ITHACA - INTEGRATION, TRANSNATIONAL MOBILITY AND HUMAN, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CAPITAL TRANSFERS

Country Report - SPAIN

ITHACA Research Report N. 3/2015

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Elcano Royal Institute

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EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE, FLORENCE

ROBERT SCHUMAN CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

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SPAIN

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The ITHACA Research Project

ITHACA - Integration, Transnational Mobility and Human, Social and Economic Capital

ITHACA studies the links between migrants' integration and their transnational engagement. Migrants engage in transnational mobility for an array of economic reasons as well as emotional or political ties with their country of origin. They develop transnational business, trade, investments, or social and cultural programmes and circulate between their two countries. ITHACA explores the interconnections between the integration process and transnational mobility of migrants and aims to answer three key questions: To what extent, and in what ways, do integration conditions in the country of destination encourage transnational mobility? What are the conditions in the country of origin that may encourage transnational mobility? What type of transfers take place through the transnational mobility of migrants? ITHACA focuses on economic integration and mobility conditions as factors that encourage or prevent transnational mobility.

The ITHACA project is hosted at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies and co-ordinated by Prof. Anna Triandafyllidou (anna.triandafyllidou@eui.eu). The project is funded by DG Home of the European Commission.

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Abstract

ITHACA engages in the comparative study of several migration systems with the EU as the destination. This Country Report analyses the results of the survey on transnationally mobile migrants and returnees (69 interviews) in the case of Spain, with the countries of origin being India, the Ukraine, Morocco and the Philippines. It contains the basic characteristics of the sample, outlining a series of markers of integration, transnational engagement and transnational mobility to understand what type of mobility is more likely to be experienced, under what conditions and for what purposes by both migrants residing in Spain and returnees in their country of origin.

Keywords:

Transnational mobility, integration, migration, transfers, Spain, Morocco, the Philippines, Ukraine, India.

Frequently used abbreviations

IND	India	UKR	Ukraine
MOR	Morocco	EU15	European Union 15 Member States
PHI	the Philippines	NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation

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1. Introduction

In an increasingly interconnected world the migratory experience has lost much of its old character of a complete break with the society, economy and culture of the country of origin. Technical progress and economic competition between transport companies have made journeys between countries of origin and destination accessible to many migrants, and they have even become relatively frequent in the case of countries in close proximity to each other. New media, such as mobile phones and the Internet, allow migrants to maintain a continuous and cheap touch with family and friends left behind, while Internet or cable television enable the migrant to remain immersed in their home culture and informed daily of the political, economic and social life there. The difference with the nature of the migratory experiences when the first scholars began to deal with this phenomenon in the late nineteenth century (Ravenstein, 1885) cannot be greater. But it is also enormous when compared with that of migrants who arrived in Europe, or migrated inside Europe, in the first great wave of modern times, during the fifties and the sixties of the twentieth century. Those immigrants had no affordable technical means to maintain daily contact with their country of origin, with two outcomes of interest to our project: cultural integration into the host society was faster than it is today and the impact of migration on the country of origin, leaving aside the demographic effect, was smaller. Currently the process of interconnection has accelerated with the extension of Internet and mobile telephony to all continents, and has given rise to transnationalism, which was first limited to neighbouring countries such as the US and Mexico (Portes *et al.*, 1999) but has then spread to the entire world. Although physical distance still plays an important role due to its effect on transport costs (in terms of time, effort and money), transnational mobility is already occurring between distant continents.

The existing literature has identified numerous benefits of transnational migrant activity, both for the migrants themselves and for the countries of origin and destination (Khadria, 1999; Levitt, 2001; Eckstein & Najam, 2013). As for the migrant, the main benefit of transnational activity is emotional: maintaining ties with his/hers country of origin, culture, family and friends. For the home country, the transnational activity of its migrants generates an economic benefit in the form of remittances, investments, transfers of knowhow, expanding networks, increased trade and, taking all these effects together, a counterbalance to the brain drain (Faist, 2008). Accompanying this flow, transnationalism also gives rise to a transfer of values, customs and attitudes (Kelly & Lusis, 2006), which can be modernising but that are not always welcome, especially when they affect the perceptions of political life or of the effectiveness of the administration. For the destination country, its immigrants' transnationalism opens up new avenues of economic relations with their countries of origin and generally strengthens the influence and interdependence of countries of origin and destination. Overall, transnationalism reinforces the impact of

migration on the development of the countries of origin and promoting it underlies the rationale of the EU's mobility partnerships.

In this context, the Ithaca project addresses two main objectives: to describe the characteristics of the transnational mobility of immigrants on European soil analysing its nature, the kind of transfers it incorporates and the brakes and incentives which frame it, and to check its links with integration in the host countries: how does the level and type of integration of migrants affect their ability or will to establish transnational activities? The typology of Itzigsohn & Giorguli-Saucedo (2005) which analyses the link differentiating between reactive, linear and resource-dependent kinds of transnationalism has been applied and tested in our survey. The question about how transnational mobility influences integration in the host country has been addressed too, measuring how it affects the immigrants' feelings of identity. To answer these questions the project has adopted a list of indicators of integration that is based on the Declaration of Zaragoza of 2010 to differentiate and measure the areas of legal, economic and cultural integration. Regarding transnationalism, the project looks specifically into transnational mobility, considering it the most intense form of transnationalism, and it pays special attention to the kind of transnationalism that is motivated by economic reasons (investment, trade, labour). However, transnationalism aimed at political, social or cultural activities has also been taken into account.

Spain, the country that received the highest per capita immigration of Europe in the period 1998-2008 has been included in the project not only on account that particular reason: its proximity to Morocco, one of the largest senders of migration to Spain and several other EU countries, and an indispensable partner for the EU in its policy of managing migratory flows, makes Spain an important field of analysis. Spain also has a significant presence of three of the other national groups examined in the project –Ukrainians, Indians and Filipinos–, who have very different socioeconomic and integration profiles (the Bosnian community in the country is too small and has not been included in the study). On the other hand, Spain, with an unemployment rate of 24% in 2014 and of up to 35% among immigrants, also offers the opportunity to engage in fieldwork to research the impact of economic crisis on transnationalism.

The report is organised into five chapters. In the second one we present an overview of the four immigrant groups analysed in Spain to describe broadly the history of their presence in the country, their size, their demographic characteristics, their legal status and their employment and cultural integration. The chapter also presents the overall frame of immigration in the country, with references to the policies of access to citizenship, as they mark a clear difference between the Filipino community and the rest of the groups.

The third chapter describes the methodology used during the research, detailing the difficulties encountered in carrying out the fieldwork and how they have been overcome to obtain a sample of 60 interviews with transnational immigrants and 15 to stakeholders. Since we lack a database on transnational immigrants to allow the extraction of a representative sample, the treatment given to the information collected is more qualitative than quantitative.

The fourth chapter constitutes the core of the study, as it presents the analysis of the results of the interviews. The interviews conducted in Morocco and the Philippines to migrants who returned there from Spain but still maintain transnational activities are added to those collected in Spain. In this chapter we analyse the main features of mobile transnational migrants (who are they? what differentiates them from other immigrants?), the kind of activities that motivate their mobility, their feelings of belonging and identification with their countries of origin and destination, the relationship between integration and transnational mobility and the elements that hinder or encourage such mobility. The fifth chapter summarises the main results.

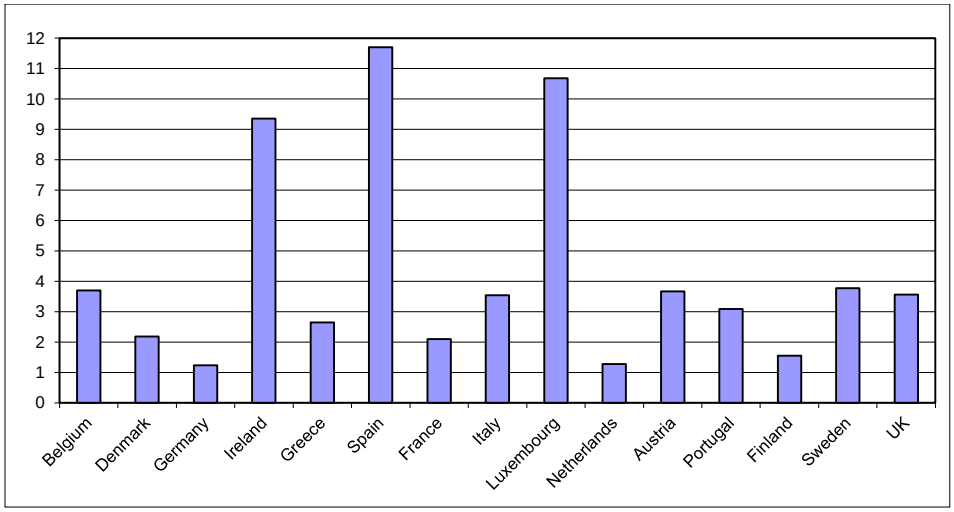
2. Background information about Spanish migration history and ITHACA corridors

The recent history of immigration in Spain

Spain began to receive immigrants in substantial numbers after it entered the EU in 1986 and its economic growth started to accelerate after its accession. During the decade following the year 2000, Spain became the main destination for new immigrants to Europe. Overall, Spain received 50% of all migration settled in any country of the EU-15 in the period 2000-09 (Eurostat) and it was also the EU-15 country with a highest rate of net migration up to the beginning of the economic crisis.

Immigrants mainly came from Latin American countries, Morocco and EU Member States such as Romania, the UK, France and Germany. Latin Americans make up the bulk of immigrants, while Moroccans are the biggest single national group. In turn, Ukrainians, Indians and Filipinos are small but growing communities.

Figure 1: Net migration average per 1,000 inhabitants between 1998 and 2009 in the EU-15



Source: Eurostat.

During the economic boom of the decade following the year 2000 TCN immigrants filled the 'occupational gap' left by Spaniards, working in jobs which were often unskilled, mainly in the sectors of construction, domestic service, retail trade, catering, personal services and agriculture, where they occupied the lowest positions. Very few were able to move up the occupational ladder and most have only moved up the first rungs (Garrido & Miyar, 2008).

Due to the peculiarities of their integration in the labour market, the economic crisis has affected natives and immigrants in different ways, causing a much higher unemployment rate among the latter. According to the most recent data the unemployment rate for foreigners is 34%, compared with 22% for Spanish citizens.[1] However, despite the crisis, the immigrant population continued to grow until the end of 2011 and only began to decline in 2012. Since then the foreign-born population has decreased by 605,000, a 9% drop, but the rate of decline has slowed down, having been cut by half during 2014.

All in all, third-country migrants in Spain enjoy a high degree of legal integration: 78% have long-term residence permits, a status that allows them a limited degree of transnational mobility, much higher than that of migrants with temporary residence permits.

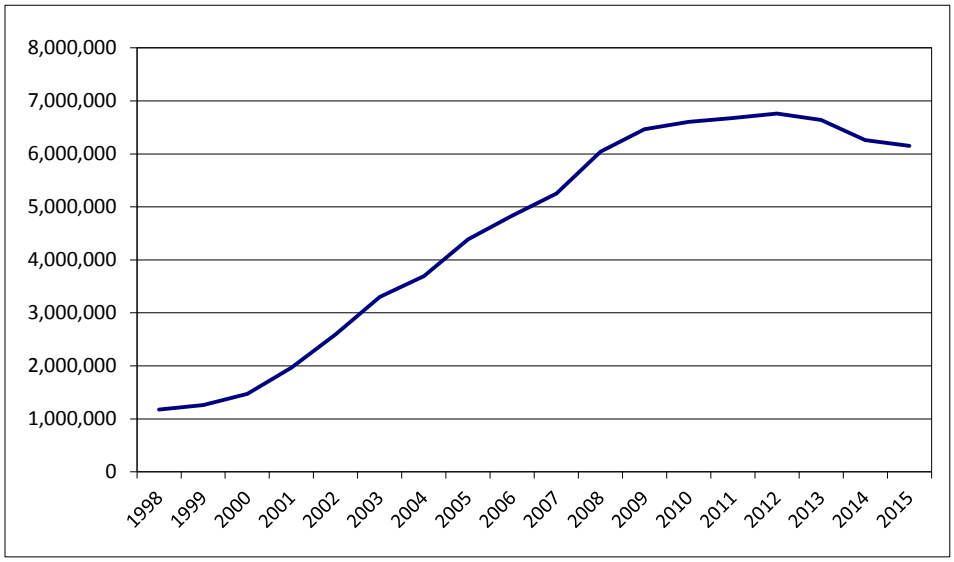
[1] Active Population Poll, INE, first quarter, 2015.

Table 1: Immigrants (defined as foreign-born persons) in January 2015

	Total	**%**
1. **Morocco**	774,295	12.6
2. Romania	678,126	11.0
3. Ecuador	422,087	6.9
4. Colombia	356,223	5.8
5. UK	286,006	4.6
6. Argentina	252,613	4.1
7. France	204,876	3.3
8. Peru	188,267	3.1
9. Germany	186,530	3.0
10. China	177,150	2.9
11. Bolivia	171,073	2.8
12. Venezuela	165,721	2.7
13. Dominican Republic	161,136	2.6
14. Bulgaria	132,998	2.2
15. Cuba	131,116	2.1
16. Brazil	114,607	1.9
17. Portugal	106,871	1.7
18. Italy	104,062	1.7
19. **Ukraine**	88,143	1.4
20. Russia	82,295	1.3
21. Paraguay	78,493	1.3
22. Pakistan	78,290	1.3
23. Uruguay	75,306	1.2
24. Algeria	63,308	1.0
25. Senegal	61,649	1.0
26. Switzerland	60,961	1.0
27. Poland	58,467	0.9
28. Chile	56,529	0.9
29. Mexico	49,121	0.8
30. Netherlands	46,401	0.8
31. **Philippines**	43,553	0.7
32. US	43,002	0.7
33. Belgium	42,414	0.7
34. **India**	40,541	0.7
35. Nigeria	36,103	0.6
36. Equatorial Guinea	21,270	0.3
Other European countries	200,084	3.3
Other African countries	131,510	2.1
Other American countries	107,726	1.8
Other Asian countries	68,618	1.1
Oceania	7,142	0.1
TOTAL	**6,154,683**	**100.0**

Source: INE, *Padrón*, 1/I/2015.

Figure 2: Number of immigrants in Spain, 1998-2015



Source: INE, *Padrón*, 1/I/2015.

ITHACA Corridors

Morocco [2]

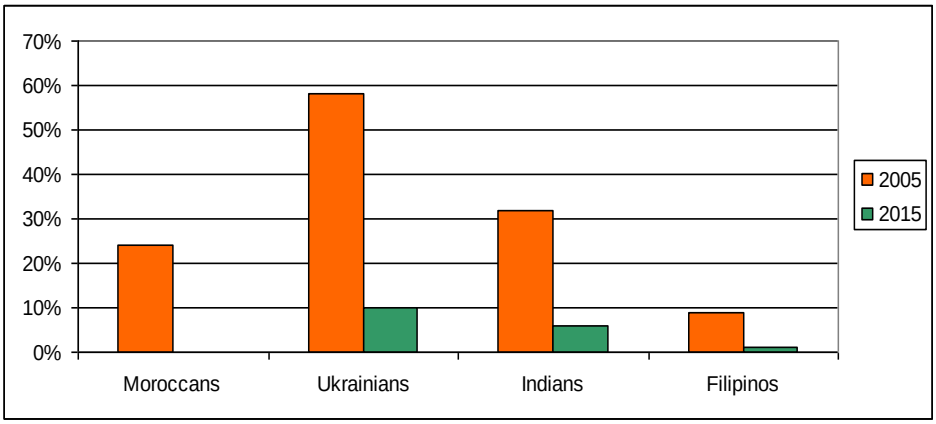
The Moroccan community is the oldest of the economically-motivated migratory populations settled in Spain. Until 1991, entry into Spanish territory was open to Moroccan nationals, but since then visa restrictions have been imposed as a result of the realisation that significant numbers of Moroccan workers were entering the country. Irregular migration then became the norm because of the high demand for workers in the agricultural sector (that Spaniards were increasingly abandoning), the lack of surveillance on Spain's maritime borders, the absence of legal immigration channels and the virtual absence of police control or labour inspections. Nevertheless, regularisation processes in 2000-01 and 2005 legalised their situation and currently the percentage of irregularity among Moroccan immigrants is the lowest among all national groups.

Moroccan immigration has doubled since the first reliable data was collected in January 2002, while its pace of growth slowed down in the first years of the crisis until 2012, since when a very slight decrease has been recorded. However, it is likely that the actual figure is lower than recorded in the Register.

[2] This section includes information provided by the ITHACA country expert for Morocco, Professor Mehdi Lalou, who undertook research in Morocco for returnee transnationally-mobile migrants between 2014 and 2015.

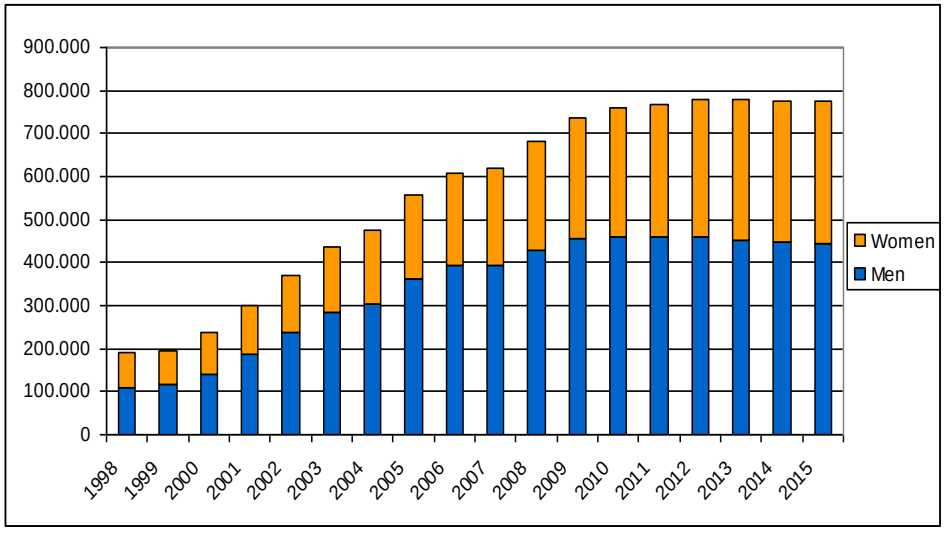
Evidence gathered in Morocco by local experts in the Ithaca project show that many immigrants have left Spain to live in Morocco, where the cost of living is much lower, or in other EU countries, while maintaining their registration in Spain in order to maintain their rights of residence and their entitlement to unemployment subsidies. Other authors also suggest that an unstatistically-recorded mobility is taking place between Morocco and Spain (IOE Collective, 2012). In fact, the number of valid residence permits for Moroccans (785,180 in 2014) is greater than the number of persons born in Morocco and living in Spain (772,580 in 2014).

Figure 3: Illegal residence rate, 2005-15.



(1) The percentages show the difference between migrants with residence permits and migrants registered in the *Padrón Municipal.* Data for 2015 are provisional.
Source: INE, *Padrón Municipal*, Permanent Immigration Observatory, Foreigners resident in Spain and analysis by the authors.

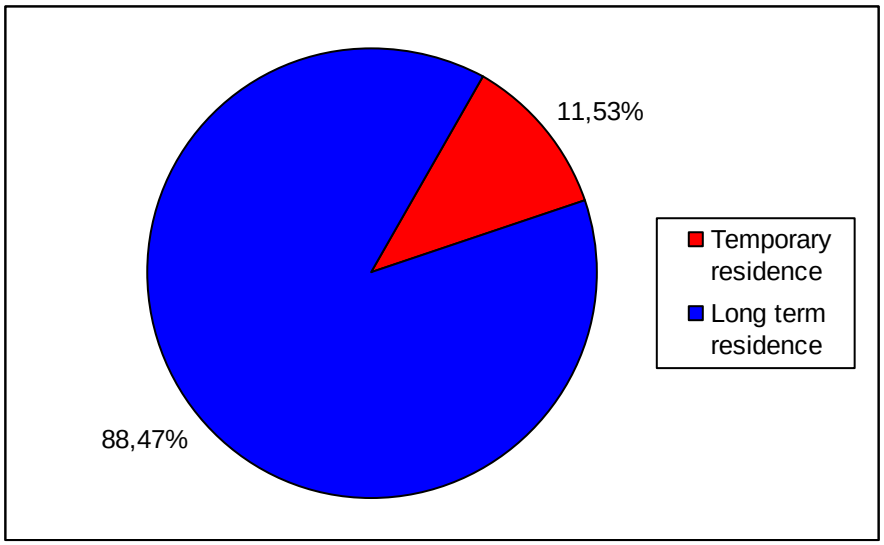
Figure 4: People born in Morocco living in Spain, 1998-2015.



Data for 2015 are provisional. Source: INE, Padrón Municipal.

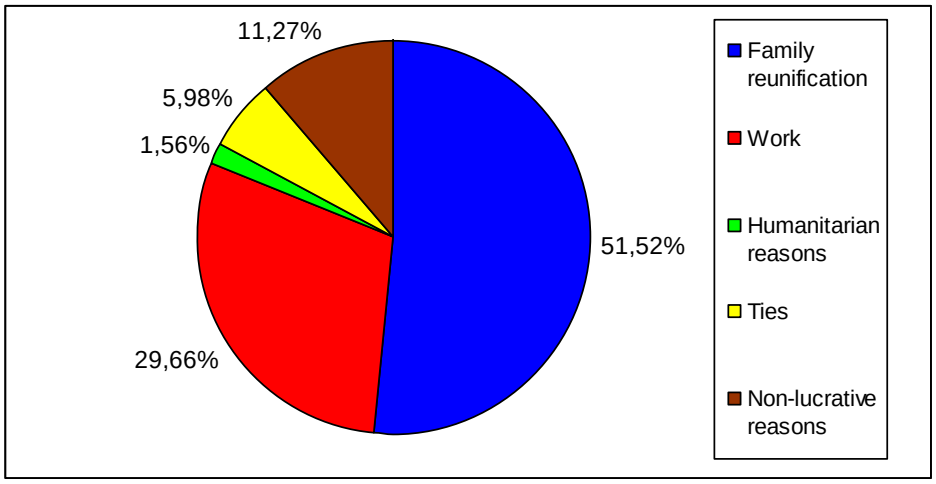
Most Moroccans have long-term residence permits (88%) and this status enables them to stay for long periods of time outside the country.

Figure 5: Type of residence of Moroccans in Spain (2015).



Source: Permanent Immigration Observatory, Foreigners resident in Spain.

Figure 6: Distribution of temporary residence permits issued to Moroccans by causes, 2015.



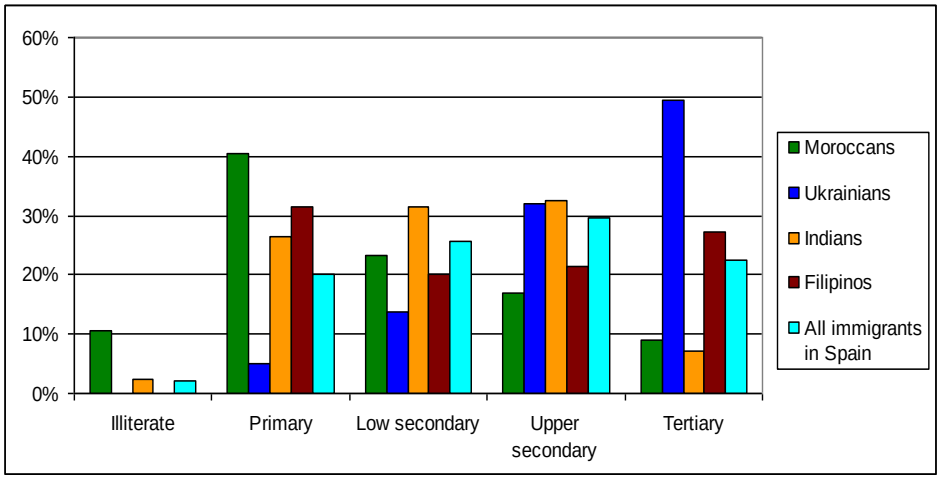
Source: Permanent Immigration Observatory, Foreigners resident in Spain.

Access to Spanish citizenship by Moroccan immigrants is low: only 22% of those born in Morocco have acquired Spanish nationality (see Figure 19), compared with an average 33% for non-EU nationals and 46% for Latin Americans (INE, January 2015). Spanish legislation requires 10 years' residence before

applying for naturalisation (Latin Americans, who form the largest part of third-country migrants are exempt, hence producing a *de facto* discrimination against Moroccans). Moreover, judges have full discretion to decide the extent to which an immigrant is 'integrated', a requisite to access nationality, has often harmed Moroccans, especially when it comes to persons with a low fluency in Spanish and in general a low level of formal education, a combination that is frequent among many Moroccan women in Spain.

Compared to other immigrant groups and the Spanish population in general, Moroccan immigrants in Spain are young (53% are aged between 25 and 45), male (58%) and married (64%). The latter two factors indicate a migration model in which men emigrate first and bring their wives several years later. Moroccan households in Spain are larger (on average four individuals) than Moroccan households in other European countries, and their birth rate is relatively high, at 2.75 children per woman. Their educational level is low compared with that of other national groups or with Moroccans in other European countries, with a high illiteracy rate (20%), especially among women. Those without any formal education comprise 21% and only 10% have a university degree (Cebolla & Requena, 2009).

Figure 7: Educational level of the population aged 16 or above, 2013.



Source: Active Population Poll, Microdata, analysis by the authors, INE, last quarter of 2013.

During the years of intense Spanish economic growth (1996-2007), Moroccan men found employment mainly in the construction sector, followed by agriculture and services, which is the reason for their concentration on the Mediterranean coast. The participation of Moroccans in agriculture trebled that of the other groups and multiplied that of Spaniards by 30. Employment in high-skilled professional occupations was merely anecdotal. Meanwhile, only a third of Moroccan women were employed.

Against this background, the effect of the economic crisis was devastating for the entire immigrant population but especially for Moroccans due to their concentration in the construction sector. The Active Population Poll data show an unemployment rate among Moroccans of 54%, a percentage that more than doubles the rate among Spaniards and exceeds by 20 points the average for Spain's foreign population (see Figure 9).

Table 2: Main labour sectors employing Moroccans, 2013 (%)

Commerce	22.2
Primary sector	16.5
Domestic service and cleaning	12.9
Hostelry	12.2
Industry	9.4
Construction	8.2

Source: Active Population Poll, Microdata, analysis by the authors, INE, last quarter of 2013.

Ukraine [3]

Ukrainian migration to Spain started in the 1940s, during the Second World War, but in the following half century very few Ukrainians arrived in Spain. In fact, in 1998 only 584 Ukrainians were registered in Spain compared with 90,000 in 2015.

The collapse of the Soviet Union, the independence of the Ukraine and the subsequent economic and political unrest during the 90s and throughout the new century caused a substantial outflow of migration of which only a small number arrived in Spain, mainly attracted by its lax migratory policy.

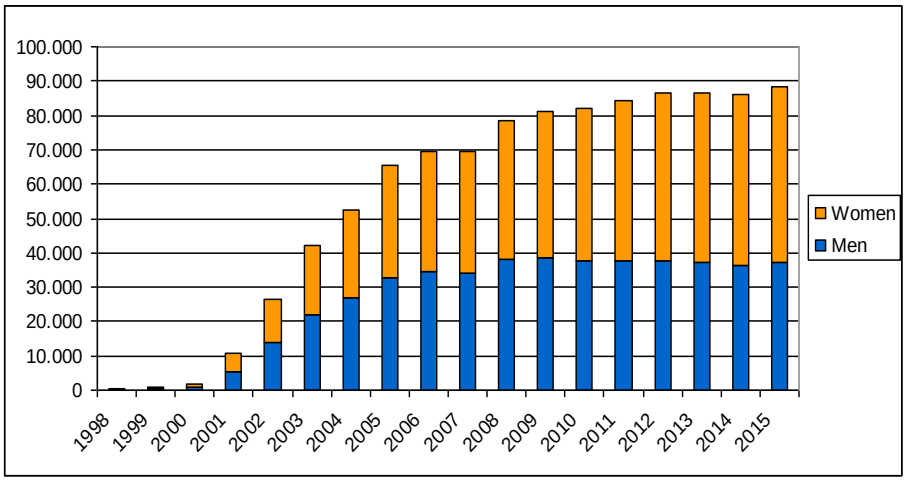
Men exceeded women during the first half of the past decade, but the proportion reversed in the second half. Women arrived partly through family reunification and partly independently and finally the crisis 'turned out' the men who were working in the construction sector and that lost their jobs and had no family.

Around two-thirds of Ukrainian migrants in Spain come from the western regions of Lviv, Ternopil, Ivano-Frankivsk and Chernivtsi, as well as from Kyev (Hosnedlová & Stanek, 2010). During the years of Spanish economic growth, Ukrainians were very much integrated in the Spanish labour market, not only men but also (and unlike other migratory groups) women, with activity rates of 96,4% (men) and 80,9% (women) in 2007, just before the first effects of the crisis began to be felt in the labour market. In that year

[3] This section includes information provided by the ITHACA country expert for the Ukraine, Dr Svitlana Odynets, who undertook research in the Ukraine for returnee transnationally-mobile migrants between 2014 and 2015.

the community's unemployment rate was 9.6%, only 1.3 points higher than for Spaniards. Men worked in construction and women in domestic services (in 2007 the respective rates were 61.6% and 55.4%), followed by agriculture, industry and hostelry. Their labour profile shows a general over-qualification, since most Ukrainians in Spain arrived with a university degree (see Table 3).

Figure 8: People born in the Ukraine living in Spain, 1998-2015



Source: INE, Padrón Municipal, data for 2015 are provisional.

The economic crisis had a serious impact on Ukrainian workers, especially due to the collapse of the construction sector, but it did not affect the total numbers of stayers. Domestic services and the cleaning sector resisted the crisis, and the qualifications of the Ukrainians allowed them to diversify their labour positions. Hence, the Ukrainian unemployment rate remained at 32.5% in 2013, three points lower than the average for foreigners.

Table 3: Main labour sectors employing Ukrainians, 2013 (%)

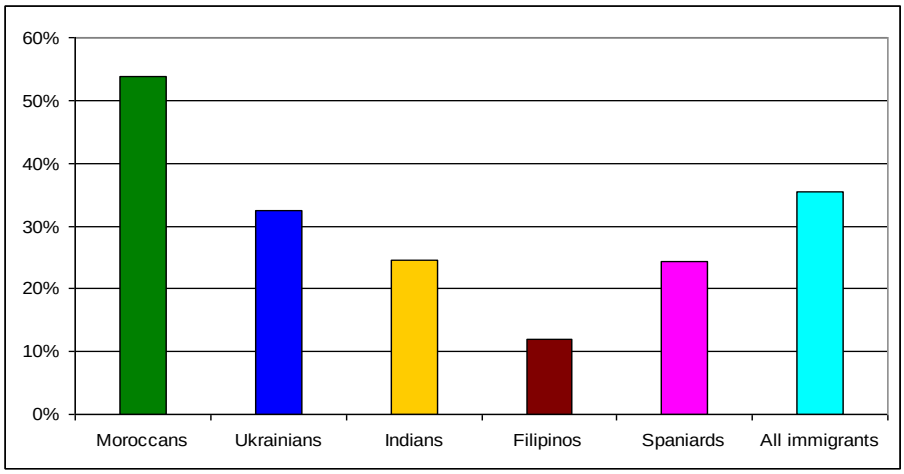
Domestic service and cleaning	39.5
Construction	11.1
Hostelry	11.1
Commerce	9.9
Industry	4.9

Source: Active Population Poll, Microdata, analysis by the authors, INE, last quarter of 2013.

The regularisation of 2005 significantly reduced the number of irregular stayers (see Figure 3) and in the following years most Ukrainians obtained long-term permits, while the inflow of new migrants was reduced from 2011. It is worth noting that the percentage of non-lucrative residence permits among

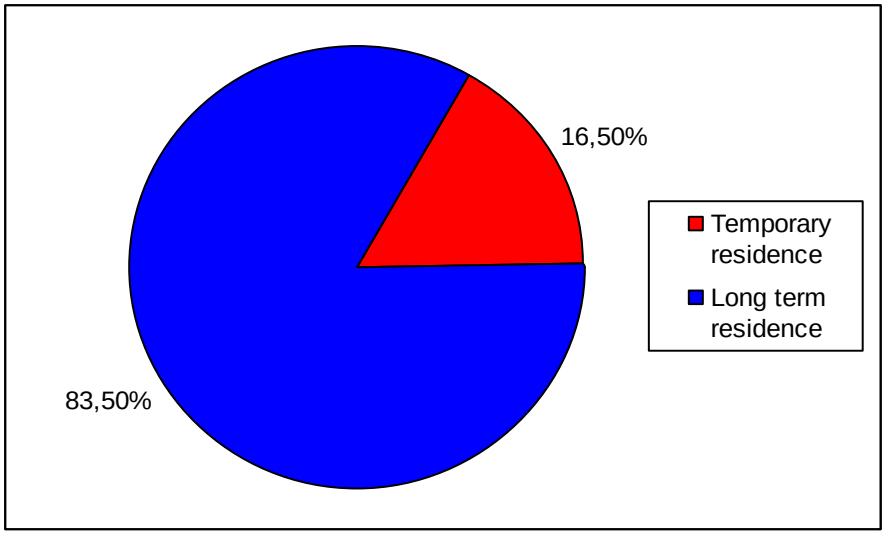
Ukrainians (ie, permits granted to people who can prove they have sufficient to not need to work) stands at 21%%, which is more than double that of the other ITHACA nationals.

Figure 9: Unemployment rate, 2013



Source: Active Population Poll, Microdata, analysis by the authors, last quarter of 2013.

Figure 10: Type of residence of Ukrainians in Spain, 2015



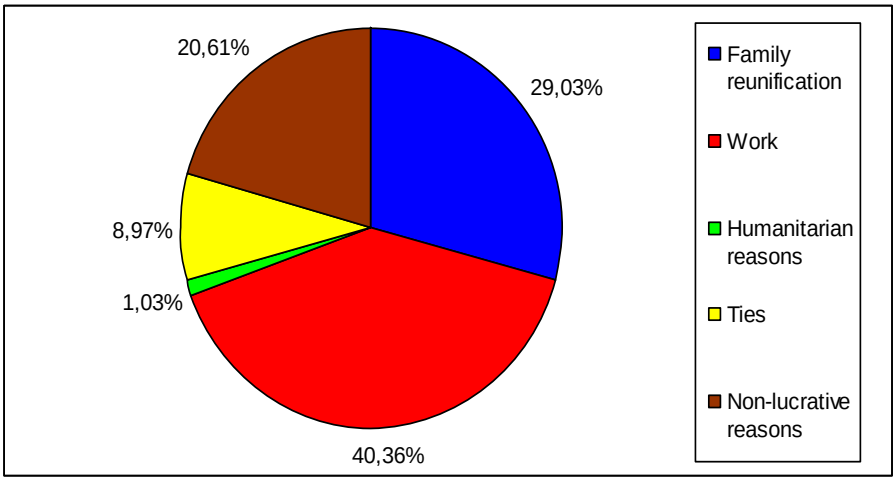
Source: Permanent Immigration Observatory, Foreigners resident in Spain.

Only 96 Ukrainians took part in the different modalities of the Voluntary Return Plan between 2009 and 2014.[4] Their stay in the country despite the crisis is partly due to the lack of prospects in the Ukraine (war, corruption, instability) and partly to the dense associative networks providing help. These associations are

[4] http://extranjeros.empleo.gob.es/es/Retorno_voluntario/index.html, accessed 31/VIII/2015.

active against the secession of the eastern part of the country and the presence of Russian military forces there. Churches also carry out activities related to the social, cultural and even economic life of the Ukrainian community in Spain.

Figure 11: Distribution of temporary residence permits issued to Ukrainians according to the cause, 2015



Source: Permanent Immigration Observatory, Foreigners resident in Spain.

India [5]

Indians comprised the only Asian community in Spain until the arrival of the Filipinos in the 1960s, though currently, with 40,000 individuals, they have now been exceeded in number by the Chinese, Pakistanis and Filipinos. It must be underlined that there are two very different Indian groups according to their social-economic profile and history in Spain: Sindhis and Punjabis.

The origin of the Indian community in Spain goes back to the end of 19th century, when around 100 Sindhi traders arrived in the Canary Islands. They chose the latter due to its free ports, special tax regime, strategic geographical location on major trade routes and proximity to other places with Indian traders such as Casablanca, Tangier, Tetuan and Gibraltar. The community increased in two waves, the first between 1900 and 1920 and the second between 1955 and 1975. Following Indian independence family reunifications began, and part of the community moved to the free ports of Ceuta and Melilla (López & Esteban, 2010).

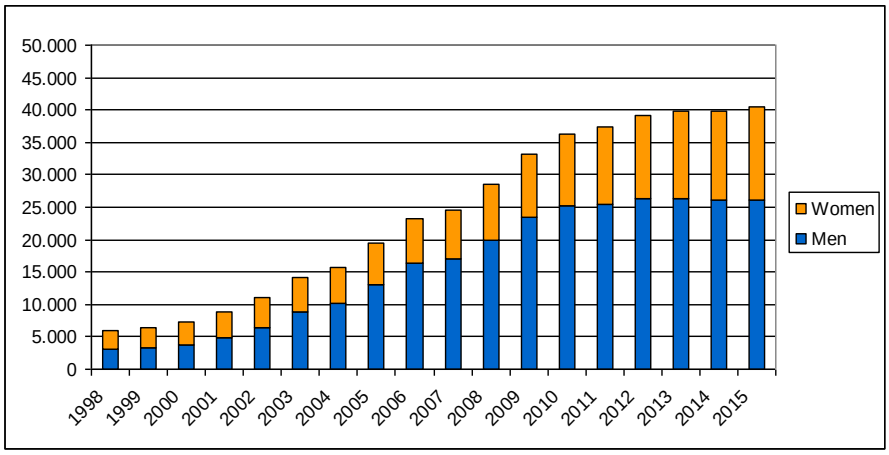
[5] This section includes information provided by the ITHACA country expert for India, Dr Geetika Bapna, who undertook research in India for returnee transnationally-mobile migrants between 2014 and 2015.

In the following decades Sindhi migrants increased and diversified their commercial businesses, and with Spain's entry in the EU they moved to other Spanish regions (especially Madrid, Barcelona and Málaga). In the meantime they expanded their business sectors from retail to wholesale, becoming distributors for electronic firms and suppliers of shopping centres. In the past 20 years, although Sindhis still have a commercial profile, second and third generations have widened their labour prospects have moved towards information technology, health, education, banking and others.

Punjabis, in turn, began to arrive in Spain at the end of the 1980s. They left their homeland when the enormous industrial growth around New Delhi reached Punjab, their agricultural land was converted and farmers were pushed aside. They worked in Spain in agriculture and construction, settling in the Mediterranean area, with a very different profile to the Sindhis: farmers versus traders.

The flow of Punjabis to Spain accelerated after the 1990s, almost exclusively men. For this reason, the percentage of Indian women decreased sharply between 1998 and 2009 (from 47.6% to 29.2%). However, family reunification in the last five years has slightly balanced out the situation. As shown in Figure 10, permits for family reunification amount to more than half of the total.

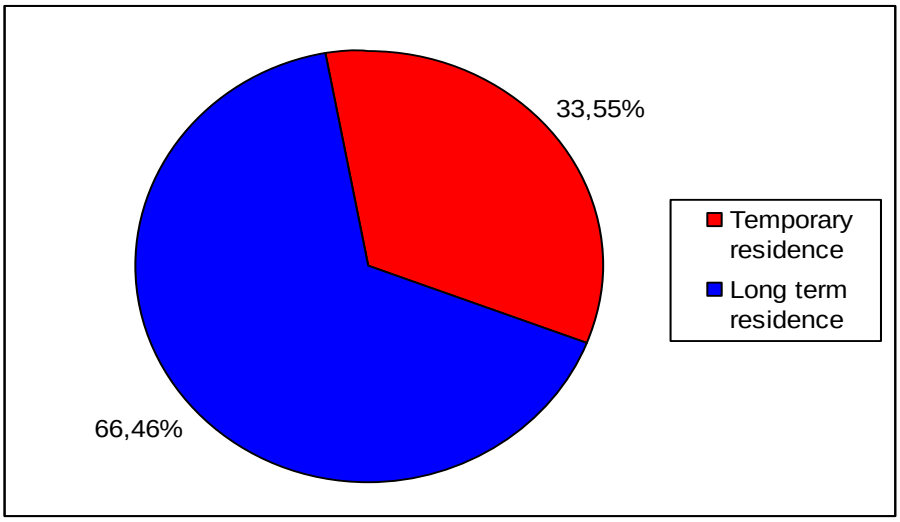
Figure 12: People born in India living in Spain, 1998-2015



Source: INE, Padrón Municipal, data for 2015 are provisional.

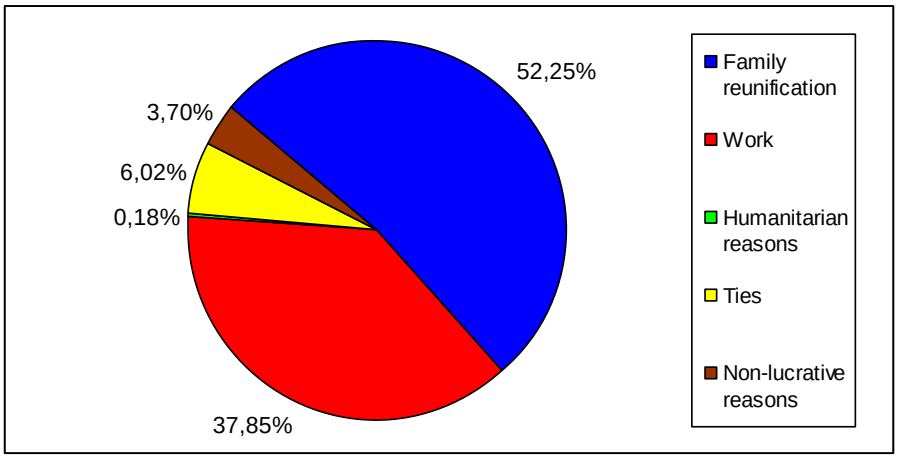
Although statistical sources do not allow differentiating between the two groups, interviews with stakeholders and migrants coincide in pointing out that Punjabis are the cause of the formerly high percentage of Indians irregularly staying in Spain. In 2005 irregularity was at 32%, though it fell gradually to 6% by 2015 (see Figure 3).

Figure 13: Type of residence of Indians in Spain, 2015



Source: Permanent Immigration Observatory, foreigners resident in Spain.

Figure 14: Distribution of temporary residence permits issued to Indians according to the cause, 2015



Source: Permanent Immigration Observatory, foreigners resident in Spain.

The crisis has affected Sindhis and Punjabis in different ways. For the former, focused on trade, the consequences have been limited, whereas the latter have suffered more, especially those employed in the construction sector. Eleven percent of Indians worked in that sector in 2011 and the percentage sank to 2% in 2014. Nevertheless, many Punjabis have been able to adapt and opened small food stores, fruit shops and telephone centres (López, 2013), keeping the Indian unemployment rate at 25% (see Figure 9). In 2013 around half of Spain's Indian workers were employed in the commercial sector and 27% were self-

employed, a percentage much higher than the immigrant average of 15%. The low labour integration of Indian women is common among both Sindhis and Punjabis.

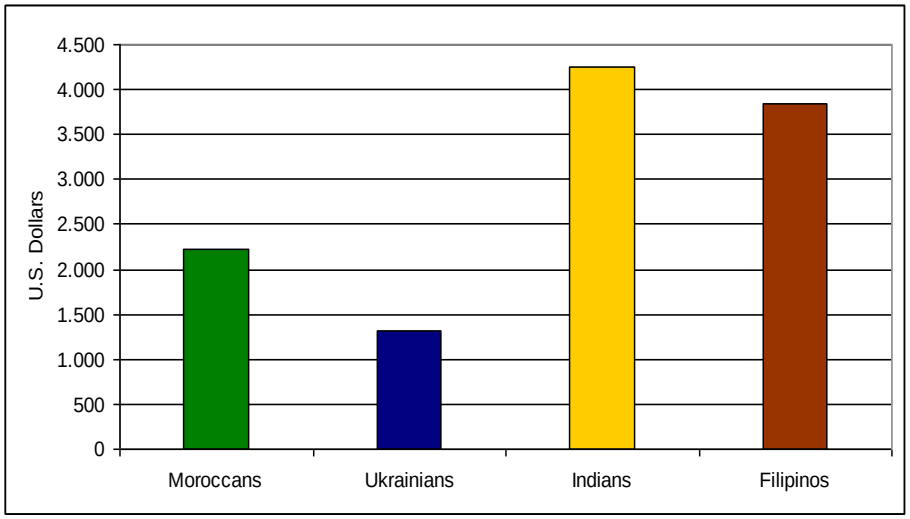
Table 4: Main labour sectors employing Indians, 2013

Commerce	48.8%
Hostelry	19.5%
Industry	12.2%
Domestic service and cleaning	9.8%

Source: Active Population Poll, Microdata, analysis by the authors, last quarter of 2013.

Three pieces of data confirm the limited impact of the crisis on Indian immigrants. The first is that their number continued increasing (but more slowly) after 2008 due to family reunification. The second is the practical inexistence of Indians using the Voluntary Return Plan (only 11 persons in the period 2009-14). The third is the generous volume of remittances to India, which in 2014 reached US$4,255 per capita.

Figure 15: Remittances per capita in US dollars, 2014



(1) Remittances per capita within each migrant group.

Source: Bilateral Remittance Estimates for 2014, World Bank, and INE, *Padrón Municipal*, and analysis by the authors.

Regarding their integration in Spanish society, there are similarities and differences between Sindhis and Punjabis. Both groups are well thought of among Spaniards despite the fact that they have few social contacts outside their communities (López, 2013). The main difference is the higher economic, commercial and political integration of the Sindhis. The associative movements of the Sindhis are

formally established and revolve around Hindustani clubs, while Punjabi associations are informal and revolve around Sikh temples.

The Philippines [6]

Although the Philippines were a Spanish colony from 1565 until 1898, during the colonial period Filipino migration to Spain was practically non-existent. Economic migration began in the 1960s, essentially of women who came to work as domestic help, usually accompanying their Spanish bosses.

Filipino domestic help was very much appreciated among upper-class families and Filipino female workers valued their labour conditions and a Catholic environment. Until 1985 (the date of the first Law on Foreigners) migrating to Spain was very easy and those already established helped relatives and friends to come. The second wave of Filipinos arrived during the 1980s and replaced the previous one, who mainly moved to the US and Canada (Beltrán, 2003). Filipinos living in Spain come from different islands but Luzón stands out (Castañeda, 2007).

Over the past few years the Filipinos' preference for Spain has been based on the ease of obtaining residence permits, family reunification and Spanish citizenship. Filipinos are exempted from the rule requiring 10 years of legal residence before applying for naturalisation; in their case, two years are enough.[7]

Filipino migration has consistently been predominantly female, which explains the very high activity rate of women. Usually women come first and Filipino male migrants arrived in Spain later exploiting family reunification. In 1998 the percentage of Filipino women was 66%, and since then it has never been below 60%.

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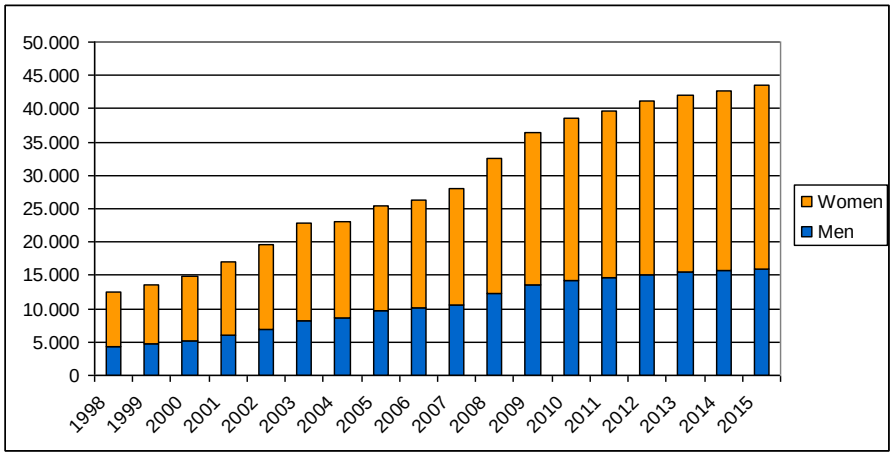
[6] This section includes information provided by the ITHACA country expert for the Philippines, Dr Jean Encinas Franco, who undertook research in the Philippines for returnee transnationally-mobile migrants between 2014 and 2015.

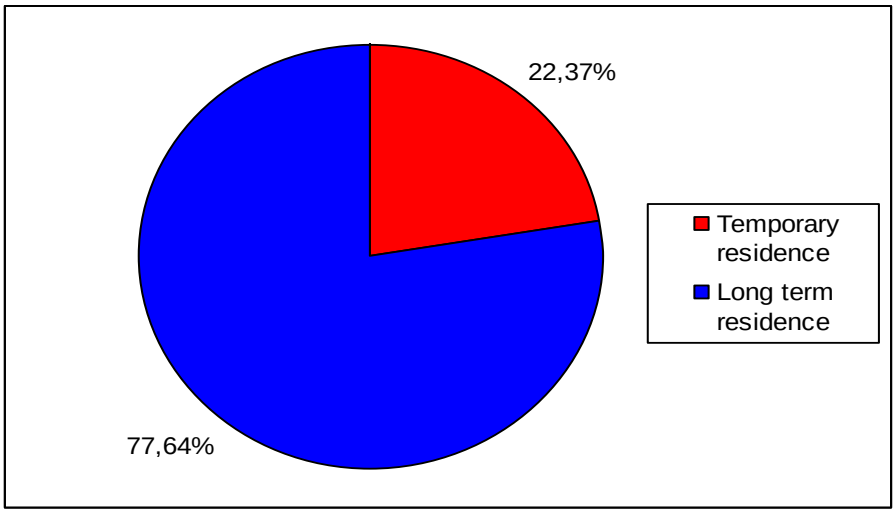
[7] The Spanish Civil Code requires 10 years of legal stay before applying for naturalisation, but Filipinos, Latin Americans, Portuguese and Andorran nationals and Sephardic Jews are required to have only two years. See González Enríquez (2014), *The price of Spanish and European citizenship*, www.realinstitutoelcano.org.

Figure 16: People born in the Philippines living in Spain, 1998-2015



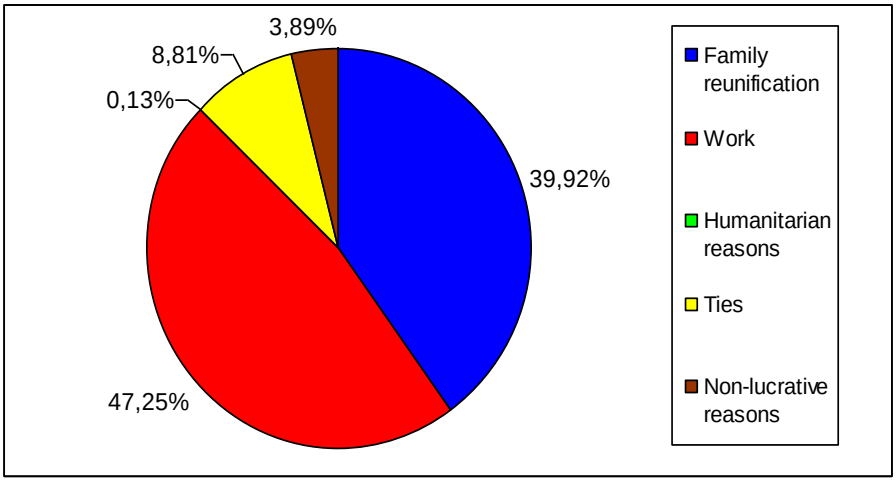
Source: INE, *Padrón Municipal*, data for 2015 are provisional.

Figure 17: Type of residence of Filipinos in Spain, 2015



Source: Permanent Immigration Observatory, foreigners resident in Spain.

Figure 18: Distribution of temporary residence permits issued to Filipinos according to cause, 2015



Source: Permanent Immigration Observatory, foreigners resident in Spain.

Table 5: Activity rate, 2013 (%)

	Male	**Female**
Moroccans	83.51	51.00
Ukrainians	82.81	70.53
Indians	83.33	44.83
Filipinos	87.50	83.78

Source: Active Population Poll, Microdata, analysis by the authors, INE, last quarter of 2013.

The labour pattern has traditionally been relatively stable, though lately a transfer from domestic services to hostelry has taken place. Filipinos are opening businesses such as restaurants and food stores (8% of them were self-employed in 2013).

Table 6: Main labour sectors for Filipinos, 2013

Hostelry	49.1%
Domestic service and cleaning	32.1%
Commerce	11.3%

Active Population Poll, Microdata, analysis by the authors, INE, last quarter of 2013.

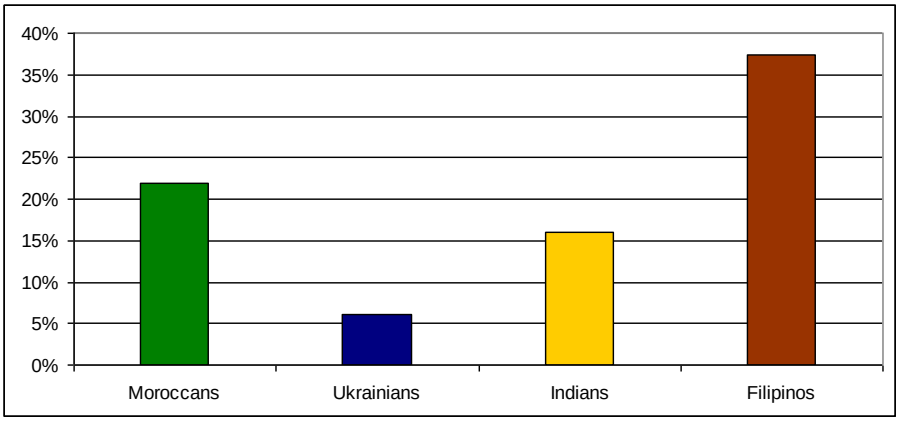
Despite their recent improvement moving up the labour ladder, many Filipinos in Spain are still overqualified for their jobs (see Figure 7). They face difficulties in having their educational certificates recognised and also face language barriers which hinder their professional advancement (Pe-Pua, 2005).

Conversely, Spain's Filipino population has suffered less than other groups from the impact of the crisis. In 2013 the Filipino unemployment rate was 23 points below the average rate for the foreign population as a whole (see Figure 9) and only 26 Filipinos joined the Voluntary Return Plan between 2009 and 2014. Another specific feature is the traditionally low presence of illegal immigrants among Filipinos, currently virtually inexistent (see Figure 3).

Filipinos have created a dense associative network in Spain, usually related to Roman Catholicism. Their main activities focus on offering advice on legal, labour and administrative affairs, but they also offer Spanish language courses and send economic aid to the Philippines, especially following natural catastrophes.

Despite the fact that more than a third (37%) of Filipinos have acquired Spanish citizenship and that natives have a good perception of them, the Filipino community is largely self-contained and its social integration in Spanish society is weak. According to Castañeda (2007) there are three main reasons to explain this: the language barrier, the Filipinos' low self-esteem and time constraints.

Figure 19: Percentage of immigrants naturalised as Spaniards, 2015



Source: INE, *Padrón Municipal*, analysis by the authors.

3. Methodology

This study has an exploratory nature as it constitutes a first approach to transnationalism and the transnational mobility of third-country national migrants in Spain from the four groups under study: Moroccans, Ukrainians, Indians and Filipinos. The first obstacle we met is the lack of any kind of database which could have allowed us to describe the nature and features of these migrants. Confronting this problem, we have conducted a two-phase empirical research (Gropas & Triandafyllidou, 2014).

First we have identified and interviewed stakeholders to obtain a broad picture of the transnational mobility between Spain and Morocco, the Ukraine, India and the Philippines. We looked for stakeholders related to immigration from the public, private and NGO sectors (public administration, immigrant associations, embassies, chambers of commerce and socio-cultural institutions) but then we faced the first fieldwork challenge as many stakeholders we contacted were unable to shed light on our research, were unaware of the concept of transnationalism or lacked any kind of knowledge about migrants engaged in transnational activities, which forced us to seek new stakeholders with a better knowledge of the phenomenon. Finally, we obtained useful information from 16 stakeholders:

- ASISI (Solidarity Association for Social and Labour Integration of Immigrants)
- Immigrants Area Coordinator of ATA (National Federation of Self-employed Workers)
- AFIMA (the main Filipino association in Madrid)
- Ukrainian Community in Spain Association (the main Ukrainian association in Madrid)
- Chervona Kalyna Association (the main Ukrainian association in Catalonia)
- Tuluyan San Benito Association (the main Filipino association in Catalonia)
- Diversity and Interculturality Programme of *Casa Asia* (a public foundation devoted to Asian affairs)
- Office of ABS-CBN (one of the largest media companies of the Philippines) in Barcelona.
- Migration, International and Cooperation Area of *Comisiones Obreras* (one of the two most influential trade unions in Spain)
- Ukrainian Association of Murcia
- Spain-Ukraine Chamber of Commerce
- Indian Chamber of Commerce and Tourism in Spain, and Spain-India Council Foundation
- An expert in India. Consultant, Intercultural Communication Trainer and coach at several NGOs, Governments, Universities and companies
- Ibn Batuta Foundation (the main Moroccan association in Catalonia)

- Club of Madrid (an independent non-profit organisation created to promote democracy and change in the international community)
- *Los Molinos* (an important NGO devoted to immigrant integration)

During interviews with these stakeholders, which began in June 2014, we used the questionnaire shared among the four Ithaca teams, consisting of 15 open questions on transnational mobility between Spain and one or more of the countries analysed, inquiring about drivers, barriers, types and future prospects of transnationalism.[8]

We also used these contacts with stakeholders to identify transnational migrants. Other routes we followed were personal contacts, ethnic businesses and religious centres in neighbourhoods with a high presence of any of the four communities being researched. During the first months of our fieldwork it was extremely difficult to find the kind of migrants we were looking for, and we often faced the refusal of immigrants to be interviewed, arguing lack of time, lack of interest and even distrust.

The difficulties encountered in our fieldwork shed light on some features of the phenomenon under study:

First, transnational migrants, defined as those who have 'travelled back and forth between their host and home countries at least twice during last year or at least three times during the last two years and who engage into some sort of economic activity in both the country of origin and the country of destination', are a rare phenomenon in Spain, and hence finding them requires especially tough research.

Secondly, as explained in section 2, the crisis has had a very negative effect on Spain's immigrant population but, despite the high level of unemployed who are not subsidised, most immigrants have remained in the country. Their involvement in "informal" or "hidden" economic activities can in many cases be a source of income and is the reason behind the distrust shown in several cases towards our research.

The questionnaire used in the interviews with transnational migrants, which was shared among the different Ithaca teams, consisted of 80 open and closed questions, inquiring into socio-demographic profiles, life stories, integration in the host country and transnational mobility. The vast majority of the interviews were made in person (49 migrant and 15 stakeholders). In the case of stakeholders most interviews were conducted at their headquarters and several of them in cafés; as for immigrants, most

[8] Stakeholder and migrant questionnaires are shown in the Annex.

interviews were recorded in cafés, but also at workplaces, homes and the office of the Elcano Royal Institute.

Since many of the respondents were not in Madrid, we travelled to Barcelona, Murcia and Valencia. The North-African Spanish towns of Ceuta and Melilla, with a significant population of Moroccan origin, were left out of the research due to their special characteristics, mainly the fact that Moroccans from the vicinity can freely enter both towns, a freedom which makes their experience not applicable to the remaining territories of the EU.[9]

Some interviews were conducted over Skype when the immigrants (11) or stakeholders (1) lived in other areas of Spain where we could not find other transnational migrants and hence the cost of a travel seemed unjustifiable. Interviews lasted between 40 and 70 minutes and were conducted in Spanish, recorded and then translated into English and uploaded onto the Survey Monkey platform.

Figure 20: Maps of immigrant interviews in Spain

Source: the authors.

[9] Ceuta and Melilla do not belong to Schengen territory, so Moroccan migrants entering them can not travel from there to other EU territories, including Spanish mainland.

Due to the great difficulties experienced by the four Ithaca teams in their efforts to identify and interview transnational migrants defined as explained above, the consortium decided to enlarge the scope and modify the requirements to be defined as a transnational migrant in two ways: (1) taking into account that electronic tools currently allow people to take an active part in activities in another country without being physically there, the mobility between home and host country has ceased to be considered as a *sine qua non* criteria, opening the door to non-physical contact. On the other hand, the field of transnational activity was enlarged to incorporate non-economic activities, such as social, cultural or political ones. Mobility related only to family issues remains beyond the scope of this project.

Table 7 shows the different paths followed to identify and contact transnational migrants. In some cases, the snowball technique allowed us to locate a suitable person to interview through a previous interview with a migrant, but in most cases the contact was established through institutions, associations or direct contact during the fieldwork in public spaces frequented by migrants.

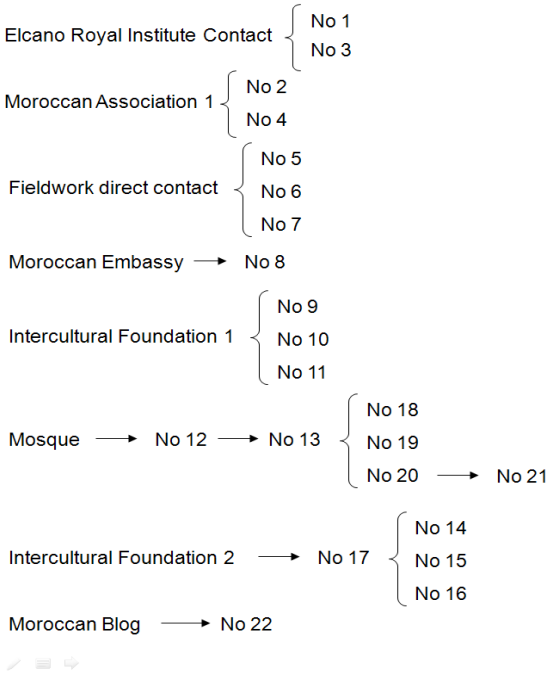
The fieldwork in Spain was completed in April 2015, totalling 60 interviews to migrants.[10] Of them, 22 were Moroccans, 20 Ukrainians, 10 Filipinos and eight Indians. As returnee migrants also represent a special kind of transnationalism, when they maintain contact with their former country of destination, the fieldwork has included nine interviews with migrants who had already returned to Morocco (seven persons) and the Philippines (two) but continued to travel back and forth from Spain. The interviews were conducted by local experts who cooperated with the Ithaca project and offer a complementary perspective to our analysis.

The sample finally obtained, comprising 69 interviews, offers a large variety of biographies, experiences, modes of transnationalism, different levels and forms of integration, and difficulties and support to mobility, shedding light on the complexity of the relation between integration and transnational mobility and providing a rich material from which to obtain insights and clues on the nature of third-country-national transnational mobility from and to the EU.

[10] A table summarising the migrants interviewed and their main features is in the Annex.

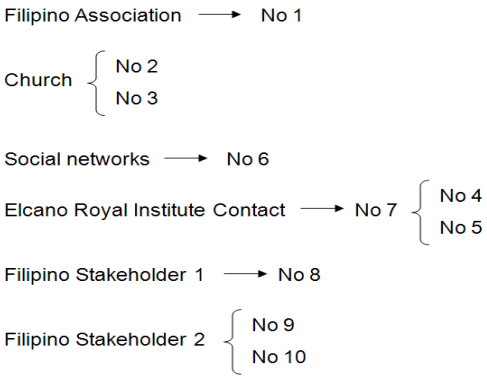
Table 7: Paths to sample recruitment.

Moroccans

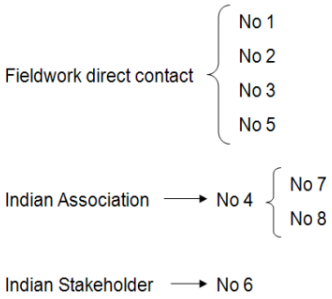


Ukrainians

Filipinos



Indians



Note: numbers indicate the chronological order of interviews in each national group.

Table 8: Features of the sample, including returnees

		IND	MOR	PHI	UKR	Total
Gender	Male	6	25	4	4	39
	Female	2	4	8	16	30
Age	19-34	2	9	2	7	20
	35-49	4	17	3	10	34
	50+	2	3	7	3	15
Educational Level	Low	0	2	0	0	2
	Medium	4	13	4	6	27
	High	4	14	8	14	40
Marital Status	Div/Sep/Widow	1	0	2	2	5
	Married/Cohab	6	21	6	12	45
	Single	1	8	4	6	19
Spanish Citizenship	No	4	20	2	19	45
	Yes	4	9	10	1	24
	Total	**8**	**29**	**12**	**20**	**69**

Source: ITHACA Survey.

4. Transnational Mobile Migrants in Spain: survey results

In this section we analyse the data obtained from interviews with Moroccan, Ukrainian, Indian and Filipino migrants in Spain who maintain transnational ties between their country of origin and Spain. We present a quantitative[11] and qualitative analysis of the data to detect the main features of transnational mobility and to establish links between forms of transnationalism, intensity of physical mobility and degree of integration in Spain. As mentioned in the methodological section, we include in our study individuals who are resident in Spain (a total of 60) as well as Moroccans and Filipinos who have already returned to their respective countries (seven and two respectively) and who remain transnationally engaged with Spain.

What are transnational migrants like?

The first question we have to answer about transnational migrants is: who are they? What characterises them? Are there significant differences between them and non-transnationally mobile migrants?

[11] For a deep quantitative analysis of the data collected in the ITHACA Project see Bartolini (2015).

Table 8 in the previous section shows some of the main socio-demographic variables of our sample. Regarding **gender**, the sample of each origin presents an imbalance which reflects both the distribution of gender among the universe of each national group in Spain (more men among Indians and Moroccans and more women among Filipinos and Ukrainians) and the economically non-active role of most Moroccan women. Regarding **age**, our sample is older than the communities as a whole, and we interpret this difference as reflecting the special features of transnational migrants. Immigrants in Spain are mostly young, but only those who have spent some time in the country and hence achieve a more robust integration are able to initiate transnational activities. In relation to **educational levels**, our sample shows that transnational migrants enjoy a much higher level of education than the average migrant of each origin; the same can be said about the acquisition of **Spanish citizenship**: transnational migrants are mostly found among those who have gained naturalisation.

Most of the migrants arrived in Spain as tourists and then overstayed (in the case of Moroccans they arrived as students), hence living during a substantial part of their stay as irregular migrants.

Table 9: Legal status at the first entry to Spain

	European Citizen/Resident	Worker	Family reunification	Student	Tourist No permit	Total
IND	0	1	4	1	2	8
MOR	0	6	3	11	9	29
PHI	2	0	0	3	7	12
UKR	1	0	0	1	18	20
Total	3	7	7	16	36	69

Source: ITHACA Survey.

When they arrived, around two thirds had in mind living in Spain no more than five years (Table 10) but, due to different reasons, they stayed much longer, to an average of 17 years (Table 11).

From these data it can be concluded that the probability of initiating transnational activities is limited during the first years of residence in the country of destination and that the chances increase with the passage of time. In fact, with the exception of Moroccans, the highest share of transnational migrants belongs to the first migratory waves of each community.

Table 10: Stay planned in Spain

	Less than 1	1	2-3	3-5	5+	no plan	Total
IND	1	0	1	2	1	3	8
MOR	5	2	2	7	10	3.	29
PHI	1	1	4	2	3	1	12
UKR	3	5	5	3	3	1	20
Total	10	8	12	14	17	8	69

Source: ITHACA Survey.

Table 11: Years living in Spain

	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	30+	Total	Average
IND	1	1	1	2	0	1	2	8	20.4
MOR	2	8	4	5	7	1	1	28	15.8
PHI	1	3	0	0	1	3	4	12	25.1
UKR	0	6	10	4	0	0	0	20	12.4
Total	4	18	15	11	8	5	7	68	16.9

Source: ITHACA Survey.

The relationship between transnational physical mobility and transnational engagement: How and why?

The **physical mobility** between origin and destination countries is a result of several factors, the most important being distance, which, in turn, determines the price of the journey. For this reason, in our sample, Moroccans visit their country much more frequently than the remaining groups.

Although physical mobility and engagement in transnational activities are closely related, new means of communication have made it possible to engage in transnationalism without mobility. On the other hand, as travel is costly, it has been severely affected by the impact of the economic crisis on migrants, diminishing their ability to be physically mobile. For these reason we have included in our sample some migrants engaged in transnational activities but who were unable to travel to their country of origin during the past two years (a fifth of the sample). In most of these cases, the lack of physical mobility in the past

two years is related to the economic crisis, because it has reduced the migrants' income (in Spain and/or in the country of origin) and transnational business.

Table 12: Number of times going back and forth in the last two years

	0	**1-2**	**3-4**	**5-6**	**7+**	**Total**
IND	2	4	1	1	0	8
MOR	4	11	4	3	7	29
PHI	3	5	3	1	0	12
UKR	4	12	3	0	1	20
Total	13	32	11	5	8	69

Source: ITHACA Survey.

Raja[12] *(an Indian man, living in Barcelona, aged 54): 'I have not been able in the last five years to go to India, where I have family and properties, because I had to close my shop of mobile phones and currently the only income in the home is from my wife'.*

Teresa (a Filipino woman, living in Madrid, aged 43): 'I travelled the last time to the Philippines in 2009; despite having a grocery rented there that I would like to check. Although I have kept my job during the crisis, some members of my family have not, so we have to cut unnecessary expenses, especially since the birth of my granddaughter'.

Vasichka (a Ukrainian woman, living in Madrid, aged 47): 'I have not gone to the Ukraine since 2011 because my husband is unemployed and moreover he has serious health problems. Therefore, I cannot help my sister in the small store of cleaning products that we have opened there'.

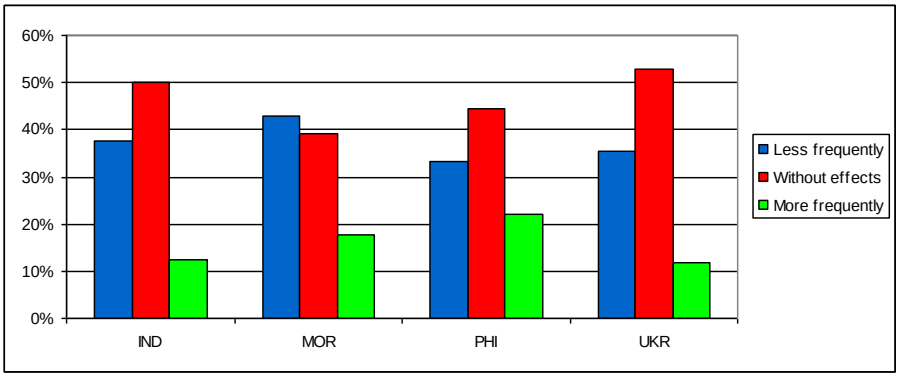
However, in a contrary trend, some migrants have been forced by the crisis to look for alternative sources of income in their country of origin, hence increasing the frequency of their travel.

Alí (a Moroccan man, living on Spain's east coast of Spain, aged 35): 'I am an engineer and during the current crisis as I lost my job as construction worker in Spain I am travelling to Morocco more frequently to work in several projects'.

Yuri (a Ukrainian man, living on Spain's east coast, aged 36): 'I have visited the Ukraine more frequently in the last two years to make business with second-hand cars since I lost my job as a warehouse assistant in Spain in 2013'.

[12] All names in this chapter are fictitious to avoid the identification of our informants.

Figure 21: Effect of the economic crisis on immigrant journeys



Source: ITHACA Survey.

Besides, there are few extreme cases where the migrants interviewed have not travelled to their country of origin since they migrated to Spain, but nevertheless they carry out transnational activities.

> *Anna (a Ukrainian woman, living in Madrid, aged 33): 'I arrived to Spain in 2007 and I am very involved in Ukrainian movements and associations. Nevertheless, in this period of time I have not gone to the Ukraine because I`m lacking a Spanish residence permit and I fear that if I go I could not go back to Spain'.*

> *Isabel (a Filipino woman, living in Barcelona, aged 30): 'I`m staying in Spain since 2009, but I have not yet been to the Philippines because I only got the Spanish residence permit some months ago. Now, I will be able to go there and check the construction of my house'.*

Table 13. Reasons for being transnationally engaged (multiple-choice answer).

	Economic			Social and political activism	Preparing a future return	Total respondents
	Investment	Trading	Labour			
IND	5	2	0	4	0	8
MOR	12	5	4	6	3	29
PHI	12	0	0	3	2	12
UKR	13	1	1	4	0	20
Total	42	8	5	17	5	69

Source: ITHACA Survey.

Table 13 shows the main **reasons for being transnationally engaged**. Investing in the home country is the most frequent mode of transnational activity, followed by being involved in social and political

activism. Almost all migrants, apart from such activities, take advantage of their journeys to **visit their family, solve bureaucratic problems and renew their cultural links with their homeland**. But it should be highlighted again that we have not considered as transnational migrants the large numbers who visit their country of origin only for family or other emotional reasons. Although apparently this distinction is easy, in fact it is blurry as many migrants involve themselves in economic transnational activities only because they visit their home country to see their relations.

> *This is the case of Yusef (a Moroccan man, living in Madrid, aged 37), whose main reason for travelling to Morocco twice a year is to visit his mother. 'She is elderly so I want to be with her as much as I can. And I usually take advantage of these trips and buy typical Moroccan products such as food and natural cosmetics, that I then sell in Spanish stores'.*

> *Rosa (a Filipino woman, living in Madrid, aged 57) goes back to the Philippines (once in the last two years) 'mainly to visit and help my large family, especially my children, but besides I also inspect my rented houses there'.*

> *Yulia (a Ukrainian woman, living in Barcelona, aged 55) goes four times a year to the Ukraine for several reasons: 'Sometimes I do business, but one of the most important reasons to travel is to help my sister and especially my grandson since he is an orphan'.*

Some interviewees have shown a special interest in **knowing their country of origin better**.

> *Dwara (an Indian man, living in Madrid, aged 54) participates actively in cultural festivals and national celebrations in India (around three trips per year) since 'they have much value for me, and usually I take advantage of such events for travelling inside India and visiting unknown places'.*

> *Teresa (a Filipino woman, living in Barcelona, aged 66) spends several some months every year in the Philippines: 'I stay with my son, check my rented apartment and cooperate in several educational and aid projects. But I also enjoy driving my own car there and travelling around the country, because as I migrated to Spain many decades ago I need to know my roots'.*

Keeping their children in contact with their origins is also an important reason for travelling back and forth.

> *When Bankim (an Indian man, living in Barcelona, aged 45) goes to India (unfortunately he has not done so in the past three years due to the crisis) he cooperates with a NGO devoted to childhood, 'but for me and my wife it is equally important to promote the ties of my two children with India and its culture'.*

Hamid (a Moroccan man, living on Spain's eastern coast, aged 49) goes each summer to Morocco: 'I meet my family and keep the links of my children with my homeland, because I want them to know their roots and speak Arabic with their cousins. I recognise that checking the construction of my house is secondary'.

Housing is the main object of investments made by transnational migrants among Ithaca groups in Spain, especially among Moroccans and Filipinos (for the latter houses have a great symbolic value as an achievement after many years of sacrifice abroad), while Ukrainians and Indians devote their savings to invest in productive activities, but also in housing.

Table 13: Sector of investment in country of origin

	Agriculture	Business	Housing	Total/persons who invest
IND	2	1	3	6/5
MOR	3	2	9	14/12
PHI	4	1	12	17/12
UKR	7	6	7	20/13
Total	16	10	31	57/42

Source: ITHACA Survey.

Olegsander (a Ukrainian man, living on Spain's east coast, aged 48) inherited his first piece of land from his father and later bought equipment and more plots, taking advantage of low prices. 'When I am there I check the lands and analyse new possibilities of investment. In fact I reinvest all the earnings I got from my farmlands'.

Rashid (a Moroccan man, living on Spain's east coast, aged 43) has inherited a parcel from his father: 'Currently it is barely productive, it produces some cereals for personal consumption, because there is no irrigation and investment is needed. But the quality of the land is good and I am planning to cultivate medicinal plants, so in my last summer trip I checked the land and analysed this possibility'.

Vicente (a Filipino man, living in Barcelona, aged 58) goes to the Philippines (three times a year) for many reasons: 'One of the most important is to manage personally some projects of the international consultancy specialised in energy, infrastructures and financial services that my partners and I have opened there'.

Mykhailo (a Ukrainian man, living in Madrid, aged 42) has set up a business in Spain, but he and one of his friends have also opened a food store in the Ukraine: 'It is very positive for me to own such a store in case my Spanish business fails or I must return due to any circumstance. This is one of the reasons why I go every year to the Ukraine and stay there for one month, because although my partner manages it and usually we talk by Skype, I also like checking the business in person'.

Aziz (a Moroccan man, living on Spain's east coast, aged 46) goes to Morocco every summer mainly for family reasons, 'but as currently my house is being built, lately I also spend time checking the construction and solving any problem about it'.

Frequently the decision to initiate a business project in the country of origin is related to the decision to return in the future.

Carlos (a Filipino man, living in Barcelona, aged 53) has not gone to the Philippines in the last two years due to the crisis, but previously he used to visit his family and check his properties, especially the student housing that he and his brother-in-law have opened there: 'I plan to return to the Philippines and manage it when my children grow up. Currently the building has three flats and a store, but my intention is to add an attic which will be my home. When I have economic resources to travel again I will be able to check this process in person'.

Noureddine (a Moroccan man, living on Spain's east coast, aged 51) has usually travelled once a year to Morocco to visit his family and friends. But from this year on he will also travel to check his new business there: an electrification company that will start operating within a few months: 'If it is successful I will construct a building where the headquarters of the company will be established and where all my family and I shall reside'.

Natalia (a Ukrainian woman, living in Madrid, aged 45) usually employs her annual visit to Ukraine to check her house there: 'I had the house built there thinking of my retirement since I have a serious illness. Currently it is rented, and as I am unemployed it has become my only source of income'.

The second economic reason which generates the most transnational mobility in our sample is **trading,** especially among Moroccan and Indian migrants.

Bilal (a Moroccan man, living in Madrid, aged 59) became a wholesale dealer of leather goods in 2008: "So I began to be provided in Morocco travelling a lot since then, 10 times in the last two years. In Spain I sell those products to many retailers and also in my own store'.

Indira (an Indian woman, living in Barcelona, aged 39) goes to India twice a year, 'mainly to buy products for my gift shop in Spain, which I manage with my husband'.

Othman (a Moroccan man, living in Madrid, aged 41) engages in more informal trading: 'I go to Morocco monthly in order to sell scrap metal and second-hand objects which I get in Spain. Before the crisis I used to go there only to visit my family, but I lost my job in Spain and now I have to earn money in Morocco'.

The final economic reason related for transnational mobility is **labour-related**, but for geographical reasons is almost only applicable to Moroccan migrants.

> *Fatima (a Moroccan woman, living in southern Spain, aged 34) decided to open her own Development Cooperation consultancy: 'The cooperation projects financed by Spain have almost disappeared due to budget cuts, but meanwhile opportunities in Morocco have increased, so in the last two years I have travelled around 20 times to different areas of Morocco, usually rural ones'.*

As Table 13 shows, activism is also an important driver for transnational mobility in the four migrant groups. This category includes economic aid and political, sociocultural and academic activism.

Economic aid:

> *Svitlana, the Ukrainian woman mentioned above, travels to the Ukraine also because she has become a volunteer in a NGO: 'We help children who live close to Chernobil to improve their health during the summer by staying with families in Spain, so I visit families there and pick children up'.*

> *Josefina (a Filipino woman, living in Barcelona, aged 61) during her trips to Philippines (three in the past two years) visits the locations of two projects on which she cooperates by sending money from Spain: 'I like seeing with my own eyes how these projects evolve; both are related to childhood. One of them helps street children and the other one is devoted to children delayed in their development'.*

> *Lamina (an Indian woman, living in Madrid, aged 47) goes to India once a year to buy products for the restaurant she manages in Spain and to visit relatives, 'but also I usually help in the social activities carried out in the temple of my village, such as programme for vaccination, food and clothes donations, and classroom repairs'.*

Political activities:

> *Abdellatif (a Moroccan man, living in Madrid, aged 42) usually travels three times a year to Morocco: 'In two of these visits I attended meetings organised by the Ministry of Moroccans Abroad where members of Moroccan associations around the world take part'.*

> *Valentina (a Ukrainian woman, living in Madrid, aged 27) carries out a very intense political activity within a Ukrainian association: 'We have a website from where we spread information about our country and about Ukrainians in Spain. Moreover we organise many events, currently most of them related to the war in the Ukraine: charitable concerts, protests, meetings, collections of materials for the Ukrainian Army, etc.'*

Sociocultural activities:

Karim (a Moroccan man, living on Spain's east coast, aged 24) usually goes to Morocco every two years for family reasons, but this year he has travelled for the first time to develop the activities of his Moroccan association: 'In this association we inform and help young Moroccans in several fields. We teach the Spanish language to Moroccan children who have problems in their schools, and last summer we took a group of young Moroccans resident in Spain to know Morocco, using a programme founded by the Moroccan Government'.

Iryna (a Ukrainian woman, living in Madrid, aged 39): 'During my trips I meet people who help me and give me material for the socio-cultural magazine which I manage in Spain. Usually they are journalists or writers. Apart from that, I am a member of a Spanish-Ukrainian association which organises cultural and social activities. For instance, we have organised an exhibition in Madrid of a Ukrainian painter and collaborated with a Spanish producer in the filming of a short film about Ukraine'.

Academic activities:

Fadel (a Moroccan man, living in Madrid, aged 50) usually goes to Morocco twice a year, once for family reasons and another to take part in academic activities: 'I participate in congresses and conferences related to my study field, as well as teaching in some master degrees as a visiting professor. These academic activities are a gratifying exchange of knowledge and opinions with Moroccan scholars and students'.

Over the past few years Olga (a Ukrainian woman, living on Spain's northern coast, aged 41), a medical doctor, took advantage of her annual visit to Ukraine to initiate a medical project between a Spanish hospital and a Ukrainian Faculty of Medicine: 'It is an agreement to exchange professors and students, which includes other Spanish academic and medical institutions. Unfortunately, due to the current conflict in the Ukraine we had to interrupt the project'.

Table 14 classifies the previous examples of transnational mobility showing how any kind of transnationalism can be developed within a different frame of mobility frequency, although transnationalism devoted to economic activity is related to a more frequent presence in the country of origin. Although the type of transnationalism and the physical distance between the country of origin and Spain are the two main factors influencing the intensity of mobility, it is also affected by other drivers and barriers.

In relation to **drivers**, support from the family in the country of origin, frequently providing hospitality, is very important. Also in relation to the main economic form of transnationalism, investment, family support is crucial.

Table 14: Examples of relationships between transnational physical mobility and transnational engagement

	Transnational mobility frequency		
Type of Transnationalism	Intensive: three or more times a year	Moderate: once/twice a year	Small: less than once a year
Emotional (family and homeland)	Yulia (Ukraine) Dwara (India)	Yusef (Morocco) Teresa (Philippines) Hamid (Morocco)	Rosa (Philippines) Bankim (India)
Economic	Vicente (Philippines) Bilal (Morocco) Othman (Morocco) Fatima (Morocco)	Rashid (Morocco) Mykhailo (Ukraine) Natalia (Ukraine) Aziz (Morocco) Indira (India)	Olegsander (Ukraine)
Activist	Abdellatif (Morocco)	Svitlana (Ukraine) Josefina (Philippines) Lamina (India) Valentina (Ukraine) Fadel (Morocco) Olga (Ukraine)	Karim (Morocco) Iryna (Ukraine)

Source: ITHACA Survey.

Table 15: Support received for investment in the country of origin

	State	Bank	Family/friends	Other	No support	Total
IND	0	0	1	0	4	5
MOR	2	0	6	1	6	12
PHI	1	2	2	1	6	12
UKR	1	1	2	1	9	13
Total	4	3	11	3	25	42

Source: ITHACA Survey.

As Fadel says: 'If I had had to manage the construction of my house in Morocco personally, probably I would have found some problems related to the Moroccan Administration. But this matter was dealt with by my brother, who lives there and knows the Moroccan construction sector very well'.

In the same vein, Aziz admits that fortunately his sister and brother-in-law live in Morocco, so they can check on the construction of his house there: 'Otherwise it would be much more difficult'. Also, the Filipino Teresa explained that her rented grocery is managed by her family there.

Only a small minority of interviewees have obtained help from institutions or persons different from relatives or friends.

> *Fatima is one of these exceptions: 'In order to begin my activity in Morocco it was essential to get support from the Moroccan Women's Enterprise Association, the Professional Chamber and the Moroccan State, which exempted me from paying taxes during the first five years of economic activity there'.*

State support for transnational migrants is scant in the four countries included in our sample (leaving aside those involved in political transnationalism promoted by governments) despite the existence in their countries of origin of official institutions dedicated to strengthening economic, cultural, educational and other links with emigrants.[13] These institutions have serious drawbacks, since their communication tools are unable to reach most migrants, in some cases they are overly politicised or they have been founded very recently and are still at an early stage of activity.

Regarding the **barriers** to transnational mobility, corruption and bureaucracy are mentioned as the main difficulties found at the origin country in relation to transnationalism in general, and investments in particular, especially in Morocco and the Ukraine but also in the Philippines. Also in relation with investment, some migrants point to the difficulty of finding reliable and trained people to manage their business ventures in their countries of origin.

> *Iryna reveals that when she travels with her family within the Ukraine in a car with a Western Europe number plate, sometimes police tries to blackmail her because they imagine she has money, while Vicente complains about the irrational and complex paperwork that slows down the progress of his consultancy in the Philippines.*

Other barriers that are less frequently mentioned are readjustment to the customs of the country of origin that has sometimes become alien to migrants.

> *As Lamina explains: 'After so many years abroad, each time I go to India it is really hard for me to readapt to the weather, and to some cultural and social aspects such as some kind of food, and the mindset of the people'.*

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[13] The Commission of Filipinos Overseas and the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration in Philippines; the Ministry in Charge of Moroccans Living Abroad, the Council of Moroccans Living Abroad and the Hassan II Foundation in Morocco; and the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs. Moreover, stakeholders mentioned other institutions which carry out projects related to transnational mobility such as the Commission for Filipino Migrant Workers, the Scalabrini Migration Center of Philippines, and the Spain-India Council Foundation.

Table 16: Difficulties related to investment

	Corruption	Paperwork	Others	No difficulties	Total
IND	1	0	2	3	5
MOR	3	4	4	6	12
PHI	1	3	3	7	12
UKR	6	5	1	5	13
Total	11	12	10	21	42

Source: ITHACA Survey.

Another emotional barrier is the sadness caused by the view of the poor living conditions of a large part of the population.

But not all the blame falls on the country of origin. Some interviewees point to the implementation of certain features of Spanish legislation as a barrier, since they can lead to the withdrawal of the migrants' permits of residence and unemployment benefits in the event of travelling abroad.

> *This is the main problem of Alí when he stays for a few days in Morocco to carry out specific work: 'Given that I am registered at the Spanish employment office I cannot be more than 15 days abroad per year. For this reason I have no contract for this job in Morocco, and each time I go back and forth I am afraid of being detected by the Spanish authorities'.*

Apart from these common barriers, there are several obstacles which are specific to each country of origin, some of them related to transport. Many Filipinos interviewed claim that the air fares to the Philippines are too expensive, and the price has become one of the main reasons for the low frequency of their journey home; Indians explain that the lack of direct flights between the two countries implies a very long and exhausting trip. In the Moroccan case, the main problem is the scant, expensive and uncomfortable ferry services between Spain and Morocco, and the tiresome controls at checkpoints, which become worse when tension between Morocco and Spain are heightened. Checkpoints in the Ukraine are also problematic.

> *As Natalia says: 'Once I travelled with €5,000 because I had to pay the construction workers at my house. Despite the fact that entering the country with this amount was legal, I had to offer policemen a share'.*

Regarding Morocco, some female interviewees have pointed to the lack of security related to sexual harassment in the country, especially when they travel alone. Finally, it is obvious that the current armed conflict in the Ukraine is a threat to people who travel there.

Olga comments that 'although the war is for the moment far from my town, it causes much uncertainty. In fact, some of my friends do not go to the Ukraine lately because they fear the possibility of not being able to return or even being enlisted by force in the army'.

Integration and transnational mobility

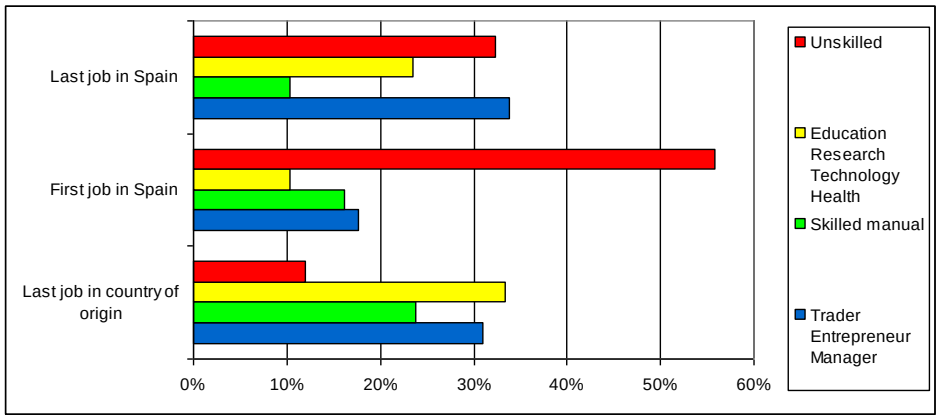
Data obtained from interviewees show that transnational migrants enjoy a higher degree of integration than the average migrant of each group. This conclusion is coherent with the fact that the chances to become transnational increase with the time of stay in the country of destination. Integration is usually a first step in order to carry out transnational activities. The following indicators used to evaluate the integration of transnational migrants in Spain are inspired by Ager and Strang (2008) and the Zaragoza Declaration list of indicators (2010).

A key indicator of integration is the **host-country language proficiency**. In this respect, during the fieldwork in Spain, interviewers saw a high level in most migrants, since 54 out of 60 spoke in fluent Spanish. Moreover, some of them are able to speak other official Spanish languages such as Catalan or Basque. In relation to the academic training of transnational migrants, Table 8 shows that they have achieved a high **educational level**, in a clear divergence with the medium-to-low qualification of the average immigrant in Spain (Figure 7), a contrast especially noticeable in the case of Moroccans. Some of these highly-qualified migrants obtained their degrees in Spain while others already arrived as university graduates. An important factor related to integration with transnationalism is that almost all current transnational migrants who arrived to Spain as children or as teenagers gained a university degree.

Clearly linked to education is **employment status**, and also according to this indicator the integration of transnational migrants is significant, since only nine out of 69 migrants were working without a contract in their last job in Spain. Moreover, among the rest, 32 enjoyed long-term employment and 15 were self-employed.

Nevertheless, in most cases the labour trajectories of transnational migrants since their arrival in Spain have not been easy, as they have had to accept a downgrading of their status and professional positions during the first years of their stay. As Figure 20 shows, most transnational migrants in our study held much lower positions in their first job in Spain than those they had in their country of origin, and it took several years for them to partially regain their original positions.

Figure 22: Types of job at different stages of the migration experience



Source: ITHACA Survey.

Many migrants told us about the shock that such a change caused them. However, their gradual integration into Spain's society and economy has allowed most of them to regain their former labour status.

> *This is the case of Olga: 'I was a doctor in Ukraine, but when arrived to Spain I had to work as a domestic helper. Finally, and after the Spanish Education Ministry recognised my Ukrainian degree, which was not easy, I could begin again my medical career and currently I am working as the doctor of a company'.*

The decision and capacity to invest in Spain can also be seen as an indicator of integration. Around two-thirds of transnational migrants have made investments in Spain, mostly directed at buying a house or flat, but also to set up their own businesses and to enrol at a university or training course.

Another feature which indicates the degree of integration of migrants in Spanish society is their **participation in organisations** of different natures. In our sample, as shown in Table 20, their affiliation rate is moderate in labour organisations (but higher than that of Spaniards) and high in NGOs and associations, most of them related to their respective diasporas and with strong links to their countries of origin.

> *Lilia (a Ukrainian woman, living on Spain's northern coast, aged 53) is the president of the Slavonic Association (mainly Ukrainian) in Spain. 'We carry out integration and cultural activities, and help anybody who needs it. As president of this association I belong to the committee that advises the local government on migratory matters, and I participate in forums and conferences'.*

Table 17: Investment in Spain

	No	Yes	Total
IND	3	5	8
MOR	10	19	29
PHI	5	7	12
UKR	4	16	20
Total	22	47	69

Source: ITHACA Survey.

Table 18: Sector of investment in Spain

	Flat	House	Businesses (not own)	Studies	Own New Business	Total sectors of investments/investors
IND	4	2	1	2	5	14/5
MOR	9	1	1	10	7	28/19
PHI	6	2	1	3	5	17/7
UKR	5	0	0	12	5	22/16
Total	24	5	3	27	22	81/47

Source: ITHACA Survey.

Moreover, in the case of Filipinos and Ukrainians, the Roman Catholic Church is a significant instrument for integration in Spanish society and also as a space of mutual contact between immigrants.

Table 19: Participations in Spanish organizations

	Member of a professional/ trade union organisation	Member of a NGO/ non-labour association
IND	1/8	3/8
MOR	5/29	10/29
PHI	2/12	7/12
UKR	2/20	14/20
Total	10/69	34/69

Source: ITHACA Survey.

The acquisition of **Spanish citizenship** is the most robust indicator of integration as it condenses in itself several factors related with the integration process: it requires a long legal stay period (10 years for

Ukrainians, Moroccans and Indians, but only two for Filipinos), knowledge of the language and a clean police file.[14] As Table 8 shows, around a third of the migrants interviewed have become naturalised, which proves a strong degree of integration.

Leaving aside its objective indicators the survey also offers information about subjective issues, namely about **feelings towards Spain and plans for the future**. Almost all interviewees have positive emotional links to Spain, and in some cases specifically to their Spanish regions of residence, such as Andalusia, Valencia or the Basque Country. In their answers they usually include words such as 'respect', 'love', 'protection', 'friendly', 'comfortable', 'happy', 'prosperous', 'democratic' or 'fair'.

In some cases immigrants feel more attached to Spain than to their country of origin, as Lamina explains:

> *'Spain is my only home. I go to India because I like visiting my people, culture and roots, but I would not be able to live there. Here is my daughter, most of my close family, my life'*.

In other cases, despite clear integration in Spain, the country of origin is still a strong source of identification. This is the case of Bilal:

> *'I've lived in Spain for 40 years, so obviously I have put down roots here and I am very grateful to this country. Nevertheless my heart belongs to Morocco'.*

Finally there are others who are able to share both identities on an equal footing:

> *'In Spain I am a Spaniard and in Ukraine I am a Ukrainian. Ukraine and Spain are my homelands at the same level' (Lilia).*

Also regarding **future plans,** our sample also shows a high degree of integration since most of our interviewees plan to remain in Spain over the coming years, some of them even forever.

Transnational migrants with a high degree of integration in Spain do not plan to return to their country of origin at least until their retirement. They show different degrees of interest in their country of origin, from those who feel integrated at the same level in both origin and destination countries to others who have fully detached themselves emotionally from their origins and return only to visit their families. Transnational migrants with a middling degree of integration are usually in an unstable balance between strengthening their integration in Spain or going back to their country of origin. Finally, transnational migrants with a low degree of integration can be divided between those who have just arrived in Spain and

[14] See chapter 2 for further information.

those who have not been able to integrate after years of residence. Both groups share strong links to their country of origin, but only in the second case are there migrants who plan to return as soon as they can.

It must be highlighted that, despite the Spanish economic crisis and its impact on the migrants' projects, we have hardly detected cases of *reactive transnationalism* (Itzigsohn & Giorguli-Saucedo, 2005) in our sample, in which most transnational migrants can be labelled *resource-dependent* or *linear*.

Table 20: Relationship between integration in Spain and type of transnationalism

	Degree of integration		
Type of transnationalism	High: high economic, legal and social integration in Spain	Medium: economic integration high but legal and social integration low	Low: poorly integrated in the labour market, weak legal position and social links
Emotional (family and homeland)	Emotional linear transnational: Bankim	Emotional linear transnational: Hamid	Emotional linear transnational: Rosa
Economic	Economic resource-dependent transnational: Vicente	Economic resource-dependent transnational: Olegsander	Reactive economic transnational: Othman
Activist	Activist resource-dependent transnational: Fadel	Activist resource dependent transnational: Lilia	Activist linear transnational: Anna

Source: ITHACA Survey.

5. Concluding remarks

This report analyses the results of the research carried out in Spain on the nature of the transnational mobility of Moroccan, Ukrainian, Indian and Filipino immigrants residing in its territory. The study has investigated the nature of transnational mobility and its relation to the levels and forms of integration in the host society. To this end, research has been directed primarily at identifying the main features of the four national groups studied and their specific forms of integration:

- Full but subordinate integration. This is the case of Filipino migrants, with privileged access to Spanish nationality but enclosed in the labour niche of internal domestic help, a sector that has ridden out the economic crisis.
- Full integration. The Indian population enjoys full integration in the legal sphere and a good economic integration concentrated in the trading sector. It has hardly suffered from the effects of the economic crisis.

- Weak integration. The Ukrainian migrants, the most recent arrived in Spain of the four analysed in the study, live under precarious legal conditions, with a significant percentage in an irregular situation, and with a variety of positions in the labour market.
- Full legal but low economic integration. Moroccan migrants enjoy a high level of consolidation of their legal status but are the most affected by the economic crisis, with more than 50% of their workforce unemployed.

Research has been based on three pillars: desk work on existing literature and the statistical exploitation of mini data extracted from the Active Population Poll; interviews with 15 stakeholders; and interviews with 60 transnational migrants, to which another nine interviews to returnees in Morocco and the Philippines have been added. The first difficulty confronted by the research and also its first important result was the realisation that transnational mobility is a minority phenomenon. It must be borne in mind that the operational definition of transnational mobility used in the research has excluded journeys to the country of origin whose sole purpose is to visit family. However, when the reasons for transnational mobility directed at other purposes are discussed, the link with the family in the country of origin often appears as an additional explanation. Most of the migrants who travel to their country because they have undertaken a business there, or are building a house, or for commercial or any other purposes, also use the trip to visit their families, and in most cases without the existence of that family the decision to start a transnational activity cannot be understood. Leaving aside family links, emotional ties with the country of origin and the wish for these links to endure in the second generation are also the cause of many economic decisions that motivate mobility: investment in the country is often the result of a willingness to return, at a more or less distant time in the future and to maintain the migrants' children's links to the country of origin.

The research results show that investment in origin is the main reason for transnational mobility, followed by political and social activism. Investment is aimed primarily at the construction or purchase of a house or flat, whether for personal use or for rent, followed by the purchase and farming of agricultural land. Several types of activism have been found in the survey, such as permanent implication in development projects or specific aid in cases of natural disasters, political participation and the promotion of cultural and academic exchanges.

Mobility and transnational activities take place spontaneously without institutional support and face major obstacles, especially in the case of the most distant countries, due to transport costs. For this reason, journeys are less frequent when the distance to the country of origin is greatest. Activities in the country of origin also face other hindrances. First, the legal obstacles which stem from European and national immigration rules preventing long stays in the country of origin, according to which the immigrant is at the risk of losing the right of residence. Secondly, the excessive time required to access nationality, 10

years in Spain for three of the groups studied, which is well above the EU average. Access to nationality is the only full guarantee of free mobility. In the case of Moroccan immigration, to these obstacles should be added the specific difficulties related to the Strait of Gibraltar as regards infrastructure deficits and police checks.

The economic crisis has caused a negative impact on transnational mobility, reducing the personal resources available for travel and the possibilities of engaging in transnational business ventures. Moreover, transnational mobility activities are also hindered by obstacles related to the features of the countries of origin. Respondents speak of corruption, inefficiency of public institutions and excessive influence of personal contacts as requirements for initiating economic activities, as well as (in the case of women) displeasure with gender relations or emotional suffering at the sight of poverty.

Regarding the question of what kind of immigrants are involved in transnational activities, the results of the research show that these are individuals with a high educational level (above-average third-country nationals who are immigrants in Spain), with good Spanish language skills, who have lived for a long period in Spain, enjoy a legal status in it, are well integrated in the labour system, and feel identified with their new country. Furthermore, they have long-term projects in the country of destination, as shown by the fact that two-thirds of respondents have invested in it. It is not therefore a reactive mobility, to employ the terminology of Itzigsohn & Giorguli-Saucedo (2005), but a linear or resource-dependent mobility. In short, the Spanish case proves that immigrants involved in transnational mobility are those best integrated and that this kind of mobility poses no threat to their integration. On the contrary, both processes are mutually reinforcing.

Annex - List of interviews

Table 21: List of Interviews - Spain

Id	Int. code	Interviewer	Place - 1	Place - 2	Method	Language	EU CoD	Ret	CoO	Sex	Age
8	ES-MAR-2-1	José	Madrid	Workplace	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	MOR	F	19-29
52	ES-MAR-1-2	José	Madrid	Partner's offices/University	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	MOR	M	40-49
55	PHI-1-2	Jean	Internet - Facebook	Skype/FB video call	Notes	English and Filipino	ES	Yes	PHI	M	30-49
58	ES-MAR-1-3	José	Madrid	Cafés/restaurant	Notes	Spanish	ES	No	MOR	M	30-49
59	PHI-1-4	Jean	Internet - Facebook	Skype/FB video call	Taped & notes	Filipino tagalog	ES	Yes	PHI	M	30-49
62	ES-MAR-1-4	José	Madrid	Workplace	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	MOR	M	50+
85	ES-UA-2-1	José	Madrid	Cafés/restaurant	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	UKR	F	40-49
86	ES-UA-1-2	José	Madrid	Workplace	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	UKR	M	40-49
87	ES-UA-2-3	José	Madrid	Skype/FB video call	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	UKR	F	19-29
88	ES-PHL-2-2	José	Madrid	Partner's offices/University	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	PHI	F	50+
91	MAR-1-01	Mehdi	Errachidia	Other public places	Notes	Arab, French	ES	Yes	MOR	M	30-49
92	MAR-1-02	Mehdi	Errachidia	Other public places	Notes	Arab	ES	Yes	MOR	M	40-49
99	MAR-1-06	Mehdi	Fuengirola	Other public places	Notes	Arab	ES	Yes	MOR	M	40-49
101	MAR-1-09	Mehdi	Sale	Other public places	Notes	Arab, French	ES	Yes	MOR	M	40-49
102	MAR-1-07	Mehdi	Ben S'mrir	Other public places	Notes	Arab	ES	Yes	MOR	M	40-49
103	MAR-1-10	Mehdi	Tanger	Other public places	Notes	Arab	ES	Yes	MOR	M	30-49
108	MAR-1-14	Mehdi	Rabat	Other public places	Notes	French	ES	Yes	MOR	M	19-29
132	ES-PHL-2-1	Elena	Madrid	Partner's offices/University	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	PHI	F	40-49
133	ES-PHL-2-3	Elena	Madrid	Workplace	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	PHI	F	50+
139	ES-MAR-1-5	José	Madrid	Cafés/restaurant	Notes	Spanish	ES	No	MOR	M	40-49
147	ES-MAR-1-6	José	Madrid	Workplace	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	MOR	M	50+
159	ES-MAR-1-7	José	Madrid	Cafés/restaurant	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	MOR	M	30-49
166	ES-MAR-1-8	José	Almeria	Phone	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	MOR	M	40-49
170	ES-PHL-2-4	José	Barcelona	Phone	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	PHI	F	50+
171	ES-PHL-2-5	José	Barcelona	Phone	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	PHI	F	50+
172	ES-PHL-2-6	Elena	Madrid	Partner's offices/University	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	PHI	F	40-49
173	ES-UA-2-4	José	Madrid	Cafés/restaurant	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	UKR	F	30-49
175	ES-UA-2-5	José	Madrid	Cafés/restaurant	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	UKR	F	19-29
178	ES-UA-2-6	José	Madrid	Cafés/restaurant	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	UKR	F	19-29
215	ES-MAR-2-9	José	Seville	Phone	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	MOR	F	30-49

219	ES-UA-2-7	José	Madrid	Partner's offices/University	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	UKR	F	19-29
229	ES-UA-2-8	José	Madrid	Cafés/restaurant	Taped & notes	Spanish (with the help of an Ukrainian friend)	ES	No	UKR	F	30-49
230	ES-UA-1-10	José	Murcia	Other public places	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	UKR	M	30-49
232	ES-UA-1-11	José	Murcia	Cafés/restaurant	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	UKR	M	40-49
233	ES-UA-1-12	José	Murcia	Cafés/restaurant	Taped & notes	Spanish (with the help of a friend)	ES	No	UKR	M	50+
236	ES-UA-2-13	José	Murcia	Skype/FB video call	Taped & notes	Spanish (with the help of her son)	ES	No	UKR	F	40-49
237	ES-IND-1-1	José	Madrid	Cafés/restaurant	Taped & notes	English	ES	No	IND	M	30-49
238	ES-IND-2-2	Elena	Madrid	Workplace	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	IND	F	40-49
239	ES-MAR-1-10	José	Murcia	Associations/consulate	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	MOR	M	19-29
240	ES-MAR-1-11	José	Murcia	Associations/consulate	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	MOR	M	19-29
242	ES-UA-2-14	José	Madrid	Workplace	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	UKR	F	40-49
243	ES-UA-2-15	José	Madrid	Workplace	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	UKR	F	40-49
244	ES-UA-2-16	José	Bilbao	Skype/FB video call	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	UKR	F	30-49
245	ES-UA-2-17	Elena	Barcelona	Workplace	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	UKR	F	50+
246	ES-UA-2-18	José	Santander	Skype/FB video call	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	UKR	F	40-49
247	ES-UA-2-19	José	Santander	Skype/FB video call	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	UKR	F	50+
252	ES-UA-2-9	José	Madrid	Partner's offices/University	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	UKR	F	19-29
253	ES-IND-1-3	José	Madrid	Workplace	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	IND	M	50+
258	ES-IND-2-4	Elena	Barcelona	Workplace	Notes	Spanish	ES	No	IND	F	30-49
259	ES-IND-1-5	Carmen	Madrid	Cafés/restaurant	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	IND	M	19-29
260	ES-IND-1-6	José	Barcelona	Home	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	IND	M	40-49
261	ES-IND-1-7	José	Barcelona	Workplace	Notes	English	ES	No	IND	M	50+
275	ES-IND-1-8	José	Barcelona	Home	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	IND	M	40-49
276	ES-PHL-1-7	José	Barcelona	Cafés/restaurant	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	PHI	M	50+
277	ES-PHL-2-8	José	Barcelona	Cafés/restaurant	Taped & notes	English	ES	No	PHI	F	30-49
278	ES-PHL-2-9	José	Barcelona	Phone	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	PHI	F	50+
279	ES-PHL-1-10	José	Barcelona	Phone	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	PHI	M	50+
303	ES-MAR-1-12	José	Murcia	Cafés/restaurant	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	MOR	M	40-49
305	ES-MAR-1-13	José	Murcia	Workplace	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	MOR	M	50+
307	ES-MAR-2-14	José	Valencia	Cafés/restaurant	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	MOR	F	19-29
314	ES-MAR-1-15	José	Valencia	Workplace	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	MOR	M	40-49
315	ES-MAR-1-16	José	Valencia	Workplace	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	MOR	M	40-49

317	ES-MAR-2-17	José	Valencia	Phone	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	MOR	F	30-49
319	ES-MAR-1-18	José	Murcia	Workplace	Notes	Spanish	ES	No	MOR	M	40-49
320	ES-MAR-1-19	José	Murcia	Cafés/restaurant	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	MOR	M	40-49
321	ES-MAR-1-20	José	Murcia	Workplace	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	MOR	M	30-49
322	ES-MAR-1-21	José	Murcia	Cafés/restaurant	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	MOR	M	40-49
323	ES-MAR-1-22	José	Murcia	Home	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	MOR	M	40-49
332	ES-UA-2-20	Elena	Madrid	Cafés/restaurant	Taped & notes	Spanish	ES	No	UKR	F	40-49

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