

# THE NEW CATALANISM

**CITIZENSHIP, DIVERSITY  
AND IDENTITIES COMMISSION**

**CATALANIST AND  
DEMOCRAT FOUNDATION**

CATDEM FOUNDATION

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# PROLOGUE

## THE CATALONIA THAT DECIDES

On November 20th, 2007, Artur Mas delivered a speech at the conference “Catalanism, energy and hope for a better country.” From the very beginning, after stating that no one should forget that he was also Secretary General of a nationalist political party, *Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya* (Democratic Convergence of Catalonia), he also wanted to make it clear what he wished to set in motion starting that very moment: “It is from the perspective of this outlook and commitment [to Catalanism and Catalonia] that I want to invite the Catalan society, particularly those who share my concerns and wish to build a new Catalan nation, to rethink, update, modernize and, in a way, re-establish Catalanism as a source of energy and a bridge of hope for a better Catalonia. Like all invitations, it is an open and integrating one that does not exclude anyone.” This is where the conversion of the Ramon Trias Fargas Foundation into today’s Catalanist and Democrat Foundation began, better known today as CatDem. To be more exact, the Foundation CatDem was given the task of bringing together various intellectuals and professionals from January 2008 until the date of this publication, who in turn had the job of making this project a reality.

Politics does not tend to be reflective. But Catalan politics is progressively becoming even less so. It is admirable that a political force would decide to create a think tank and that, on top of this, decide to leave it in the hands of people who are not members of

that political party. In fact, the Foundation CatDem is the result of a happy coincidence between the CDC's interest in finding out why - despite being the number one political force in the Catalan Parliament – it was losing electoral support election after election, and the concern of various nationalist professors and intellectuals about the lack of Catalanism's answers to globalized modernity. If, as those who have studied the issue point out, the Catalanism of the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century had been one of the engines of Spanish reformism – introducing the idea that Catalonia should be the economic powerhouse but also the conductor of political change – it makes sense to ask ourselves what it should be at the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century and the years to come. The old Catalanism had certainly been a factor of Spain's modernity for many reasons (among them, for having wanted to exercise the right of citizenship – democracy in fact – but also for having demanded a reorganization of the State), and it needs to take up this role once again to provide solutions to a complex, plural and democratically consolidated society that is the Catalonia of the third millennium. As Arthur Mas pointed out at the aforementioned conference: “The Catalanism that was born in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century, was developed during the first third of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century and intensified in the last quarter of that century, has been a success story. Success is always measured by the degree to which the initial goals are achieved. Regarding Catalanism, a great deal of what was proposed 100 to 150 years ago has been achieved. And it was achieved despite enormous difficulties, which at times may have seemed insurmountable.”

What were these grand objectives? To put it briefly, they were: the survival the Catalan nation, which depended on the recovery of the institutions of self-government and the diffusion of a national culture; the social and economic progress of Catalans (or in other words, the modernization of the country and the welfare of society) and the regeneration of Spain, subdued by the scourge of a militarism that did not allow democracy to take root until the final third of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. The death of general Franco was precisely what cleared the way for the longest democratic period in Spanish and Catalan contemporary history, which has also coincided with the spread of globalization. The changes in both Spain and Catalonia have been extraordinary. Inevitably, this would also have an effect on the emerging social model. Spain's entry into NATO and the EU; a change in Catalonia's and Spain's production model and the development of the State of the Autonomies that has allowed us to build a more or less efficient Catalan self-government, reconfigured the Spanish political scene and in consequence, the role of Catalanism beyond Catalonia and within Catalonia. Said differently, the dream of the cultural-political movement of *noucentisme* - of building a national culture dedicated to classicism, but also European and modern, next to the Catalonia-city ideal— it is clear that this dream has reached its limit. Modern Catalonia is thus the result of this movement, since it was capable of finding the necessary political support to advance its program.

But the Catalonia of today has little to do with what was central to Catalanism at least from 1906 onwards. There are controversies that are no longer relevant – such as that of bilingualism or the co-existence of Catalan and Spanish – because the reality has been so transformed that it is ridiculous to keep this debate going on the

same terms. If it is true that 300 different languages are spoken in the city of Barcelona, as reputable studies have shown, why would it make any sense to keep rehashing the same debate that is no longer based on reality? The Catalonia of the future will never again be monolingual or bilingual, but multilingual. In the same way, religious diversity, which had previously existed in Catalonia but not nearly with today's intensity, is also a characteristic of the future that awaits us. As a result, in this context - one that Eugeni d'Ors would have had difficulty imagining - we must determine the role of Catalonia's local language and what must be done for it to survive while co-existing with all the other languages in the country. And this is the attitude that we must adopt with everything.

For two years now the Foundation CatDem has been reflecting on Catalonia's future from the perspective of Catalanism, the democratic ideal and freedom. Beginning in January 2008, the Foundation's task has been to put together different teams of experts who would attempt to rethink Catalanist discourse, adapting it to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century's new realities, and also to the need for political regeneration, which is something that today's Catalan society has been demanding for some time now. Therefore, we have had Commissions that have reflected on a range of topics, such as Catalan culture and identity, the presence of women in society, the international projection of Catalonia, the policies of historical memory, immigration, etc. At the same time, three Areas of Reflection were created to debate the positioning of Catalonia in a globalized world (*Catalunya Global*; Global Catalonia), the infrastructure, production and environmental models in Catalonia (*Catalunya en Xarxa*; Networked Catalonia) and the social aspects and values shared among the citizenry of our country (*Catalunya Plural*; Plural Catalonia).

What must we do to guarantee that Catalonia has an important place in the world over the next few decades? How can we strengthen our country's projection to the outside world in the areas of business, science, technology, culture, development cooperation, sports, etc? Can Catalonia become a relevant actor on the international stage? What must we do to make it happen? A dozen experts from different disciplines, with solid professional trajectories and valuable personal experiences, have been working for more than a year in the Global Catalonia Ambit to find answers to these questions. The final result of this process of collective reflection can be found in the articles in the first of these volumes, and further synthesized in the 48 strategic proposals for the country with long and short-term goals. Among these proposals we can highlight the following: Catalonia's external presence is a direct consequence of its internal reality. Catalonia will only have a key role on an international level if it is successful as a country. We must encourage the desire and search for excellence (through effort, merit and the recognition of quality) in all parts of society, for all of society and not just reserved for an elite. Education must be improved, and the bar must be raised in the creation of human resources, promoting careers in science and technology, encouraging an enterprising mindset, and ensuring that Catalan society becomes English-speaking. In economic terrain, we must adopt a model of competitiveness that is responsible and sustainable, in such a way that the generation of wealth does not undermine social cohesion and the delicate environmental balance. With regard to the ICT (Information and Communication Technologies), together with the Government and the Catalan civil society, we must start up a project that will bring fiber access to all the homes in Catalonia. We must strengthen the role of the Catalan civil

society, especially at an international level, making the Federation of Internationally Recognized Catalan Organizations (FOCIR) a fundamental instrument for coordination and stimulus.

Regarding the Plural Catalonia Ambit, the experts who have helped elaborate the materials that went into this second volume point out that the national identity of Catalonia in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century is strengthened through its undeniable plurality. “Plurality” is not an opposing concept to that of the notion of “identity.” Catalan culture has had to assume a strict attitude of resistance throughout many periods of its history, and this has simultaneously generated an understandable hypersensitivity about identity issues, especially linguistic ones. We must assume this legacy, but bring it up to date and proactively model it to advance towards a national plenitude that is coherent with the country’s plural reality.

A pluralist society allows its citizens, who have equal rights, to be able to enjoy vital aspects of their respective cultures and profess diverse moral codes. To acknowledge difference does not necessarily mean social atomism, but quite the contrary: we can differentiate ourselves as individuals only from a collective framework of shared values. Liberalism has been a good defender of the political equality of rights, and socialism has been a good defender of the social equality of rights. But neither classic liberalism nor socialism has been able to effectively include difference – linguistic, gender, religious, or of any other sort – nor make its political acknowledgement effective. This acknowledgement of difference inevitably goes hand in hand with the defense of pluralism. Language has been, and continues to be, the distinctive trait of Catalan identity, but more and more

Catalans are Spanish-speaking, or speakers of other languages, that feel nationally identified and politically committed to the country's aspirations of sovereignty. It is important to keep in mind that according to the thorough 2008 Inquiry on the Linguistic Uses of the Population, (*Enquesta d'Usos Lingüístics de la Població de 2008*), Catalan is no longer the primary language in Catalonia, either as a primary language or a language of communication.

Among the essential tools needed for managing pluralism, there are those supplied by judicial ordinance, that mark - with more or less precision - the framework in which we should recognize, respect and promote. The accommodating of plurality goes beyond the strictly political or cultural sphere: it also requires the appropriate legislation to make it effective. Numerous academic studies exist on the plural reality of Quebec, Flanders, Scotland, etc., which can help to correctly contextualize the topic, despite the fact that the specific conditions of each place, especially the linguistic ones, do not permit establishing generalizations that could end up being used politically.

Because identities are human constructions, it makes sense to reveal their true origins; and since the perception of plurality is not an objective truth, but also obeys extremely varied contingencies, it would make equal sense to situate it on the same plane. We freely assume certain identities just as we can freely assume certain pluralities that would have been impossible on other occasions. Along the same lines, depending on what the dominant values are at that time, the next generations might modify or model what today we simply assume.

In the Networked Catalonia Ambit, the question the participating specialists might have asked is: for Catalonia to work, what do we need to do? Faced with such a question, it is immediately tempting to fall into the trap of concretion, of the action plan, of putting the cart before the horse. In fact, this is a weakness of the Catalanism – and probably of the country and politics – of a former time: we have so idealized the *doing* of things that, too often, we have not paid enough attention to *why* we should do them.

Thus, the real question that this Ambit set out to answer was not to ask what we need to do to make Catalonia work – which is more like an electoral program -, but instead, what are the relevant themes and challenges that need to be answered in order for Catalonia to work – which is an approach that resembles a political doctrine. As a result, what does Catalanism need to reflect and decide on, what issues must be included in the agenda of the new Catalanism, one that has been renovated and situated in line with current times.

Catalanism is characterized by two elements – even defining Catalanism in its main historical trend -, which are the identification with modernity and reformism. At the same time, the values of modernity have been questioned up to the point that, today, the biggest concern is how to sustain the society and the economic model while leaving from different premises. On the other hand, we are coming to better understand that reformism, positive at the start, can become a handicap if it is not combined on key occasions with an indispensable vanguardist spirit that will allow us to take great leaps forward. These two aspects have also determined the reflection on the networked Catalonia.

At the same time, we need a spirit of difference. Catalonia does not have to aspire to be the same as others, but to be as differentiated as others are – this does not mean focusing only on the essentials, but quite the contrary, it means searching for aspects that we can identify with, that make us valuable to interact with, and that makes it interesting to work with us. To achieve this goal, and by valuing internal diversity as an important asset, we must understand Catalonia as a unit of global projection. This means assuming that the metropolitanism of Barcelona has extended throughout the country, that Catalonia is a metropolitan phenomenon (in reference to the metropolitan phenomena that are emerging today, and not how they were a half-century ago) and that we should stop stubbornly dividing the country in two realities that are deliberately conflicting and contradictory. The success of the Catalonia-city ideal, sought by the *noucentistes*, is an undeniable fact today. In consequence, the design of how the territory should be governed, instead of being inspired by archaic models, should provide a more creative solution to these new realities.

This change of model – preparing for the future instead of insisting on out-of-date approaches – has to have an effect on other equally relevant aspects. We will give a few examples. Urban planning has to overcome a vision that focuses solely on the occupation and the transformation of new territories, to understand that the combination of urban spaces and open or free spaces shape the country's reality, and have both complementary and necessary functions. Thus urban planning must contemplate reinventing or recycling the territories that are already occupied and favoring mixed-use spaces.

Education needs to be reformed so that it can become truly useful for meeting the needs of diffuse talent, of creativity, of job flexibility, etc. Thus, it must evolve not only in tools, but above all in content. The energy model must substitute the hegemony of petrol and energy waste for a real – and mental – diversification, in which the difference between being a consumer and an energy producer is reduced, and answers to the challenges of climate change. The industrial model of past centuries has to make way for a new model built on different productive foundations, including the green economy. The list of reforms is longer, but this still means that it is of utmost importance to act in each one of these fields with a spirit of innovation and renewal.

Inevitably, we must include sustainability in the aims that we have just indicated. Otherwise it will not be long before they go out-of-date. To clarify, the sustainability that Catalanist thinking is interested in is not the kind based on local environmental conflicts, but instead, that of getting involved in answering to the great social challenges, as a convinced actor and not a resigned spectator.

Obviously, the network has an elementary role in this reformulation, but not the network that is spread out as a collection of supporting infrastructures, but instead, as a way of conceiving the territory and civil society based on interaction – far from poorly understood self-sufficiency. An interaction that stimulates the country's openness, that encourages ambivalent hierarchies, that favors all forms of interaction (not only as receivers to what is going on outside, but also as active emitters), and so on.

This focus does will not dissolve the unity of the country, on the contrary; it will allow us the possibility of putting together a plan for our country – something indispensable – that is molded by both the “yes’s” and the “no’s”. It is absurd to aspire to be good at everything, scattering our efforts in a thousand different directions, because we wear ourselves out without obtaining satisfactory results in hardly anything. We must choose, from a realistic and pragmatic perspective, what areas we can and want to excel in. This has been attempted many times, but it has been done when only looking at the “yes’s”. Success depends on the “no’s”, or in other words, on if we also know how to say no to alternative options that disintegrate our limited capabilities.

We can deduce from this that we need effectiveness and efficiency to reach the stage of execution. Here we enter the terrain of governance, of the still-pending reflection on what kind of public administration we really want – and not how we introduce variations into the State’s model already in force, which is invalid and incapable of facing the challenges, complexities and needs of this new age. Without taking significant steps – and even radical ones – in this field, it will be difficult for other ambitions to advance as well. We must also “rewrite” the way we govern and organize public administration: Catalanism cannot risk patching up the current situation anymore, one that, any way you look at it, is inoperative.

Along this line of thinking, we must demand and reformulate the complementary - and not anti-ethical – role that the public and private sectors have. We must push for collaboration between these two enterprising spheres. The public sector should not seek out a

paralyzing interventionism, and the private sector should not feel disconnected from common interests. On the contrary, there are ways that the roles of both sectors can be optimally united. This means, on the other hand, that the country's renewal cannot be in the hands of politicians alone. In fact, without coordinated participation of the different spheres that make up society, this renewal is not viable.

In the end, and as the reader will see, the Networked Catalonia Ambit argues that in the new model for our country there must be a more creative spirit about what we can become, and not one that focuses on what we could have been. Above all, there must be a sense of urgency, because postponing the changes that our society needs is not an option.

At the conference on November 20<sup>th</sup>, Artur Mas had already been aware by intuition of several of these – let us call them recipes – which the experts have displayed here. Mas said, “Where Catalanism sought the survival of the nation, we must replace it with the fully-fledged nation, to experience national plenitude. Where it favored modernization, we must now put our faith in a country that leads the way. Where the regeneration of Spain was sought, we must now also ensure Catalonia's place in the world: constructing the global Catalonia. Where we spoke of independence and self-government, we must now speak of the right to decide for ourselves about the things that belong to us.” The materials that you have in your hands right now greatly widen this brief but accurate diagnostic.

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Political oversimplification has sought to reduce the project of the Meeting House of Catalanism to an attempt by CDC to hire

people that they would later incorporate, for example, into their list of electoral candidates. This was not Artur Mas's intention for the program he started up at the end of 2007. To avoid any misunderstandings, this should be made clear from the beginning. More than a handful of important names, the Meeting House of Catalanism was – and is – a concept based on three principles that are broad enough to make it easy for many people to fit inside: humanism, democracy and Catalanism. What began two years ago had more to do with the intellectual debate and with the impact that ideas should have on political actions, and less to do with general formulas or personages.

Our objectives were modest and ambitious at the same time, because it is clear that trying to conduct a debate on the future of Catalanism and how to go from traditional Catalanism (as the leaders of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Century saw it) to a new Catalanism, is neither easy nor does it end with the publishing of these three volumes and the booklets presented in a digital format. It seems an even more difficult undertaking if we hope to spread Catalanism to the sectors that show indifference or hostility to it today, and above all, within the younger generations. While this internal debate has been going on, people have often asked us how we were going to manage to spread Catalanism beyond its current “frontiers.” Over the last few years, however, we have noticed that there are two different ways of approaching the issue of Catalanism and the right to decide. The first talk is to talk nonstop about sovereignty through propaganda. The technique is quite simple: exalt the objective without explaining how it will be achieved, or who will call for a referendum, and on what legal grounds. Can someone really believe that the UN or the EU will

endorse a process like this if we haven't achieved a wide enough social majority to demonstrate its suitability and validity? Since 2006 and the appearance of different pro-sovereignty platforms, the idea has spread that the Catalan society is growing increasingly pro-independent. At the moment, there is no reliable indicator that can support this. What is clear is that the pro-independence movement has permeated Catalan society. However, we should not be blinded by the electoral strength of multifaceted Catalan nationalism, which could even have formed a government in 2003 and 2006, because the weakness of Catalanist coordination (or those of sovereignty, or however we may call it) is a fact, and one that everyone recognizes. In addition, the current President of the Catalan Government doesn't believe in sovereignty either, and never passes up an opportunity to say so.

The second road to sovereignty is based, in exchange, on the idea that we need to be conscious that before we do anything, we need to build up a social majority that has no qualms about accepting the sovereignty postulates. Wouldn't it have been nice if we had already passed the autonomist phase! It is easy to fool ourselves, but actually touching reality, daring to touch it, is much more difficult. If we are so convinced that the pro-independence movement is an unstoppable tsunami, why then do we go on complaining about the weakness of our day-to-day Catalan-ness? Why do we lament that Catalan is dying when there are so many advocates for sovereignty prepared to defend it? And so on. As Daniel Innerarity says: "Governments are chosen, not nations." So, we truly have a long way to go before we convince Catalonia's citizenry that sovereignty is not a whim, but a necessity. It is important to widen the social base of Catalanism beyond the political parties, to incorporate

as many people as possible into the cause, because the enemy of sovereignty is, precisely, indifference.

To advance towards sovereignty we must abandon the tacitness that enslaves Catalan politics in an ephemeral and often insignificant battle. To strengthen Catalan-ness, what is needed from the start is to promote a Catalanist hegemony and also consolidate a network of civil associations that work for people's welfare and create a better image of the pro-independence movement for those who look upon it with indifference. We will be able to determine this project's success on the day that Catalanism has shifted to incorporate the country's new needs, many of which have been highlighted in these three volumes. If we have managed to construct a discourse on the right to decide that is acceptable to the majority of Catalans, and if Catalan citizens that are not aligned with the pro-sovereignty movement have joined this project (or at least, they do not see it as attack, but instead as a political thinking that also defends their interests) then we will be ready to go even farther. This is the ultimate meaning of the proposal of the Meeting House of Catalanism. In addition, success can also be measured when we have been able to strengthen the international prestige of Catalanism and the Catalan cause; of the Catalonia that decides and that wants to decide.

**AGUSTÍ COLOMINES**

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*Plural Catalonia and Networked Catalonia*.**

# INTRODUCTION

The Meeting House of Catalanism (la Casa Gran del Catalanisme) is a project that brought together many people - of different ideologies and social characteristics – who were attracted by the idea of modernizing the Catalanism of the previous century in a non-partisan and independent manner. This opportune and necessary initiative emerged more clearly defined following the restructuring of the Trias Fargas Foundation. Today the Foundation - now with its name changed to the Catalanist and Democrat Foundation (or the CatDem Foundation) - was given the job of setting this initiative in motion.

The creation of the Citizenship, Diversity and Identities Commission, one of the work commissions of the innovated Foundation, signified an important yet equally attractive challenge. It would be inefficient to search for solutions to the integration problems of new immigrants – and at the same time have these solutions coincide with the sociological philosophy of Catalanism – without including the diversity of opinions and personal experiences available. This is why the Foundation never questioned the need to bring people together who could provide us with, on the one hand, detailed knowledge of the immigration phenomenon, and on the other hand, their personal experiences as newcomers who, over time, have come to identify themselves as Catalans.

It is within this context, and with the goal of contributing new ideas, that we are presenting a collection of the reflections

and personal experiences that emerged throughout the first stage of our work commission.

This is an analytical document with a testimonial side to it that attempts to emphasize the importance of immigration in this new phase of Catalanism. We hope that it will be useful and allow us to better comprehend the opportunities and the challenges surrounding the immigration phenomenon in Catalonia.

### **WORK METHODOLOGY**

Several of the members of the Citizenship, Diversity and Identities Commission wrote individual contributions related to some of the ambits of immigration: language, integration, coexistence, Catalanism, and other themes linked to the immigration phenomenon. Brahim Yaabed, coordinator the Commission, took these contributions and other materials that emerged from the work sessions, and put together a synthesis of the most relevant points. This document was subsequently ratified by all of the Commission members.

# **1.** THE IMMIGRATION PHENOMENON

**T**he reasons that drive people to emigrate - leaving behind their native land, their beloved people and their roots - are very diverse and, at the same time, inherent to the history of humanity. **The immigration phenomenon is not new.** The birth of human communities has always been accompanied by population movements: free or forced migrations. Nonetheless, it is evident that today the economic imbalance between the Northern and Southern Hemispheres is the principal cause of the migration of human masses. This asymmetry is accompanied by the complex social and political circumstances of the so-called Third World countries, such as the dictatorial character of political regimes, corruption, ethnic and tribal conflicts, etc.

In the Third World, this reality hinders the emergence of opportunities that bring dignity to peoples' lives on the work, social and personal level. In this part of the world, human beings often see all of their attempts to prosper fail, and end up becoming convinced, to their disgrace, that they will only find this prosperity outside of their homeland.

But there are also other circumstances, often very dramatic ones, that provoke migrations. People who, for example, see their lives threatened for ideological, cultural or religious reasons and thus forced to abandon their countries of origin. An equally great number decide to emigrate because they disagree with the restrictive cultural models of their societies of origin. Desire for intellectual expansion and freedom are other reasons that can often drive people to flee from the traditionalist and conservative conformism of certain cultures. These are obstacles that, when they are associated with a

specific cultural identity, can push the group's members to adopt radical and extremist attitudes.

The cause of the emigration phenomenon be what it may, its repercussions are complex, and on an individual level always involve a mix of – often contradictory – emotions that can cause great psychological suffering that can be difficult to heal from.

This is why the immigration phenomenon, seen from the point of view of receiving countries such as those within the EU, is equally difficult to handle. The economic systems of the EU countries require a foreign labor force to meet the emerging needs of their businesses, and a way to supplement the demographic deficit that their countries are facing. This is happening while, at the same time, they are fighting to preserve the quality of their welfare state.

As a result, and in order to protect this welfare state, the governments of host countries have had to create new immigration laws in order to regulate the period of stay and the circulation of people coming from countries of emigration. The majority of these people cross the border legally and with all of their papers in order, but the introduction of these new laws with their restrictions has created often insurmountable difficulties for the remaining immigrants; people who would prefer to enter developed countries by the legal route, one of the direct consequences of these laws is the setting up of mafias of human traffic. We have to take into account that, despite the creation of border watch organisms such as FRONTEX (The European Agency for the Management of Operational Co-operation at the External Borders of the Member States of the

European Union), the entries of immigrants by illegal routes have not only been unstoppable, but also increasingly tragic.

## **2.** IMMIGRATION IN CATALONIA

**C**atalonia has its own distinctive identity, culture and language, but it is a country without a State; as such, the challenges that stem from immigration are more difficult to solve. Without its own State it is harder for

Catalonia to manage this new population in a cohesive manner that preserves the country's distinctive features. Nonetheless, the immigration policies adopted by the Spanish State originated in Catalonia, which saw the majority of the newcomers to Spain end up choosing its cities as their final destination.

It is also essential to emphasize that the identity conflict – Spain versus Catalonia – represents an equally important challenge, one which makes the accommodation and the integration of newcomers into the Catalan cultural and linguistic reality even more complex. This socio-political setting could trace its origins to Spain's obsession with permanently erasing the Catalan identity.

This post-Franco era strategy, which focused on bringing about the acculturation of the Catalan people, was based on the use of the civil society that belonged to the first of the Spanish immigration waves to Catalonia. The famous Cases Regionals, or Regional Houses, were possibly created to weaken the Catalanist social and political movements. This same process of making people more “Spanish” is being applied today in Catalonia to the new immigrants, and this is why we have such a complex and ideologically diverse Catalan society. How many people are Barça fans but do not feel Catalan? How many Catalans speak Catalan but address newcomers in Spanish? How many Latin Americans arrive in Catalonia with the firm conviction that they will find a cultural and linguistic reality

similar to that of their country of origin? In short, a social reality that, above all, does not favor the normalized use of Catalan, which ends up being perceived as an imposed language and Catalanism as a discriminatory ideology.

Thus, dealing with the immigration phenomenon in Catalonia is very different from facing it with the means and resources of an individual State. To bring dignity to the historical, cultural and linguistic memory of a people in the era of globalization – and do so with justice - full sovereignty is required. If not, the task would be a great deal more difficult. Regardless, the first step is to recover the Catalan pride and dream.

This is why the Government of Catalonia, aware of this reality and prioritizing the integration of new immigrants, was the first Autonomous Community to create a Secretary for Immigration. The majority of the Autonomous Communities that make up the Spanish State subsequently adopted this initiative. The new Catalan Statute of Autonomy achieves, also for the first time, the powers to legally adapt the political and social management of the integration of newcomers to the idiosyncrasies of the country. Powers that were complemented by the National Pact on Immigration and the Reception Law, and stemmed from three fundamental topics: language, coexistence and integration.

## **THE LANGUAGE**

Any kind of communication between different people requires a vital instrument: a language. This language should not become the only means of integration, but should be seen instead as one

of the roads that lead to it - the fastest, perhaps, but never the only road. This is why, in the same way that knowing the techniques does not make you an artist, knowing the language does not make you an integrated person in the life and culture associated with this language.

We are never quite as conscious of our own identity as when we find ourselves in unknown surroundings, where the customs and ways of thinking are completely different from our own. We usually experience this intercultural collision throughout our daily coexistence, a process that forces us not only to communicate in a new language, but also to use the language differently. Thus, a new language brings with it a new way of thinking.

It is necessary, therefore, to understand language as more than a mere communication tool, but also as a system that is subject to ideological forces that reveal a certain way of thinking. In other words, language is always subjective. Beyond the social domain, however, language can build bridges that make it possible to transcend the limitations of linguistic functionalism and close the gap between people of different backgrounds. But in order for this to happen, flexibility, understanding, kinship and respect are essential. It is evident that understanding the meaning of words does not necessarily mean being able to fully understand a language; to do so, the individual must be able to identify with the symbols that the language transmits.

Thus, the fostering of the Catalan language on its own, without any of the elements that build social coherence, the human fabric

- the combination of the interrelations that a person can establish with others, and with their surroundings, etc. - is insufficient; language is communication, and communication is an interrelation within our surroundings and above all within our daily lives and coexistence.

### **COEXISTENCE**

In Catalonia, due to the great plurality of inhabitants with different sentiments and attitudes, it is necessary to achieve a degree of joint coexistence that is capable of guaranteeing social cohesion. This urgent task depends upon the capacity of adaptation of both the newcomers and the locals. In other words, on the one hand the newcomers need to be willing to accept a series of norms that will allow them to enter the social fabric of their host country, and, on the other hand, the host society's degree of flexibility and desire for change are equally important.

The rapprochement and mutual understanding of different ways of thinking and sensing the world is only possible through dialogue. It is also essential to avoid xenophobic and racist attitudes, as well as adopting a victimized attitude.

All of these observations bring us to consider a basic factor that can be found in all processes of social insertion, and is the essential foundation on which to build a cosmopolitan community: mutual respect. There is no existing cultural or social policy that has been successful in a multi-faceted community without strategies that encouraged, made note of, and were based on an ethics of consideration for the "otherness" of the ensemble of cultures.

The experiences of countries such as the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands with policies of social integration and cohesion should serve as examples for a better social cohesion, one based on the opening up to cultural differences and nuances within our society. On the other hand, if we want to measure the success of these processes, their results must be considered from a wider perspective. In other words, any process of integration has to be measured not only by the effects that can be seen from the economic and work perspective, but also by taking into account the cultural issues that exist in a person's life.

Newcomers and locals alike must be willing to show respect, as this is a sign of compromise towards any identity that recognizes itself as different in relation to its surroundings.

## **INTEGRATION**

Integration is a complex sociological concept. Among other interpretations, it is the will of different collectives that share the same territory to mutually enrich each other, despite the need for the host society's identity to act as the backbone that holds the essential values of interculturalism together.

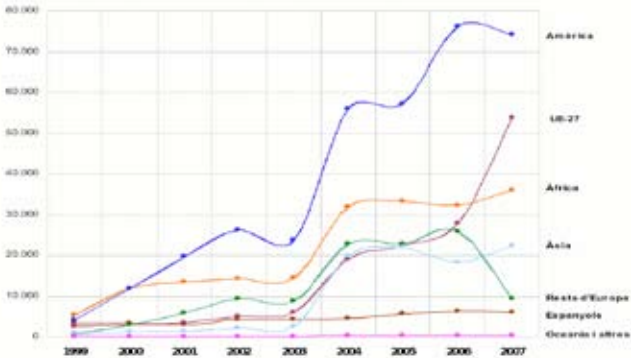
Integration should not devalue any culture: neither the newcomers' culture of origin, nor that of the locals; on the contrary, it must be the stimulus for a new citizenry capable of constructing its own history by combining the best values of each culture. In addition, citizenship - the condition given to those people considered to be from the same political community - is a status that brings with it a certain social responsibility regarding rights and duties. Thus, the

best way to integrate newcomers begins with facilitating their access to citizenship. In fact, the policies that promote the teaching and use of the Catalan language among those who decide to begin a new life in Catalonia are designed so that newcomers can have the same opportunities, rights and responsibilities as those who were born and educated here. Fundamentally, however, they were originally designed so that these people could participate on a symbolic and cultural level inherent to any process of integration, and in short, to encourage the conversion of newcomers into citizens with full rights and responsibilities.

These current initiatives, which underlie the programs of social insertion started up by institutions within the global framework of different cultural and linguistic strategies, only reflect programs that focus on reaffirming both the identity and the history of Catalonia. They will likely remain inefficient, therefore, if they are not complemented by other strategies of social promotion that would serve as a stimulus to all newcomers. This necessary innovation of the integration policies should aim for newcomers to eventually be able to see themselves as essential actors within Catalan society, and in addition, as an indispensable and integrated part of the country's social and economic development. Thus, newcomers that aspire for new citizenship would have a significant role to play. They would have to be able to identify with the cultural strategies that would not only encourage their integration, but would also make it possible for them to understand the issue of Catalan identity, beyond their individual political inclinations.

### **3.** IMMIGRATION AND CATALANISM

**C**atalonia, as an economically prosperous nation, is one of the European regions that have welcomed the most immigrants over this past decade<sup>1</sup>. The 21st Century has signified an extraordinary international migratory explosion to Catalonia. The moderate flux of 16,505 arrivals in 1999 rose to 201,733 in 2007, multiplying itself by twelve. The principal protagonists of this growth were mainly Latin Americans (55,995 in 2004), led by Ecuadorians and Colombians, coinciding with the regularizations of 2000 and 2001 and with the announcement of the need to request the Schengen visa, followed by the countries from Eastern Europe (22,766 also in 2004), the majority of whom were Romanians (60%). The inclusion of these latest countries, together with the Bulgarians, into the European Union explains that the spike of 2007 came from the fluxes of the EU, which has multiplied itself by two, and the decrease of the extra-community fluxes.<sup>2</sup>



**Source:** INE. Statistic of Residential Variations, 1999-2007

This is a sign of the great economic and industrial vitality that has characterized the country from the beginnings of the last century. But it is not the only attraction that encourages a great number of people to choose to live and work in Catalonia. The enormous integrating capacity of the Catalans and a culture where hard work and effort are valued, together with the excellent climate, are all determining factors when people choose Catalonia as their country of destination.

With these waves of new arrivals, the identifying features of Catalonia would cease to exist if it weren't for a strongly rooted mentality and distinctive way of life that could be defined as the "spirit of Catalanism." In other words, the social Catalanism first, and the political one second, have always been of primary importance to Catalonia's preservation of its cultural and linguistic heritage in the face of the massive arrivals of immigrants. It is also important to note that if migratory movements, especially the Spanish ones, were never able to weaken the Catalan identity, this is thanks to the hard work and sacrifice inherent in the spirit of Catalanism. It is an enterprising spirit that has always taken advantage of opportunities to strengthen and redirect the implicit values of Catalan-ness by providing an excellent welcome to immigrants throughout Catalan history.

Now, however, the country's political and social scenario, the patriotic motivation and the national consciousness of Catalans seem to be going through a weakened phase that is not encouraging

1) In 1999 the population was slightly greater than 6 million people and only 2.3% had a foreign nationality, corresponding to 145 thousand people. In nine years the total population has grown by more than a million people, reaching 7.364.078, of which 15% are foreigners: 1.103.790 people.

2) Source: INE. Statistic of Residential Variations, 1999-2007.

in the least. It is a socio-political situation that goes against the historical legacies of the Renaissance and the Bases of Manresa,<sup>3</sup> to cite only two of cultural and political Catalanism's most important milestones in our history.

Our country's need to recover this patriotic spirit - and avoid acquiescence in the face of weakening Catalan sentiment and loyalty to the legacies of history - is precisely why we are working from the "Meeting House" of Catalanism. But the raising of awareness about these values will only be effective when all of Catalan society's collectives have been included. This is why Catalanism must take into account this new and growing immigration that has arrived in Catalonia over the last few years.

Newcomers represent a great opportunity for the national consolidation of Catalonia if we know how to transmit the values of our culture in a simple and unifying manner. For this task – one that is clearly within the interests of the country - the language must be one of the primary foundations. The diversity of immigrants' origins might also make it possible for newcomers to use Catalan as a common language. Nonetheless, this will not happen with policies of linguistic integration alone; the entire civil society needs to be involved.

3) *Bases de Manresa*: In March 1892, the Catalanist Union held a meeting of delegates in Manresa with the aim of drawing up the organization's political program. The result was the *Bases per a la Constitució Regional Catalana*. The *Bases de Manresa*, as the document has since become known, was inspired by federalism and the traditional constitutions, and proclaimed Catalonia to be a sovereign country, structured the country by dividing it on the basis of the districts within it, declared Catalan to be the official language, and established a corps of volunteers to form the army. For the first time, Catalanism had a defined political project.

The pejorative and dogmatic concepts that exist about immigration do not make it any easier for new arrivals to feel a sense of belonging to their host land; neither does false paternalism help, as instead of reducing discrimination, it sharpens the rejection of immigration. It is therefore not a question of extrapolating two apparently antagonistic visions of the immigrant phenomenon – which in the end are equally discriminatory – but instead encouraging the spirit of rights and duties of all the citizens that coexist within Catalonia to predominate.

## **4. CONCLUSION**

**F**ollowing this initial and intense work stage, the **Citizenship, Diversity and Identities Commission (CDIC)** has decided to advocate for a modern Catalanism that:

- Is capable of being inspired by the legacy of its past in order to unify all of the new social sensibilities that favor the social consolidation of Catalonia.
- Sees the new immigration as a historic opportunity to strengthen and universalize the cultural and linguistic identities of our country. To accomplish this, new approaches are needed to construct a society that is proud of its Catalan-ness and its cosmopolitanism.
- Provides Catalonia with a pedagogy of coexistence based on the knowledge of the past and the understanding of the present, which are necessary in order to comprehend the evolution of societies and forge an encouraging national future. Without this pedagogy, it will be difficult to have the feeling of belonging to Catalonia take root among newcomers.
- Reaffirms Catalonia as a nation that is proud of its culture and interested in making it more universal by way of an efficient integration of new immigrants, without having all of the responsibility fall on the policies of linguistic integration.
- Knows how to see and make use of the richness and the diversity of its population in order to endow the country with a *renaissance* model of coexistence.

• In addition, from a more specific perspective, after exhaustively analyzing the current state of the phenomenon of new waves of immigration to Catalonia, **to the CDIC it is of primary importance that the new Catalanism considers immigration management to be one of the central pillars of the “Meeting House” of Catalanism.**

• For the nation building of Catalonia in the era of globalization, however, the contributions of the new Catalans must be valued. For this assemblage of newcomers to be even more fruitful for our country's future, the new Catalanism must also act efficiently. This action must be centered primarily on raising the awareness of Catalans about the great challenge of the 21st Century; the consolidation and the enrichment of the historical, cultural, linguistic and political personality of Catalonia, relying on the contributions of new immigrants.

• Raising the awareness of the people of Catalonia will be useless if it is not accompanied by a series of programs of some consistency directed to different collectives that make up our society. Thus, the CDIC proposes to:

• Establish the feeling of belonging to Catalonia in order to facilitate the personal and collective success of all social classes by:

• Promoting the use of Catalan as a common language among the different newcomers' collectives.

• Raising awareness among locals that addressing new arrivals in Catalan is a sign of inclusion and not of exclusion.

- Showing Catalan to be a useful tool for ascent within society and not an imposition, providing it with features of empathy and seduction.
- Bringing Catalan closer to the most excluded social nuclei, or those at risk of being excluded (such as prisons and internment centers for abandoned minors), by way of cultural, literary, cinematographic and, above all, pedagogic activities.
- Encourage the use of Catalan on the school patios and in retirement homes through activities of recreation and entertainment, and promote cinema in Catalan at movie theaters.
- Propose the civic participation of newcomers through existing local entities, instead of creating immigrant associations, in order to avoid identity-related ghettos. If this were to happen, it would facilitate the process of integration and mutual understanding among the different members of the neighborhoods of our cities. This type of human interrelation is the best school for uprooting the beginnings of discrimination.
- Promote, as a form of social pedagogy, the participation of new arrivals in different programs in all of the country's media formats. The possibility of seeing or hearing a new arrival expressing themselves in Catalan in the audiovisual and/or radio media is an excellent way of fighting the stereotypes and the prejudices that surround immigration and, at the same time, it is a stimulus for all newcomers.
- Encourage new arrivals to get to know the cultural and social wealth, the profound worries and the national projects of our

country. For this to happen, we need programs that teach about the territory and historical heritage of Catalonia that are directed, primarily, to newcomers, but also to all of the local Catalans who want to get to know their country better.

- Guarantee better access to citizenship for newcomers, with a single criterion applicable to all immigrants, regardless of their country of origin.
- Manage immigration and integration from all social ambits, from the public administrations to the civil society.
- Encourage the interest, the responsibility and the participation of all the country's citizens in the building of the Catalan society of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.
- Design informative programs about the migratory phenomenon to be directed at the local population, with the goal of informing and educating from an integrating perspective.
- Endow associations with a spirit of social usefulness based on interculturalness and diversity. This allows people to foresee the rejection and the marginalization of associations of identity groups, and minimizes the risk of these associations being used as mere tools.
- Follow-up on the development of all the programs that are financed by the country's public and private institutions.

## **MEMBERS OF THE CITIZENSHIP, DIVERSITY AND IDENTITIES COMMISSION**

### **BRAHIM YAABED**

#### ***President of the Citizenship, Diversity and Identities Commission***

Was born in Dakar, (Senegal). He went to primary school in Dakar and completed his high school degree in Mechanical Engineering and Technical Mathematics in Nouakchott (Mauritania). He became a naval engineer, specializing in Propulsion Mechanics, through the *Higher Maritime Institute of Bou-Ismaïl* of Alger (Algeria). He has been a member of the CDC (*Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya*) political party since 2003. Currently he is the National Councilor for Cooperation of CDC. Brahim Yaabed is also the coordinator of the Citizenship, Diversity and Identities Commission of the Foundation CatDem.

### **KANGYUN XIAO**

#### ***Coordinator of the Commission***

Was born in China. She received her Bachelors degree in Law from the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB), and a Doctorate on Immigration and Reception from the University of Barcelona (UB), along with an additional Doctorate in Law Practice from the Illustrious College of Lawyers of Barcelona (*Il·lustre Col·legi d'Advocats de Barcelona*). She specializes in Administrative, Penal, Immigration and Intellectual Property Law. She has collaborated on occasion with the Secretary of Immigration, the Chinese Students and Scholars Association in Barcelona and the Association of Chinese Women in Spain.

**CAMPOS, Sandra** Landazabal was born in Colombia, where she received her Bachelor's degree in Law and Political Sciences from the University of Santo Tomás of Bogotá. She has a degree in Democratic Youth Leadership from the Cooperative University of Columbia and a postgraduate degrees in Ibero-American Cultural Cooperation and in Management and Cultural Policies from the University of Barcelona (UB), where she also obtained a Masters on "The City: Policies, Projects and Management". She is currently the director of the **IMAGO** Foundation and is a visiting professor for the Cultural Cooperation postgraduate degree at the UB.

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**SERROUHK, Hannan** was born in Barcelona, the daughter of Moroccan immigrants, and grew up in the town of Figueres. At the age of 20 she joined the movement of associations, with the goal of searching for greater social cohesion between young Catalans. From 1996 to 2000 she presided – at the same time as she founded – the association **Reference Point (Punt de Referència)**. She has worked as a cultural mediator in the Department of Justice (Juvenile Justice) and within the General Directorate of Child and Adolescent Care.

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