunification of family migrants who are still living in the sending country.

In Spain, access to the labour market through a regular job contract is the key issue. For those who do not have this guarantee, even though they can have access to basic income through welfare benefits or through the informal labour market, they are running the risk of losing their resident permit and falling into irregularity. It is difficult to say whether this situation is threatening family migrants more than other groups, but, family migrants who have not secured their own income are certainly in a more precarious situation than other migrants, as they depend on the situation of their sponsor.

Romanians and their family migrants (of whom some may be TCN) have been placed in a precarious situation from July 2011. In this moment, the Spanish government decided that they would not have a direct access to a resident and work permit anymore, except for those who had a regular job contract, or who had registered themselves in a job centre in order to receive unemployment benefits (subject to entitlement) or to prove that they are actively looking for a job. According to the FEDROM (Federation of Romanian Association in Spain), this decision has introduced some confusion both among migrants and civil servants, the latter of whom evaluate their applications for a resident permit. On the one hand, civil servants do not always understand who is affected by the restriction and who is not. In this context, they usually deny the right for a work permit to every Romanian migrant, even though the person may have a right to this document. On the other hand, migrants do not always understand which rights they have access to. In some cases, this is why they do not claim for their rights, while in other cases, they might pay for legal orientation, but the information they receive from private lawyers or legal advisors, is often expensive and they do not always get to resolve the situation by having a regular access to the labour market.

According to the FEDROM, as a direct consequence of these restrictions introduced in July 2011, some Romanian migrants have fallen into irregularity. In order to fight against this decision, which is considered as discriminatory towards Romanian migrants, the FEDROM has presented a claim to the Forum for the Social Integration of Migrants, which exists within the central government and within the local government of Madrid. In both cases, the Forum is an institution in which migrant associations and other social entities have the possibility to discuss with representatives from public administrations relevant questions related to the situation of migrants. Nevertheless, both claims have failed and Romanian migrants who are staying in Spain will have to wait until the 1st of January 2014 to have access to a regular resident and work permit, facing the same conditions as other EU migrants, as decided by the European Union.

4.2 Welfare benefits

From the beginning of the crisis, social organizations and municipal services working with migrants have noted that a new profile of users is seeking welfare benefits. Before the economic crisis, the public and private services had to attend to newly arrived migrants, mostly single adults, living by themselves, but nowadays social organizations and municipal services have to attend the needs of families who have been living in Spain for several years. In most cases they are in a precarious situation, as they do not have any income and they may have been expelled from the house they had bought if they are unable to pay their mortgage. For this reason, some NGOs, such as Caritas, for example, have decided to give priority to universal programmes to help families facing social exclusion, so migrant families have access to the same services as non-migrant families.

What is the profile of families? There are families who did not come anymore, they are coming back. During the crisis, the situation of migrants is that they come back to the initial situation of vulnerability. From Caritas, they receive an answer after 20 days, where they receive an answer after 3 months from the municipal services, in relation to housing, economic benefits, benefits for food. (...) Social services are overcrowded. (CARITAS, Madrid).

In CEAR, the Spanish Association for the Attention to Refugees, there used to be a small budget to bring help to reunified families to pay their rent or school material, for example. Recently, due to the economic restrictions, this small budget has been used for collective activities, so workshops are organized once a month or every two weeks, to explain how to proceed to reunify family migrants, how to have access to the educational system and how to gain access to the welfare system.

As mentioned above, budget cuts concern not only public administrations, but they also have important impacts on the initiatives led by NGOs and migrant associations. In Spain, many welfare services are delegated to social and private entities. What is sometimes defined as a parallel network or system for attention to the needs of the population (*red paralela de atención*), receives a budget from the public administrations through periodical calls, instead of regular contracts. This means that the continuity of the projects depends on the budget allocated by each call, although the commitment of

the professionals involved in NGOs and migrant associations is very high. Such welfare recalibration is taking place for both economic and ideological reasons. And this situation has an important impact on some sectors of the population, especially the ones in a more precarious situation, so inequalities have increased among the resident population.

When the situation of families becomes too difficult, social organizations may offer to assist them so they can return to their home country. This may affect family migrants although it is impossible to ascertain the extent of this as no data are available, and family migrants are considered in the same situation as other migrant groups. In Spain, four different types of return can be distinguished. On one hand, the return of migrants can be either forced or voluntary. If the latter, when migrants make the decision to return to their sending country, they can receive three types of support. First, they can receive support from the humanitarian plan for return, established before the beginning of the economic crisis, for migrants who find themselves in a precarious situation. Second, if they have lost their regular job, migrants can decide to receive part of their unemployment benefit in Spain and the other part in their sending country, with no possibility of coming back to Spain for a three year period. This new plan was implemented from the very beginning of the economic crisis, in 2008. The final option is that migrants can benefit from co-development initiatives, in which they receive the support of NGOs and migrant associations to travel back to their country of origin and start a business.

The value of these measures varies from the perspective of one social actor to another. For example, CARITAS decided not to participate in the voluntary plans for return in which migrants undertake not to come back to Spain for a three year period. According to the coordinator of the migration area, the message associated with this type of initiative is that migrants are not welcome in Spain anymore. On the contrary, ACOBE participates in the voluntary return plan based on co-development, in collaboration with another association in Bolivia. According to the director of the association, this type of initiative would allow both migrants and the sending country to benefit from social remittances.

Nonetheless, not all migrants have the will or the ability to return to their home countries. For those who have established themselves in Spain, through access to a

mortgage or through family reunification, the decision to leave is harder than for migrants who are staying by themselves and who are only renting a house. For these migrants, the negative effects of the crisis can be alleviated by the support that migrants may receive from NGOs and from their families. Indeed, several experts have pointed out that family reunification plays a decisive role in the welfare of migrants, for example through the social and psychological resources family members bring to each other. Some families staying in Spain are receiving financial support from relatives in the sending country. However, migrant families sometimes have to make new strategies, such as the de-unification of family members, which means a new separation process because part of the family stays in Spain while another will embark upon a new migration process. For those who have obtained Spanish citizenship, the decision is easier to make, as they will have the possibility of returning to Spain when the living and working conditions improve.

4.3 Housing

Even though family migrants have a resident permit, they have to wait several years before they can apply to social housing; up to ten years in Madrid, for example. In the city of Parla, social housing depending on the regional government has been distributed mainly to migrant families from Morocco, since these families were in the most precarious situation. Most families try to find a solution through the private housing market, as the social housing market is very limited in Spain. Refugees and their families receive a small payment from the government in order to rent a house.

If family migrants lose their resident permit or if they no longer have an income, in some cases, depending on the city where they live, they may have access to specific housing programmes. In Madrid, there are two specific programmes for migrant families, overseen by the Red Cross and ACCEM, with funding from the municipal government of Madrid. Although no specific evidence exists that family migrants use these programmes, they can have access if they should need it. The coordinators of both programmes have noted that families in need are not only the ones who have just arrived in Spain, but also the ones who have been in Spain for several years and who

are now facing a difficult situation, due to a lack of income. Other programmes for migrant and non-migrant families are run by NGOs, such as *Caritas* or *Pueblos Unidos*. .

4.4 Health

For family migrants, access to the health system depends on the sponsor, as long as the dependent migrant does not obtain independent income from a regular work contract (CEAR, Madrid). As noted earlier, if the sponsor falls into irregularity, and family migrants do not benefit from an independent resident permit, all family members may likewise fall into irregularity. From September 2011, following new restrictions to access health services, irregular migrants only have access to emergency services. Only those irregular migrants who are minors or pregnant women have access to the full health service.

This restriction has created a lot of confusion among migrants and medical professionals. Sometimes migrants are not aware of their exact rights in relation to the health system. If they do not have a resident permit, they may be afraid to call upon the emergency services, as they fear being controlled by the police and arrested because of their irregular administrative situation. In other cases, even if they have a resident permit, sometimes they do not use medical services as they do not want to be away from their job and risk losing their work. Concurrently, health professionals are not always properly informed about migrants' rights to access services and the differing rules depending on their individual situation (if they have or do not have a resident permit, if they are minors or pregnant women).

4.5 Education

In the case of family migrants who are adults, no restrictions to education exist as long as they have a resident permit. In this case, they have access to professional training courses or to university. In the case of professional training, the problem is that the demand has significantly increased in times of economic crisis, as training is considered as a strategy to learn new capacities; the municipal and regional services cannot meet

such demand, as happens in Parla, for example. Again, no data are available on the situation of family migrants in relation to those issues.

With regards to compulsory education (until children are sixteen years old), one issue for family migrants is that children sometimes arrive in Spain in the middle of the academic year. In Madrid and Barcelona, two different programmes have been implemented in order to cater for the specific needs of family migrants who are children. In Barcelona, a measure called *In summer, Barcelona welcomes you* was created in 2009, within the programme aimed at family migrants. During summer, young people between 12 and 18 years old can learn Catalan and discover the public and private resources available in the neighbourhood and the city. During the whole academic year, a meeting point is also available for them, so they can meet other young people who have also just arrived in Spain. In the region of Madrid, specific transitional classes were implemented from 2003 until 2010; children who arrived as family migrants had to attend special courses in order to adapt their knowledge to the Spanish educational systems.

Most transitional classes have been implemented in public educational centres of the region of Madrid, where children with a migrant background are concentrated. According to researchers interested in the topic, the curriculum of professors does not always correspond well to the needs of children, in terms of learning Spanish as a foreign language, for example or may diverge more broadly from the needs of students, who have different backgrounds (Madrid and Barcelona workshops). For example, while some of them do not speak Spanish, others have more special needs in terms of educational skills. Several researchers have found that addressing diversity in this way establishes barriers and inequalities of treatment among children. As a consequence, children experience disadvantage since they do not attend the regular educational system from the very beginning.

4.6 Civic and political participation

In the cases of Madrid and Parla, there is no specific associations for family migrants, as they have access to other social organizations with no restriction, and they do not

express particular needs in comparison with other groups of migrants. The situation is different with regards to political participation.

Apart from EU citizens, political participation at the local level is only possible for migrants from Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Equator, Paraguay, Peru, Cape Verde, Iceland, Norway and New Zealand, who have been in Spain for at least five years and who have registered themselves in the electoral census. This means that family migrants cannot participate into the political life of their receiving country during the five first years of their stay, or if they come from a country whose government has not signed a reciprocal agreement with Spain on voting at the local level. Even when they have been in Spain for more than five years, they may find it difficult to register in the electoral census. To do so, they first need to receive an official invitation letter to register on the census. This letter should arrive at the address indicated in the municipal register. Sometimes, migrants and their families move from one house to another without indicating the change in the municipal register, but if they do not receive the invitation letter, they will not be able to register themselves for voting. According to the data available, only a reduced number of migrants voted during the last municipal elections (Madrid workshop).

Political participation in the national elections is only possible for migrants who have obtained Spanish citizenship. This is easier for family migrants who come from Latin America, Andorra, Portugal, Equatorial Guinea and the Philippines, or who have a Sephardic family background. In these cases, they will only have to wait two years in the country and they can obtain the dual citizenship, whereas other migrants, including EU citizens, have to wait ten years and they cannot keep the citizenship of their home country.

5 Conclusions

In Spain, family migrants have access to the same rights as other migrants, as long as they have a resident permit. Nevertheless, their access to formal rights might be more difficult in some cases. Within migrant families, teenagers, together with women who do not work, are placed in the most vulnerable situation. They do not always have complete information on their rights and they sometimes arrive in Spain after they have been separated from their sponsor for several years, so family ties have changed and they need to adapt to the new situation. On the other hand, some migrants are not used to receive help and support from public administrations, so they might feel reluctant to access public services. Finally, civil servants are not always informed and aware of the access to rights for different migrant groups, so they might make the decision to restrict some rights when in law they are open to family migrant. When informal practices restrict their access to the formal rights they are entitled to, the possibilities for migrants and family migrants to protest are quite limited. Nevertheless, claims can be presented to one of the Forums for the Social Integration of Migrants, the Courts or the Ombudsman.

From 2007-2008, family migrants have suffered the consequences of the economic crisis in a variety of ways. Budget cuts and a lack of income may place migrants and their families in a precarious situation. In some cases, this may bring them back to irregularity, while in others they may risk being evicted from their house if they have run up credit. Instead of family reunification, *family de-unification* is adopted by some families as a strategy to find new incomes or to limit the costs of the family living together in Spain, so some family members may stay in Spain while others will search for new opportunities in another country. Notwithstanding these issues, initiatives by NGOs and migrant associations may be limiting the negative effects of the crisis. In addition to this support, experts assume that families and informal networks can bring important resources to migrants, such as social capital and psychological support that will alleviate the difficulties they face. Although some public services have disappeared, public administrations usually express their will to maintain either the universal or specific attention to (family) migrants. Good practices include the specific programme for family migrants created in 2009 by the City Council of Barcelona, together with the

collaboration of the City Council of Madrid with the Bar Association of Madrid, for the legal orientation of migrants, including information on family reunification procedures and discriminatory situations.

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7 Appendices

7.1 Appendix 1: Information on the interviews conducted:

1	Former national government	Area in charge of migration issues		
2	Former national government	Area in charge of migration issues		
3	Expert	CSIC (Spanish Centre for Scientific Research)		Tenured scientist
4	Expert	CSIC		Tenured scientist
5	Expert	CSIC		Researcher, Ramón y Cajal Programme
6	Expert	ELCANO (Think Tank)		Coordinator of the research programme on migration
7	Madrid	ACOBE	Migrant association	President
8	Madrid	ACOBE	Migrant association	Social worker
9	Madrid	ACOBE	Migrant association	Legal expert
10	Madrid	Red Acoge	NGO	President
11	Madrid	Red Acoge	NGO	Legal expert
12	Parla	Department for intercultural living together	Municipal service	Coordinator
13	Madrid	Department in charge of migration	Municipal service	Coordinator
14	Madrid	Department in charge of migration	Municipal service	Social worker
15	Madrid	Red Cross	NGO	Coordinator of

				programmes towards family migrants
16	Madrid	CEAR	Attention to Refugees	Social worker
17	Madrid	FEDROM	Migrant association	President
18	Madrid	CARITAS	NGO	Coordinator of programmes towards migrants
19	Madrid	Information service for migrants	Municipal service	Coordinator
20	Madrid	Information service for migrants	Municipal service	Social worker
21	Madrid	Legal orientation service	Municipal service	Coordinator
22	Parla	Social services	Municipal service	Coordinator
23	Parla	Health	Municipal service	Coordinator
24	Parla	Education	Municipal service	Coordinator of programmes towards migrants
25	Parla	Education	Municipal service	Social worker
26	Parla	Youth	Municipal service	Coordinator
27	Parla	Youth	Municipal service	Social worker
28	Parla	Social participation	Municipal service	Social worker
29	Parla	Employment	Municipal service	Coordinator for programmes of self-employment
30	Parla	Urbanism	Municipal service	Municipal worker

7.2 Appendix 2: Workshop attendance:

7.2.1 Workshop attendance in Madrid

1	Municipal government of Madrid	Department in charge of migration	Coordinator
2	Municipal government of Madrid	Department in charge of migration	Social worker
3	Regional government of Madrid	Service in charge of migration	Coordinator of European Projects
4	Expert	CSIC	Researcher
5	Expert	Universidad Autónoma de Madrid	Professor
6	Migrant association	ACOBE	Social worker
7	NGO	RED ACOGE	Director
8	Former national government	Area in charge of migration issues	
9	NGO	Red Cross	Coordinator of programmes towards family migrants
10	Former national government	Area in charge of migration issues	
11	Expert	CIDOB	Think tank, Coordinator of the research programme on migration
12	Expert	Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia	Professor
13	Migrant association	FEDROM	Director
14	Institutional organization	FEMP (Spanish Federation for Municipalities and Provinces)	Coordinator of the service in charge of migration

7.2.2 Workshop in Barcelona

1	Expert	CIDOB	Think tank, Coordinator of the research programme on migration
2	Expert	Universidad de Barcelona	Responsible for the evaluation of the municipal service towards family migrants
3	Expert	Universidad de Barcelona	Professor
4	Municipal government of Barcelona	Immigration Department	General Director for Immigration
5	Municipal government of Barcelona	Municipal service towards family migrants	Social Worker
6	Municipal government of Barcelona	Municipal service towards family migrants	Social Worker
7	Regional government of Catalonia	Regional service for Institutional Relations and Participation	Director
8	Regional government of Catalonia	Regional service for Migration and Labour Relations	Director