INTRAURBANS BORDERS FOR IMMIGRANT POPULATION IN BARCELONA

Septiembre 2010

Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya

Centre de Política de Sòl i Valoracions
* El presente documento es parte del trabajo desarrollado en el proyecto "Inmigración, vivienda y Ciudad" financiado por el Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación

Realización
Blanca Gutiérrez Valdivia. Socióloga CPSV.
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Introduction

One of the characteristics of the present geopolitical context is that the increase of international inequality has led to an increased movement of people across borders. The world economy is undergoing fundamental changes. Globalization is represented with the increase of migration; because the connection between countries through flows of capital, goods, services, information and ideas is increased.

The inflation in these flows raises new forms of racism and exclusion.

Borders are political-administrative structures that change over time and the geopolitical situation of the states; there are no natural boundaries. Each country materializes its borders with immigration laws, which have a changing character according to their political and economic interests. In physical terms, the border is embodied by the construction of elements that impede and facilitate the monitoring of persons and goods (control access, walls, fences, etc.).

In the current European Union, some of these limits have disappeared between member countries, causing some control to be moved inside the country. While the borders between member countries of the European Union have disappeared, they have devoted great efforts to tighten the restrictions to the external borders of the EU: militarization and border outsourcing and development of computer control systems of last generation. Beyond this dichotomy between borders of member countries and countries outside the EU, there is an "invisible" control in the everyday spaces of each nation.

In the case of Spain, controlling the conditions of access to the country has been a consolidation within the State, especially in large cities; where new mechanisms of internal control that we call intraurbans borders exist.

The city is crossed by power lines, these lines of power are shaping the space and determine who may be in specific spaces or may represent areas that are closed to a particular social group.

The dominant structures (social, political, economic, spatial ...) are making up the borders and when they experience changes, it redraws borders.

The boundaries within the city: between the invisible and the real.

The boundaries within cities are characterized by greater complexity and the transitory nature of its existence. Boundaries are dynamic (they are in constant reconfiguration) and go unnoticed by people who do not suffer their consequences.
The main difference with the boundaries of national borders within cities is that they are "invisible" because they are not regulated (as the first) and in principle, not materialized, with elements recognized as such. However, in everyday practice this is only apparent because the similarity of both borders is that they make a distinction between two types of people: people who have freedom of movement, and other people who have restricted access to the public space in the city.

The constraints on intra-urban boundaries are physical characteristics that determine the usability, inclusion or exclusion in access to housing, public spaces, facilities and services.

In some cases, there are laws that reinforce this exclusion, such as the current Citizenship Act, applied in Barcelona (2006). Other cities have implemented this example as a model to reinforce segregation.

Superficially, it appears that the exclusion factors are at the borders or ethnic origin; however these are just the most visible. Access to the host country may also be restricted by factors such as age, sex, religious beliefs or socioeconomic status among others. This range of reasons for the rejection is more tangible in the city where, for example, women have limited access to very masculinized or "insecure" areas of the city, or in the financial districts, where it is almost impossible to find elderly people or children.

Although as we have noted that there are different social groups affected by the existence boundaries within cities, this article focuses on the variable origin and cause of exclusion in certain areas of the city. To do this, first let's take a brief contextualization of the implications of migration in Spain.

The steady arrival of immigrants and their installation in Spanish society is assuming a social transformation in depth, and can compete with any implications that have arisen in our contemporary history. Its impact in many areas and aspects of Spanish society is remarkable, and will to be much greater in the future.

Nevertheless, this is not a phenomenon of Spain, but a structural element of Western capitalist societies of international migration. This is a result of the enormous economic disparities between the regions that interact in a global economy.

If international migration is an inherent element of this advanced stage of capitalism, we can say that the Spanish general context has had a "pull factor" in international migration flows. Indeed, strong growth has to be recognized within a period of economic expansion that has demanded immigrant labor. Further changes are generated in the labor market including modifying the
"acceptable level" of certain uses by the indigenous population. Thus, a series of "labor niches" have appeared to be covered by immigration\textsuperscript{iii}. Consequently, the local population aging would link to low birth rates and an increasing life expectancy of the population.

In the same area, the city overlaps different social models of citizenship. Take example of the grappling debate; a citizenry that has the right to move freely and can enjoy the city in its fullness, versus other citizens (the excluded), whose mobility is limited, access to certain areas of the city is restricted, and whose different experiences and needs are not accounted for. It seems contradictory that in a society that is increasingly diverse and plural, and where the integration of a large number of immigrants is a reality, there are increasing areas of segregation and exclusion in this population. However, this reality follows accordingly with the country's immigration policy as more economic efforts are devoted to strengthening the external borders and the implementation of the Aliens Act to promote the integration and coexistence with the new citizens. Even in cities like Barcelona, it is perceived to have taken control of immigration into everyday spaces.

Nirmal Puwar defines the experience of out of place as the feeling of invasion of social and physical spaces, whose occupation is aimed at bodies that constitute what the author calls such as somatic. This standard somatic could be understood as the body without ethnic brand, generic, universal, and of a colonial body. In other words, the white male body, who participates in the definition of others; those bodies marked by class, race and gender\textsuperscript{iv}. This is a new urban paradigm, where complex realities coexist. On one hand, there is an international city where the flow (of information, capital, goods, services and people) buckes the regional basis and becomes dependent on the economic system, and the other, the city of everyday life, where the territorial level and space remains central to the lives of people.

Instead of working with arising intercultural conflicts, it encourages the separation of the groups by walls, fences and electronic security devices. Recent anthropological studies have shown the weight in the construction of urban segregation, as physical barriers contribute to the changes in habits and rituals, and that obsessive conversations about the insecurity tend to polarize the good and bad, to establish distances and symbolic walls that reinforce the physical character\textsuperscript{v}. According to the spatial/architecture, dimension of public spaces are defined as open space and accessible where all people can be circular, unlike the private spaces where access and use is restricted and controlled\textsuperscript{vi}.

As highlighted by Borja\textsuperscript{vii}, the defining principle of urban public space is less of a legal nature
(public property) and sociological (their use and especially their access conditions). There are publicly owned spaces that are not open access, while others privately owned they are. The main characteristic that defines public space is its open access.

Public space provides the physical support of social relations in the city. The existence of invisible borders in the city refuses parts of the population, the right to enjoy the city at its fullest, and the ability to relate and interact with others. The possibility to use public space by and large is a prerequisite for developing the citizenship status. Public space can be an opportunity to promote change and improve the social sustainability or on the other hand, can reproduce the kind of dynamics that generate inequalities.

**Different dimensions of urban boundaries.**

As already mentioned, the country borders are the result of geopolitical practice, however, the boundaries within cities are the result of different dynamics that interact: political, economic, socio-cultural and spatial morphology.

In our cities there are invisible barriers that influence the use and enjoyment of public spaces by part of citizenship. To understand this reality is important to note the close relationship between the physical fact of the city and the social structure that is installed in it, as well as the personal dynamics of the present and past of each of the individuals who have inhabited it.

Below is what we understand to be the different dimensions that determine these settings within the city limits. The different dimensions are interrelated and have various degrees of action and implementation

- **Economic-Political Dimension;** the political and economic situation, even though configured to a macro level (national, European Community), ends materialize at the micro level (city) determining the persons to make use of urban spaces.

  In the case of the city of Barcelona, there are three practices that contribute to the shaping of internal boundaries that limit access to public space for immigrants: privatization, identity checks and regulations on the use of public space.

  - **Privatization of public spaces:** When economic or political decisions decide to close and restrict access to certain spaces, which is demonstrated through the case for the use of public spaces, like streets or squares opening bars and shops. In these situations, people are restricted the use of this space by their socioeconomic status. These measures particularly affect economic migrants who have limited purchasing power. In Barcelona’s case, there is a relationship between tourism and restricting the use of spaces, as more and more public spaces are privatized to get an economic return from them.

This is a dynamic that is especially true in the District of Ciutat Vella, where there is a high
percentage of immigrant population (44.3%) with high numbers of tourists.
Identity-selective controls: These are records that are made from people with a physical appearance of "immigrant" in public spaces such as streets or metro exits. The objective of these controls is to identify people to proceed in an irregular situation to their detention and subsequent deportation. The existence of regular screening of identity in public spaces, especially in neighborhoods with a strong presence of immigrants means that many immigrants are afraid to be in public places where controls are common. In areas like the Raval, which concentrates a high percentage of immigrant population (48% of the population of the district), identity checks and raids are daily and completely arbitrary and the documentation officers only ask people with dark skin or who dress "exotic." In this sense, reality of life and work of these undocumented migrants is slim, regardless of fear and constant threat of falling into the spiral-raid-CIE-deportation detention. First, there are instruments of control that go on to become (condition of existence) constant threat in the daily reality for thousands of people: even if it is crossed, immigrants continue to live on the border. Exit the Metro at certain seasons or walk certain streets, there is a high likelihood of danger of deportation similar to illegal across the border.

-Regulations of the use of public space: Specific regulations to control the use people make of public space in the city. Since 2006, in Barcelona a civic ordinance prohibits activities of appropriation of public space as playing ball in the street or drinking in a square. The ordinance was drafted to regulate behavior "uncivil" or non-regulated activity in the country of particular social groups, including immigrants. In addition, this regulation encourages transit in the public space opposite the room or when meeting, which is detrimental to the immigrant population (than by the poor housing conditions, the need to relate to their social networks or by lower purchasing power that difficult the meeting in places of leisure associated with the consumption), meet more often in public spaces that the Spanish population.

Social-Cultural Dimension: This dimension refers to discrimination and segregation caused by the socio-cultural city context. Although the socio-cultural framework is part of the country's reality, the city may have specifics socio-cultural characteristics.

The immigrants have a need to use public space as well as Spanish people, in order to perform everyday tasks, employment, trade ...

The coexistence or segregation in many cases depend on the perception of the different groups there and the daily practices of public space. For example, a Moroccan mother in practice was discriminated against because they have been denied the use of a swing, in a public space, by a Spanish family. Or, for example, the case of older people, afraid of the unknown who feel fear of using spaces occupied by a group of young people from other nationalities.
• Physical Dimension: The physics morphology of space, physical characteristics, determines the profile of users.

The configuration of public space serves the needs and experiences of part of the population, so the other social groups are excluded. The inadequacy of public space physics violates the right to an equal use of space.

This concept is extended through the entire society, in other words, beyond the origin or source, in public spaces exist a lack of recognition of the everyday uses related to reproductive tasks. In the case of immigrants, we find a group that has a strong presence of young people with dependents. This lack of consideration in the planning, resulting in inappropriate public places for meeting, for the game or for the take care of others. That is, in the neighborhoods where a high percentage of immigrant population is concentrated, most public spaces are not equipped with infrastructure for daily life. This is case is well illustrated in the central districts of Barcelona where the space is conditioned for space tourism-related uses but not to everyday practices.

This space does not consider the specific needs of people with different cultural contexts such as social or religious practices, which may require flexible spaces that have the appropriate characteristics.

Other physical characteristics of space, as the visibility of a public space or the lack of visibility, can determine for example, that one group is used to hide from the oppression of legal or social control. Moreover, the visibility of a central city area can be an impediment to their use by some groups that are under constant observation because of social pressure exerted on them, and that these groups use other spaces those who feel sheltered from this control, such as the Plaza de Sant Pau del Camp in the neighborhood of Raval.

Keep in mind that in the configuration of these exclusions the variable origin intersects with other variables such as gender and socioeconomic status which complicate the problem.

The dimensions that create the boundaries are not equivalent to each other and not everyone has the same relevance, but all draw a line between inclusion and exclusion, which although mobile determines a differential inclusion for immigrants, as a permanent reminder of your stay here in Spain in particular and Europe in general, is conditional.

Therefore, the border is not acting solely as a tool to restrict the geographic mobility in the city, but also affects the urban experience of people in all its complexity.

As a weight of efforts to do so, the effectiveness of these borders is not total, as they are not state borders, and to evade these border areas are generated transgression strategies that encourage the creation of networks of solidarity and mutual support among people.
This is the case, for example of the use of a red scarf from immigrants to notify people in an irregular situation; that in a space near is an occurring identity check. Or when a group of immigrants without adequate space to practice their sports or national festival, they appropriate for a non-formal space, like an empty plot, to develop it.

The above examples and analysis conducted in this text are taken from a survey that was performed in several open public spaces (streets and squares) in different districts of Barcelona and its Metropolitan Area.

Thus, this research has used qualitative methodology. The use of qualitative tools in urban analysis allows us to incorporate non-quantifiable data within the statistical data and work at a level of detail for which no data is available. Different techniques have been used.

The first, and in which research is based primarily Participant observation consisted of a sequential analysis in different areas for each of the selected contexts at different times of day (morning, afternoon, evening) and on different days (weekday, Saturday, or holiday) To collect the information of the observations a number of chips have been used to classify information according to two dimensions which facilitates further analysis.

-Physical dimension: characteristics, accessibility, infrastructure, health, beauty, furniture ...
-Social dimension: who use (gender, age, origin), with whom, how, how ...

The other technique employed are in-depth interviews have provided additional information to that achieved by the observations also corroborate the dynamics observed.

Conclusions

Despite the tightening of the border regime by member states of the European Union, immigrants continue to arrive in both regular and irregular manner. This fact has not only led to changes in the structures that stifle the free flow of people, but has moved new forms of control to urban setting and selective exclusion of certain areas of the city from different sectors of the population. The result is the creation of a series of intraurbans borders that run through different institutional arrangements, social practices and spatial exclusion.

These boundaries differ from first-class citizens and economic migrants who respond to the needs of circumstantial work market of labor.

The existence of these borders effectively precludes coexistence between Spanish and foreign population and hinders the sustainability and social cohesion, which in principle, should be the goal of a democratic and an equality society.


J. Borja, La ciudad conquistada (Madrid: Alianza Editorial) pp. 100-155

Source: Barcelona City Council http://www.bcn.es/estadistica/catala/dades

D. Ávila, M. Malo, “¿Quién puede habitar la ciudad? Fronteras, gobierno y transnacionalidad en los barrios de Lavapiés y San Cristóbal” in Observatorio Metropolitano (eds.) Madrid la Suma de Todos (Madrid: Traficantes de Sueños) pp. 505-632

Col·lectiu Punt 6: Checklist to work in the Public Space http://punt6.wordpress.com/