

THE POTENTIAL OF THE 'WELCOMING SPACES' CONCEPT FOR REVITALISING SHRINKING REGIONS.

• A SPANISH CASE STUDY •



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‘Welcoming Spaces’ concept to revitalise shrinking regions.

A Spanish case study.

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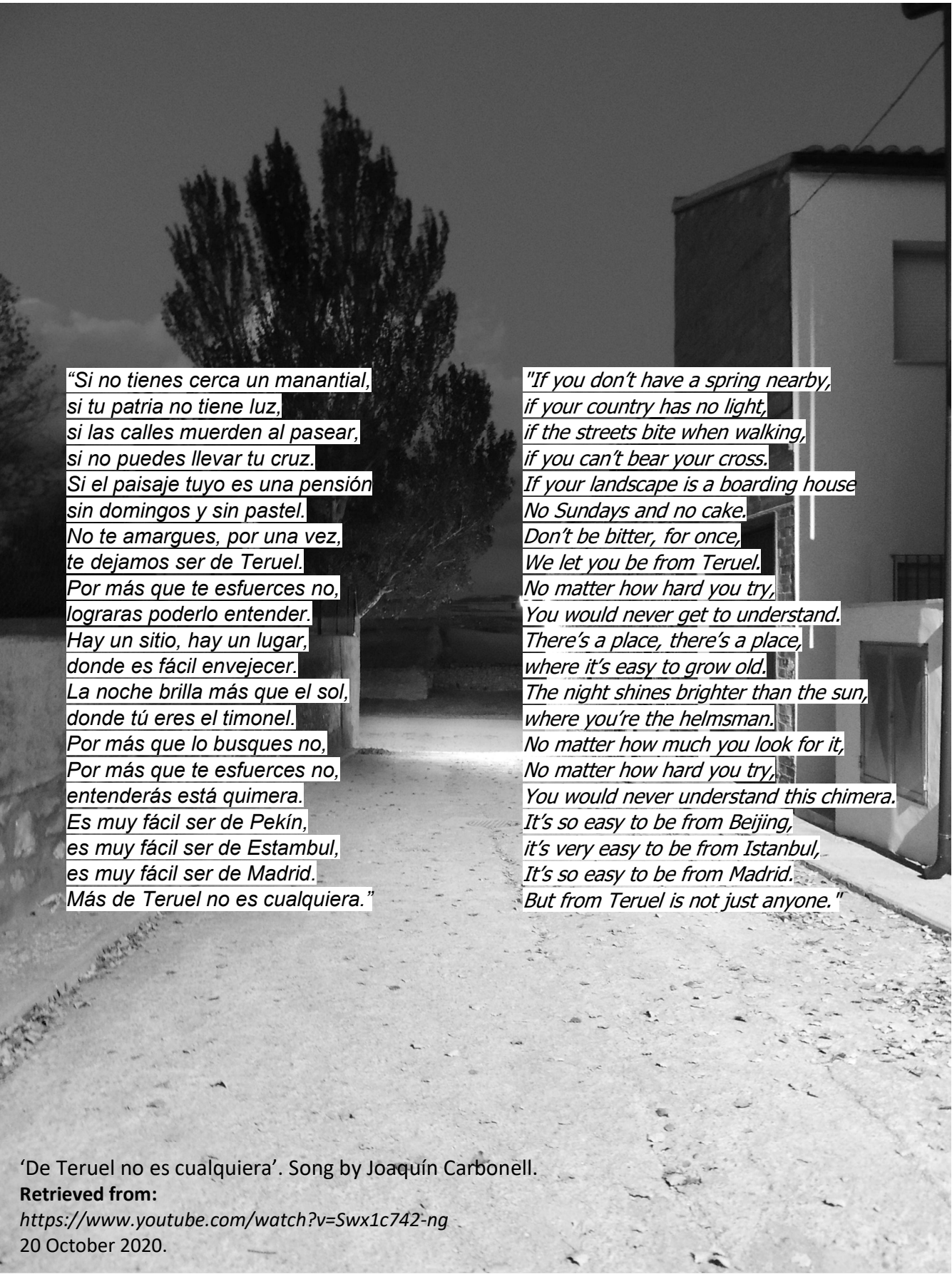
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Note: The photo in the title page was taken by the author in Bezas Lake, Teruel.



*"Si no tienes cerca un manantial,
si tu patria no tiene luz,
si las calles muerden al pasear,
si no puedes llevar tu cruz.
Si el paisaje tuyo es una pensión
sin domingos y sin pastel.
No te amargues, por una vez,
te dejamos ser de Teruel.
Por más que te esfuerces no,
lograras poderlo entender.
Hay un sitio, hay un lugar,
donde es fácil envejecer.
La noche brilla más que el sol,
donde tú eres el timonel.
Por más que lo busques no,
Por más que te esfuerces no,
entenderás está quimera.
Es muy fácil ser de Pekín,
es muy fácil ser de Estambul,
es muy fácil ser de Madrid.
Más de Teruel no es cualquiera."*

*"If you don't have a spring nearby,
if your country has no light,
if the streets bite when walking,
if you can't bear your cross.
If your landscape is a boarding house
No Sundays and no cake.
Don't be bitter, for once,
We let you be from Teruel.
No matter how hard you try,
You would never get to understand.
There's a place, there's a place,
where it's easy to grow old.
The night shines brighter than the sun,
where you're the helmsman.
No matter how much you look for it,
No matter how hard you try,
You would never understand this chimera.
It's so easy to be from Beijing,
it's very easy to be from Istanbul,
It's so easy to be from Madrid.
But from Teruel is not just anyone."*

'De Teruel no es cualquiera'. Song by Joaquín Carbonell.

Retrieved from:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Swx1c742-ng>

20 October 2020.

Note: picture taken by the author in Celadas, Teruel.

Preface

I was born and lived for the first seventeen years of my life in a big, isolated area with small population, Teruel, suffering from the lack of infrastructure and services that the area suffers from, and that forced me to move to Madrid in order to start my university studies. I guess that is the reason why, in my subconscious, I was so interested in demographics during my bachelor studies in Sociology. Understanding the way areas are populated and how demographic structures change, would help me to better understand the place where I was born and maybe, why it seemed that it was slowly disappearing. I wrote my bachelor's thesis about depopulation and its possible causes and realised that the principal reason for that population loss was migration, people were leaving. That is when I decided to do my master's in Human Geography, more specifically, about Globalization, Migration and Development. I started the master's knowing that the main topic for my thesis was going to be depopulation again, I needed to continue on that line.

My supervisor suggested that I would do my internship in a new project, directed by Utrecht Universiteit, about 'Welcoming Spaces' and how immigrants could be the key to revitalise shrinking areas. The topic adapted perfectly to what I was expecting to do on the first place, so starting this thesis was not hard. Unfortunately, Covid-19 crisis happened a few weeks after I started my internship, and before I even started the fieldwork. This made everything much harder, and forced a change of focus from which, I think, I've been able to extract the positive and make the most of it. As a result, an investigation about how locals from Calamocha, a small village in Teruel, perceive their village as a welcoming space towards newcomers, and what is their perception of immigrants and their integration, is embodied in the pages that make up this thesis.

I would like to thank my supervisor, Lothar Smith, for helping me and advising me during this process in this 'not-so-easy' time of Corona. Also, to Marlies Meijer, my supervisor in the 'Welcoming Spaces' project, for making Utrecht Universiteit and the project a Welcoming Space for me. And most important of all, I would like to thank the locals of Calamocha, for being so willing to help and for answering to my emails and phone-calls, giving me some of their time.

¡Gracias, calamochinos!

Clara del Castillo Peralta.

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CHAPTER 1. Introduction

The way that areas are populated, and their demographic situation evolve throughout space and time. During the twentieth century the world's population has increased fourfold, and today is growing the average of 86 million people a year. But 90% of this growth happens in Global South countries (Haupt and Kane, 2003). Global North countries are, therefore, in an era of a standstill and ageing population, and most of the variation of their demographics is caused by the population mobility (Coleman, 2006).

This thesis, on the surface, will be focused on the connection of two migration processes. The first one, as consequence of the rural to urban mobility is the depopulation. It can be considered as the loss of population in a territory comparing to a previous period of time and can be caused by a negative population growth (more deaths than births), by a negative migration (more emigration than immigration, or by both combined (Pinilla and Saez, 2017). On the other hand we find the immigration into western Europe and the US that has been growing since the 1950s (Coleman, 2006), to be more concrete and focusing in the case of Spain, it has noted a population growth of 20 million (71,5%) inhabitants since the 1950s, having five million of immigrants in 2019. Nevertheless, although this population growth is happening, there are still regions that are losing population. The way of union these two realities is the possibility of using immigration and the image of 'welcoming spaces' in these shrinking regions can help to attract more people to these areas and revers the process of the loss of population.

1.1 Migration in Spain

1.1.1 Rural exodus and the creation of the Spanish hinterland

The rural-urban dichotomy means that the transition from rural to urban can be achieved gradually by the gain of population. However, the definition of rural area cannot be reduced to the size of the population, although it is a particularly important indicator for the measurement of rurality. "rural areas are not distinguished from urban areas only according to the inhabitants forming the core population, but also through

variables reflecting their economic, health, social and cultural circumstances.” (Ocaña-Riola and Sánchez-Cantalejo, 2005:3).

The origin of the rural exodus in Spain can go back to the international emigration due to the Civil War (1936-1939), in which 162.000 people left the country, most of them civilians (Casas, 2001). After Franco won the war and established the dictatorship, restrictive economic and migration policies were applied, restricting the movement towards other European countries, so in the fifties the 48 % of the national population lived in places of less than 10.000 inhabitants (Hoggart and Paniagua, 2001). From 1950 onwards the mechanization of the agricultural workforce impoverished the population living in those areas, and, after 1959, when the freedom of movement was introduced again (Hoggart and Paniagua, 2001), the rural exodus started, poor labourers were seeking better living conditions, and more human capital was needed for the development of other sectors in urban areas. In 1975, after Franco’s death and when the Spanish Transition started, the education system of primary and secondary schools, and professional training was extended to rural areas (Yruela, 1995), thus, the inhabitants were more educated and those rural areas had no job opportunities in accordance to their new educational level. In that period of time, new universities were created, all of them in urban areas, meaning that, in order to continue with further education, leaving the rural area was needed (Yruela, 1995).

The decline of traditional culture could be considered a consequence of this rural exodus. New media (television) and emigrants that came back to the rural areas for the summer, brought the urban culture and way of thinking to the rural areas. The adaptation in order to integrate into the market economy for survival, and the retreat of traditional values associated to ‘home’ and ‘family’, having large families is no longer the dominant model, and marriage as a strategy to unify inheritance going out of fashion (Yruela, 1995), globalised the demographic sphere within the country, dropping the birth rate. If we add to this the continued rural exodus explained before, rural areas have a high percentage of people over sixty 65 years, and a high dependency both economic and in health terms (Ocaña-Riola and Sánchez-Castejo, 2005).

This adds another indicator to the definition of rural area, that, in Spain could be defined as: an area with low population density, aged population and a high degree of agricultural and farming occupation (Entrena-Durán, 1998).

1.1.2 Immigration in Spain

Spain has experienced a change of migration flows throughout history. Between 1850 and 1950, more than three million of Spanish temporary workers left to Latin America. From the 1950s the destination countries changed, being Northern-European countries the new destination for Spanish emigrants, during this period of time, Spain also became a receiving country for laborers from Northern Africa and Latin America. In the 1970s another change was experienced, due to the international economic crisis, the emigration diminished, and the immigration continued increasing. During the late 1980s, the process of Spain becoming an immigration country culminated as a result of different factors like the end of guest worker programs, closing of borders of traditional receiving countries as Germany, France or Switzerland, the proximity to the sending countries in the Maghreb, or the admission of Spain into the European Union (Pérez, 2003). From the 1990s forward, the foreign population in Spain has not stopped rising (Carrasco et al., 2008), and in the last decade the proportion of foreigners grew up to 12,1% of the registered population, being Spain the country with the highest number of foreign inhabitants of the EU after Germany (Moreno-Fuentes and Bruquetas-Callejo, 2011).

At the moment, half of immigrants in the country are from other European countries, most of them pensionados from the United Kingdom, Germany and The Netherlands that come to enjoy their retirement in the Spanish coast. The number of immigrants from Eastern-European countries has also grown and, in addition to Europeans, the other large groups of immigrants in Spain are from North Africa, mostly Moroccans, and Latin Americans (Moreno-Fuentes and Bruquetas-Callejo, 2011).

1.2 Depopulation in Spain

As it has been explained before, the rural exodus entailed an enormous loss of population for the rural areas. At present, in Spain there are more than 1.300 municipalities with less than 100 inhabitants, and according to the Spanish Statistics Institute, in 2016 there were 3.225 population cores with no inhabitants. Also, a dynamic

can be observed through the data, villages in rural areas are decreasing faster and faster, according to the World Data Bank, the percentage of population living in rural areas has decreased from a 43,5 in 1960, to a 19,4% in 2019. In 2016, 61% of municipalities in Spain had less than 1.000 inhabitants. Thus, the threat of demographic extinction affects more than 4.000 population cores in the country (Economic and Social Council of Spain, 2018).

1.2.1 Urban-Rural relations in Spain

“The confrontation between a rural Spain and an urban Spain predates the industrial revolution and any peasant exodus”

Del Molino, 2016:24.

While other countries used their colonies to banish their enemies, Spanish governors, throughout history, had the custom of exile their political enemies to isolated regions. When they wanted to punish or lose sight of someone, they sent them to the rural areas in the Peninsula. Every civilization is urban, but there are different ways of integrating or ignore the ‘blank space’ between cities. In Spain, there are just a few (and very poor) living in those ‘blank spaces’, and this circumstance has created a history of cruelty and disdain towards those areas, that has marked and influences the country as it is today (Del Molino, 2016).

“There is an urban and European Spain, indistinguishable in all its features of any European urban society, and an inland and unpopulated Spain, which I have called Empty Spain”

Del Molino, 2016:16.

So, answering to the question of whether Spain is giving up on its agrarian roots, the country gave up on its agrarian roots even before the differentiation between rural and urban areas was so widen. In the past, the rural areas and agrarian work was a synonymous of poverty and isolation, converting those ideas in reality throughout history. Right now, Spain hardly enjoy the results of its agrarian life, as it is often exported to other countries, mostly Northern-European countries, making a positive and caring perception of the agrarian work and rural areas in Spain even harder.

Some villages knew how to reinvent themselves, playing the card of tourism. The touristic areas in Spain welcome a huge number of tourists and pensionados, as was mentioned before, to their villages, working as an economy revitaliser and attracting new business and population. But there are still a lot of villages that struggle with making a space for themselves in the map.

1.2.2 Teruel, Southern Lapland. Calamocha, case study

Teruel is a province situated in the centre-east of Spain, part of the Autonomous Community of Aragón. Its capital is the homonymous city of Teruel.



Picture 1. Map of Spain with Aragón, Teruel province and Calamocha coloured. Authors' own creation with 'Grepotool'.

The province of Teruel has 133.344 inhabitants according to the Spanish Statistics Institute, and its surface is of 14.804 square kilometres. It is conformed of ten different regions totalling 236 municipalities, At the moment, 92% of its municipalities has less than 1000 inhabitants, and loses 5 inhabitants per hour (according to the Spanish Statistics Institute). Its density of population is of 9 inhabitants per square kilometre, and that is why it is called by depopulation experts as Southern Lapland, being, among other provinces of Spain, the areas with lowest density of population in Europe, with a similar density to the Northern-European region.

The case study for this Master Thesis is Calamocha. This was chosen for the specific demographic situation and a clear case of depopulation, as it will be further explained in Chapter 3, methodology. The municipality, located in the region of Jiloca, in the north-west of the province of Teruel (Picture 1), it is 70 kilometres away from the

capital of Teruel, the capital of the province. On the banks of the Jiloca River, its economic engine today is the agri-food industries. The town is located in the road and rail corridor that connects Zaragoza with Valencia, as well as the Cantabrian with the Mediterranean. Although it is positioned in a privileged spot geographically speaking, the town is isolated having a lack of communications with the rest of Spain, situation shared by the rest of the province of Teruel.

1.2.3 The fight against depopulation, 'Teruel Existe'

As has been said before, the province of Teruel is living a situation of incessant loss of population. The lack of services and infrastructures does not attract new population and does not help the existent population to stay.

'Teruel Existe', meaning Teruel Exists, is a citizen movement that emerged in the province of Teruel in 1999 with the union of different platforms that fight for the improve of infrastructure and basic services. Their claims are focused in particular on improvements in the communication by rail of the province, and in health.



Picture 3. Teruel Existe logo. Retrieved from Teruel Existe's webpage.

As they considered that the petitions made to the government in order to improve the situation of the province were ignored, they decided to run for the elections as 'Agrupación de electores' (a group of people or association that run for an election without being a political party), winning one member of the parliament and two senators, having received 24,6% of the votes in the province. Since then they have been fighting against depopulation and the different scarcities of the province in a national level.

1.3 Relevance

1.3.1 Social relevance

To understand the social relevance of this thesis it is important to take into account that even though it may seem that depopulation only affects to the small part of the inhabitants living in rural areas, some cultural aspects of societies with it, therefore it is matter of the whole population to recognise the relevance of this topic. In addition, the

loss of population in rural areas and population concentration in urban areas, caused by immigration (both internal and external), make the differences between rural and urban areas widen, what can complicate life in rural areas, and increase even more migrations from rural to urban areas, creating a spiral of population loss, making it a social problem that affects to an increasingly amount of territories, but to fewer and fewer people. The research on a possibility of reverting the process of depopulation in these areas by using the idea of 'welcoming space' in order to attract immigrants that want to stay and revitalise the shrinking regions serves as hope for the people living in these areas and for the immigrants that want a space to live. This thesis studies the possibility of using a weapon that a society already has, as the integration of immigrants is, to help this same society makes this process circular from which everyone would be beneficiary.

Furthermore, as it has been explained before, 'Teruel Existe', as platform and social association fighting against the loss of population and researching solutions to revert the process of depopulation has reached the congress, having the opportunity of continue this fight on an institutional and national level, thus, investigations and projects like this thesis could be very helpful for them, in order to have a more academic point of view of the problem and of the possible solutions.

1.3.2 Scientific relevance

Most of the investigations, projects and publications about depopulation explain the demographic evolution of the areas affected, and the possible causes for the loss of population experienced. They also can explain possible solutions, but, stablishing the relation of these two migration realities and trying to find a connection between the immigration to the country and the emigration from the rural areas, is a path not that much known. Therefore, with this thesis I will try to explain how the perceive immigration and new comers, their relationships, and, at the same time try to explain what could be considered a 'Welcoming Space' and if that new term can be used to attract new population to the area, and revitalize this shrinking region. It is also relevant as it is a component of the programme 'Welcoming Spaces' conducted by Utrecht University, I have adapted my thesis topic to the research project, so I will be investigating the main term of it 'welcoming spaces'. This makes my thesis useful for the

project, as it is a term that they have invented for it and do not have an exact definition of it. Therefore, with my thesis I will try to give a definition of what could be considered a 'welcoming space' from the point of view of people living in those spaces, and its possible utility for the attraction of population.

1.3.3 Personal Relevance

Once established the social and scientific relevance of the topic, it's time to talk about the personal relevance. I have added in this topic because I'm from a region in Spain that is suffering big problems because of the depopulation. I did my bachelor thesis about the causes and consequences of the depopulation in this region, and after that, I decided that I would like to research and study the possibilities of reverting the process and try to find a solution.

When in the EU we hear and talk about the 'migration crisis', it is about immigrants and refugees coming from Africa, the Middle East and South Asia to Europe (Park, 2015), this means the reception of immigrants in EU countries. But couldn't the massive migration from rural to urban areas, both intranational and international, that causes a huge loss of population in rural areas till these are nearly disappeared, be considered as a 'migration crisis' too?, this point of view could be a way of union of these two crises and a possible solution for both problems.

1.4 Objective and research question

The concept 'welcoming space' can be very subjective and being able to discern the parameters of what can be considered welcoming and what cannot it's not easy. The objective of this thesis is to find a more concrete definition of what can be considered a 'welcoming space' from the point of view and according to citizens of the places to research, and, once the concept is understood, study if it could be used to connect both migration crisis by attracting immigrants and new population to shrinking areas.

Therefore, the main research question is:

- **How do local populations perceive their own communities as Welcoming Spaces towards newcomers?**

In order to give answer to it, it is needed to give answer to other secondary questions related to the different dimensions attributable to the concept of Welcoming Spaces.

The first dimension would be the host society, understanding what is their attitude towards immigrants, and the perspective of institutions and its possible influence in the locals. The second dimension would be much more related to the term Welcoming Spaces, in order to know if similar projects already exist, how would a welcoming space be considered, and if this new term could help, according to the opinions of the locals, revitalising shrinking areas. The secondary questions are:

- How the host society reacts towards immigration?
- Do institutions influence in the integration of immigrants?
- Are there similar projects to the Welcoming Spaces one?
- Given local conditions, how would welcoming spaces be conceived by local inhabitants?
- Would the concept Welcoming Spaces be useful for revitalising shrinking areas?

1.5 Thesis outline

In this first chapter, a significant problem was introduced, and, with it, questions that have an especial importance for the population. They are about the liability that some parts of Spain have to carry at this moment, and, at the same time, are also important, considering the arrival of immigrants around Europe from other continents and what contributions can they bring to our society. Here comes the concept of Welcoming Spaces, emerging as the link of these two realities brought together. That implies a research of what we should consider that welcoming spaces are, and this is the focus of Chapter 2, in which I do elaborate on the three theoretical paradigms that underscore the notion of welcoming spaces and how to conceive this, focusing on mobility, demographic and translocal perspectives. To operationalise this on Chapter 3, which is about methodology, in which I focus on how to study these welcoming spaces. For that, I chose to focus on a particular region in Spain and use a triangulation of methods and combining both quantitative and qualitative research. In order to understand the demographic and social reality of the chosen region, on Chapter 4 the evolution of population will be explained, which will be linked to the perception of the locals of welcoming spaces and the similar projects carried on by institutions analysed in Chapter

5, reinforced by the analysis of the opinions of the locals towards immigration and integration carried on in Chapter 6. At the end, the final conclusions and reflections extracted from the investigation will be explained, as well as the windows for further research in the final chapter of this thesis.

CHAPTER 2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter the relevant insights from the theoretical body of literature is presented. In order to do so, the underlying question to answer will be: what is needed to construct the main argument for the thesis. The objective is to give sense to the principal concept, welcoming spaces. Different theories and secondary concepts that I consider are part of that concept will be also explained. What is a welcoming space? Are all immigrants welcomed and integrated in the same way? What kind of migrant is welcomed?

To answer these questions two main groups of theories will be explained, on the one hand, demographic theories, that will help the understanding of the composition of rural areas, differences with urban areas, and the importance of migration in global north countries. On the other hand, theories of migration, the main corps of the theoretical framework. These theories will be grounded and micro-focused in order to give more importance to social networks in both rural areas chosen to be studied in this thesis, giving this way a systems and networks approach to the theory. In order to continue this path, the translocal theory will be explained too, giving importance to the concept of space, and to the perception and integration of immigrants.

By the end of this chapter, a theoretical line will be explained in order to understand the way the research and analysis for this thesis has been made.

2.2 Demographic Theories

2.2.1 Demographic transitions theory.

Demographic transitions theory will help to acknowledge the processes that led to the current demographic situation in the Global North. Notestein (1945) used the term ('Demographic transitions') for the first time to refer to the moment of transition of the society between two different periods. The author describes the first demographic transition as the diminution of deaths and the increase of births (Notestein, 1945). The second demographic transition consists in the decrease of births (Van de Kaa, 2002), and the third demographic transition, which is happening now in developed countries, is about migration. Every demographic change in developed countries is due to the movements of population (Coleman, 2016).

2.2.2 Evolution of migration

Linked to the demographic transitions theory, an evolution of migration can be explained. Wilburn Zelinski (1971) exposes the 'Mobility Transition', analysing the evolution of the migration processes throughout history and the modernisation. He elaborated a five-stage model based on the experience of Europe, summarized by Russell King as: 'Pre-modern traditional society' with scant migration only carried on between localities; followed by an 'early transitional society' in which a mass rural-urban migration occurred; next, the 'late transitional society' in which a growth of the previous migration happened. The 'advance society' comes next, characterised by inter-urban migration, mass immigration from less developed countries, and intense international and internal circulation. At last, the author explains the 'future super advanced society' with a better communication evolving the migration systems of the advanced society (King, 2012).

Even though Zelinski considered this model provisional, and later on acknowledged the shortcomings of it (King, 2012), it can still be adapted to the situation studied in this thesis and used to explain and understand the demographic evolution and current situation in the places researched.

2.2.3 Rural demographics, depopulation

"To conceive rural areas intrinsically as spaces of repulsion is not only a reductive thought but also erroneous. Rural spaces are suffering deep and contradictory transformations. Whereas some areas are moving towards continual marginalisation through processes of depopulation and ageing, others have been reborn through the assimilation of new structural dynamics"

Hedberg and do Camo, 2013:5.

This thesis focuses on depopulated and shrinking areas, thus it is important to highlight the third demographic transition. Migration processes during the advanced society, as explained before, are a mass emigration from rural to urban areas due to the mechanisation of the agrarian work in the countryside. The migration of working-age people from rural areas led to the ageing of the population (del Molino, 2016).

The depopulation, therefore, is a consequence of these transitions, consisting in the loss of population in a territory comparing to a previous period of time. When this phenomenon keeps happening in a region during a long period of time and makes its population be in danger of disappearance, this region would be considered a shrinking region. Other important terms about this problem are ‘demothanasia’ considered as the process by which due to political actions or omission thereof, the disappearance of the population of a territory is caused to disappear, and ‘silent ethnocide’ described as the depopulation caused by urban selflessness and institutional passivity (Cerdá, 2017).

2.3 Theories of Migration

2.3.1 Why migrate?

Going back to the beginning of the academic thinking on the phenomenon of migration, late 19th and early 20th century, theories were constructed in a neoclassical econometrical way, this means the use of economy to explain the process of rational decision making of individuals who decided to move from one country, generally in the global South, to another in the global North, or, from the rural areas to urban areas.

“The question of whether our large towns grow at the expense of the rural parts of the country, even to the extent of producing a ‘depopulation’ of the rural parts, has recently been dealt with before this Society in an able manner. [...] in all settled countries the towns do increase this way. If left to their own resources, if dependent upon natural increment only, they would increase very slowly, and in some instances they would even retrograde. [...]”

Ravenstein, 1889:287

These theories explained the decision making of migration considering migrants as isolated individuals making rational decisions. ‘The new economics of migration’ discussed migration as a collectively decision within the families, in order to decide which member is going away to try get a better job in order to help the rest of the family staying at home (de Haas, Castles and Miller, 2009). The debate continued during the 20th century till the 70s when the ‘migration systems theory’ emerged. With a geography background, this theory focuses on the idea that migration changes social, economic, and cultural realities in both, the sending and receiving areas within the migration

process, acknowledging the importance of the relations between migrants and non-migrants (de Haas, Castles and Miller, 2009). According to the theory, the migration system is formed by the different areas that are exchanging population, areas that can also be part of different systems at the same time. Therefore there are also different structures within this areas and the factors that determine migration, a 'macro' structure, for example could be the labour market that influences in the decision of migrating on the first place, and a 'micro' structure, as the relationships of the migrant both in destination and home could be considered (de Haas, Castles and Miller, 2009).

As has been explained before, this thesis is about 'Welcoming Spaces', so the theories used will be focused in the 'micro' structure, relationships and networks of the migrants that can help the settlement of new population in shrinking areas, and how the arrival of these migrants affect to the people already living in the receiving areas.

2.3.2 Impact of migration in host societies

Migration has consequences for both the sending and the receiving regions. There are different perspectives from which the impact of migration can be studied, the most important ones are, the economic impact and the social impact of migration.

Talking about the economic impact, although the level of education influences on the economic impact, it mostly comes as a loss for the sending region and a improvement for the receiving one, as it entail more agents for the economy. Nevertheless, this is more clearly seen in 'brain drain' cases, the emigration causes a reduction of the growth rate of the effective human capital that remains in the region, which leads to a permanent reduction of per capita income (Haque and Kim, 1995).

Social impact has two sides, the socio-demographic impact, that is empirical quantifiable impact, as it shows the demographic differences, population growth or loss, change of the masculinity rate, growth of births, changes in the constitution of the society, etc. However, the social and cultural impact in the society is not measurable, which makes harder its research. It is important to highlight that this impact may be negative if it interferes with the trust and cooperation carried on within the host society (LeSage and Ha, 2012).

2.4 Translocal Theory, perception of immigrants and integration

This 'micro' point of view in the theories leads us to the 'Translocal theory'. *"Translocality draws attention to multiplying forms of mobility without losing sight of the importance of localities in peoples' lives"* (Oakes and Schein, 2006:1).

2.4.1 The importance of space

Society finds its way of action and expression through the space, therefore, talking about space means to talk about the footprint of past social processes (Werlen, 2005), thus, the space and its representation are products of society (Lefevre, 1991).

"In the last instance, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the making of translocal geographies, like the making of all geographical formations, involves the social construction of space as place". As such, translocal geographies are necessarily political constructs. "Making place" translocally is a meaning-making practice. It involves unavoidable questions of power – the power to name and claim space, knowledge of the stakes involved, awareness of changing opportunity structures, and the capacity to contest the practice of others."

Smith, 2013:198.

Localities are not necessarily limited to shared social relations and local histories, experiences, or relations; they can also connect wider geographical histories and processes, articulating a 'global ethnography of place' (Burawoy, 2000). During migration processes, spaces become both material and symbolic at the same time, not being inert recipients of migrants, but social actors constructed by their relationship with these places (Brikell and Datta, 2013).

The space can be examined across different scales too 'body, home, urban, regional or national' (Brikell and Datta, 2013). In this thesis different scales will be used too. The object of study will be two localities, in which attitudes of locals towards migrants will be evaluated, but the countries of origin of the migrants will be crucial for the research. Therefore, both local and national scales will be combined as a study of negotiations across these different scales.

2.4.2 Translocality, transnationalism and networks

Once the importance of space within the theory is explained, translocality refers to socio-cultural spaces of mobility, displacement and deterritorialization, it is a term that makes reference to the fluid boundaries and globalization (Smith, 2013). Nevertheless, it can also make reference to how relationships between locals shape the 'transnational networks' of the migrant, therefore it can be seen as a 'grounded transnationalism' (Brikell and Datta, 2013).

Theories of transnationalism emerged because of the necessity of conceptualisation of social fields and movements that started to transcend national borders challenging concepts as nation or citizenship (Basch et al, 1995). In the beginning these theories were linked to processes of globalisation and de-territorialisation (Appadurai, 2003), however, since the 1990s transnationalism have taken into account more localised phenomena of migration, due to the emergence of territorialised notions of belonging and nationalist movements (Geschiere, 2009).

"Often seen in opposition to globalization, transnationalism had examined migration beyond economic and demographic perspectives to an understanding of migrant experiences and lived spaces, and in so doing had articulated the different social, cultural, political and economic networks of migrants across national borders"

Brikell and Datta, 2013:8

These networks are only possible through local-local connections across national spaces (Brikell and Datta, 2013). From this point of view migrants could be considered *"people that are at firmly rooted in a particular place and time, though their daily lives often depend on people, money, ideas and resources located in another setting"* (Levitt, 2001:11). This implies the existence of transnational or translocal practices according to which collectives were linked embodying relations situated in specific local contexts (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998), networks and relations that produced multi-sited and multi-scalar translocal geographies, like translocal homes, understanding the concept of home as *"a physical location of dwelling as well as a space of belonging and identity"* (Brickell and Datta, 2013: 13); translocal neighbourhoods, which are spaces of situated

communities for the initiation and reproduction of meaningful social activities; and translocal cities, that are necessary for the construction of migrant landscapes and how they affect migratory movements and identities (Brikell and Datta, 2013). The concept of 'welcoming space' could be deeply related to these translocal spaces, taking into account that a translocal space would be welcoming to other transnational or translocal migrants.

As it has been said before, networks are a fundamental characteristic of translocality and migrations, the local-local connections across spaces. These networks are produced through mobilities, movements and flows. "Translocal spaces are constantly co-produced by mobile and immobile populations" (Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013:376). The concept of mobility can be studied from different points of view: migration, movement of people, that is one of the aspects of translocality; but it also refers to material flows, as can be remittances, goods; or to symbolic flows as ideas, images or symbols (Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013).

Networks help to understand these connections, as they could be considered as repeated flows of culture, knowledge, and activities both political and socioeconomic between places (Hedberg and do Carmo, 2012)

2.4.3 Translocal ruralism

Translocal ruralism looks at rural spaces as spaces that are or can be deeply involved in the process of globalisation through their participation in networks between localities at global scale (Woods, 2007). "*A translocal perspective on rural space indicates that people not only move across the geographies of regional and international borders but that they also move beyond the geography of urban nodes and rural peripheries*" (Hedberg and do Carmo, 2012:3). This means that rural spaces, from a translocal point of view, are constructed by the different interrelations with other spaces, that can be both national and international (Massey, 2005).

The concept of translocal ruralism emerges from the 'networks of rurality', theory that explains the connectivity of rural areas through migrants' everyday practices and networks (Halfacree, 2004).

2.4.4 Perceptions of immigrants and integration

Does the creation of translocal spaces help the integration of immigrants in the host society? Or it just works as a 'ghettoization' factor making 'two societies' in the same place?. For this thesis integration is a key concept, as it has been said before, studying the networks and relations between migrants and locals in the areas of research. The term integration refers to *"the process leading towards the achievement of citizenship status and participation in the society in which migrants take up residence"* (Bijl et al., 2008:200). This process has three dimensions: legal or political, that analyses which ethnic minorities participate as full members of the political community; socioeconomic, that makes reference to the performance of economic and social obligations and rights, making special emphasis in the opportunities; and sociocultural that makes reference to the sociocultural and religious rights of the migrants or ethnic minorities (European Commission, 2005).

As the political and legal integration may depend on institutions (getting citizenship), the socioeconomic and sociocultural aspects of integration lay on the relation between both actors involved, migrants and the host society. Both actors are not usually equal in terms on political and economic power and resources, and the response of the host society to migrants is more decisive for the integration process (Bijl et al., 2008). What could be considered a proper integration of immigrants depends on the attitudes of the locals towards migrants. Within the EU there are a lot of different attitudes and ways of facing immigration this is due to the different perceptions of what are the consequences of the immigration, perceptions that change depending on the socioeconomic characteristics of the people in the country or region of destination, and the socioeconomic characteristics of the people migrating (Malchow-Møller et.al. 2009). Sides and Citrin (2007) expose three different theories based on interest and social identity, all of them share the principal idea, the consideration of immigrants as a threat.

Interest based theories identify the immigrant as competitor in the labour market or as a burden for the welfare system, therefore it is focused on the competition for scarce resources. Theories of social identity explain that members of the majority group find their cultural values, norms, and identity superior to those of outsiders, and

feel the immigrants as a threat to their own social and cultural identity (Sides and Citrin, 2007).

Ceobanu and Escandell (2010) distinguish two different types of public points of view towards immigration, one is based on reactions towards the phenomenon of immigration, and the other is based on responses to people. Both forms can contradict each other, thus, a person may support immigration in principle, but be less positive toward immigrants settling in the neighbourhood, or vice versa.

Following a study about attitudes toward immigrants in Rural Areas shows that people living in rural areas are significantly less positive attitudes toward immigrants compared to those living in urban areas, and that people with regular social contact with immigrants show more positive attitudes (Zahl-Thanem and Haugen, 2019).

These perceptions of immigration are crucial for the survival of shrinking areas.

“Successful integration of immigrants is vital to many rural areas facing demographic and economic challenges posed by an ageing population, youth out-migration, and labour shortage. Integration includes not only economic integration, but also social and cultural interaction between the native-born majority and immigrant newcomers in everyday life”

Zahl-Thanem and Haugen, 2019:1

Even though it is said that economic integration is not enough, it is essential that newly arrived immigrants enter the labour market as soon as possible, and it depends on the capacity of the locality to facilitate their employment (Zahl-Thanem and Haugen, 2019). Thus, being part of the labour market is one of the integration factors, along with education, meaning the acquisition of basic knowledge about the host society and culture (as can be language); political participation; and socio-cultural and socio-economic participation (figure 1) (Bijl et al., 2008).

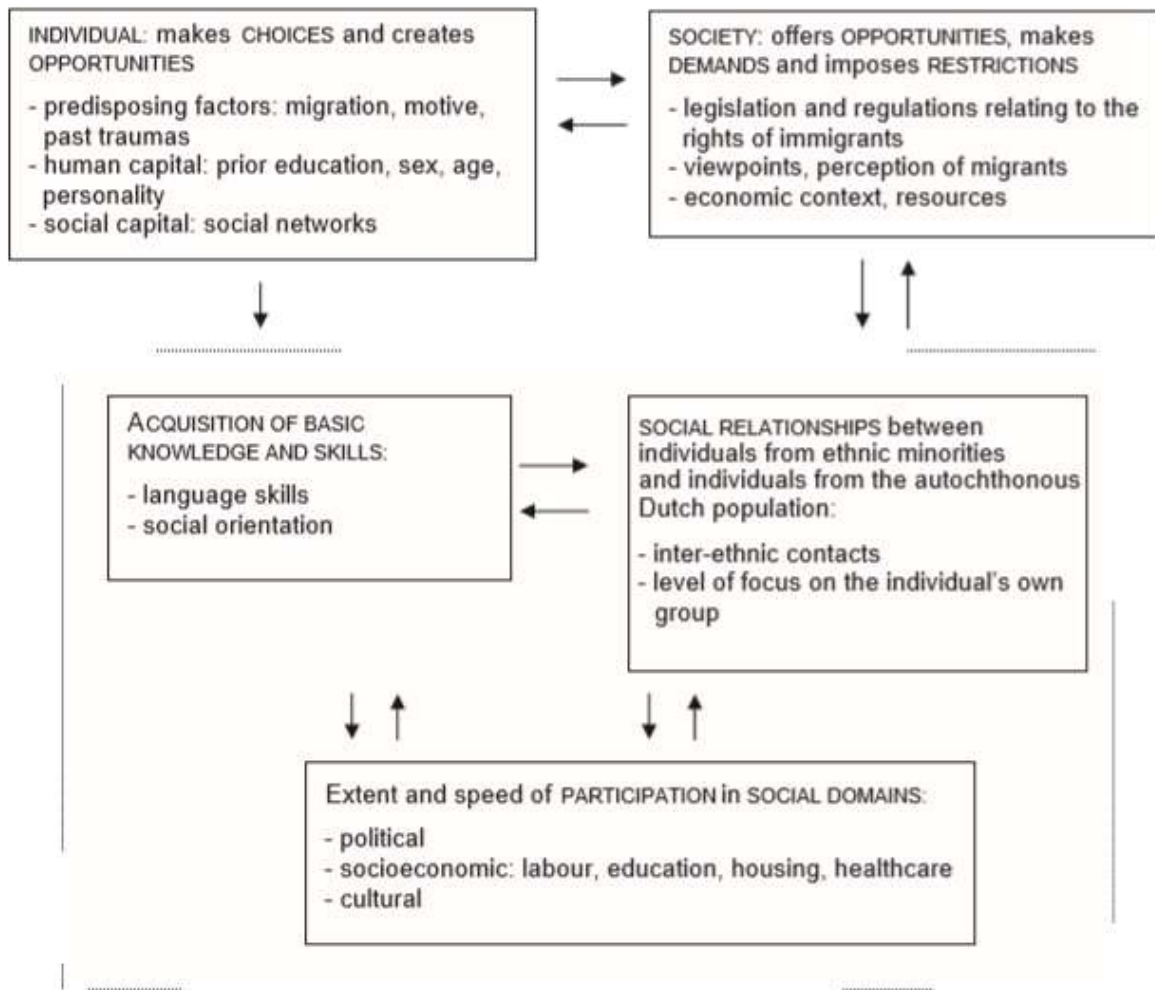


Figure 1. Integration Processes, case study of migrants in The Netherlands. Retrieved from: Bijl et al., 2008:203

In conclusion, understanding the integration processes, specially from the social point of view, taking into account the perception of immigration that locals have is of great importance in order to understand the translocal process and, therefore, the concept of 'Welcoming Spaces'.

2.4.5 Assimilation, differentiation and integration

It is important to explain now the difference between assimilation, differentiation and integration. The assimilation consists in an adaptation of the minoritarian groups to the dominant group, that is to say, the dominant group accepts the minoritarian group if they adopt their cultural patterns. Differentiation would be described as a good coexistence, there is an acknowledgment of the rights of the minorities and there is a parallel coexistence of both minoritarian and dominant groups. Meanwhile, integration means that the minoritarian groups have to make an effort for adaptation and integration, but the majoritarian group has to accept the cultural differences, and

acknowledge and respect the social and cultural factors belonging to the groups of immigrants, the aim of integration is to achieve cultural plurality, being a system that accepts different styles of life and the differences operate in a way that allow the equal opportunities for every person as a part of a whole (Sanz-Fernández et al., 2001).

2.5 Conceptual Framework and Conceptual Model

In order to have a better picture and comprehension of the theoretical framework and how the different theories are related to each other and to the topic, a conceptual model will be explained, and the key concepts will be listed and defined.

Space: place in land where society finds its expression and way of acting (Werlen, 2005).

Rural Area: settlements that are characterised by their small scale, low population density and being distanced from urban areas (Deavers, 1992).

Depopulation: loss of population in a territory comparing to a previous period of time (Pinilla and Sáez, 2017).

Migrant: person who has moved or is moving from one place to another (Gregory et al., 2009).

Translocality: socio-cultural spaces of mobility, displacement and deterritorialization, it is a term that makes reference to the fluid boundaries and globalization (Smith, 2013).

Integration: *“the process leading towards the achievement of citizenship status and participation in the society in which migrants take up residence”* (Bijl et al., 2008:200).

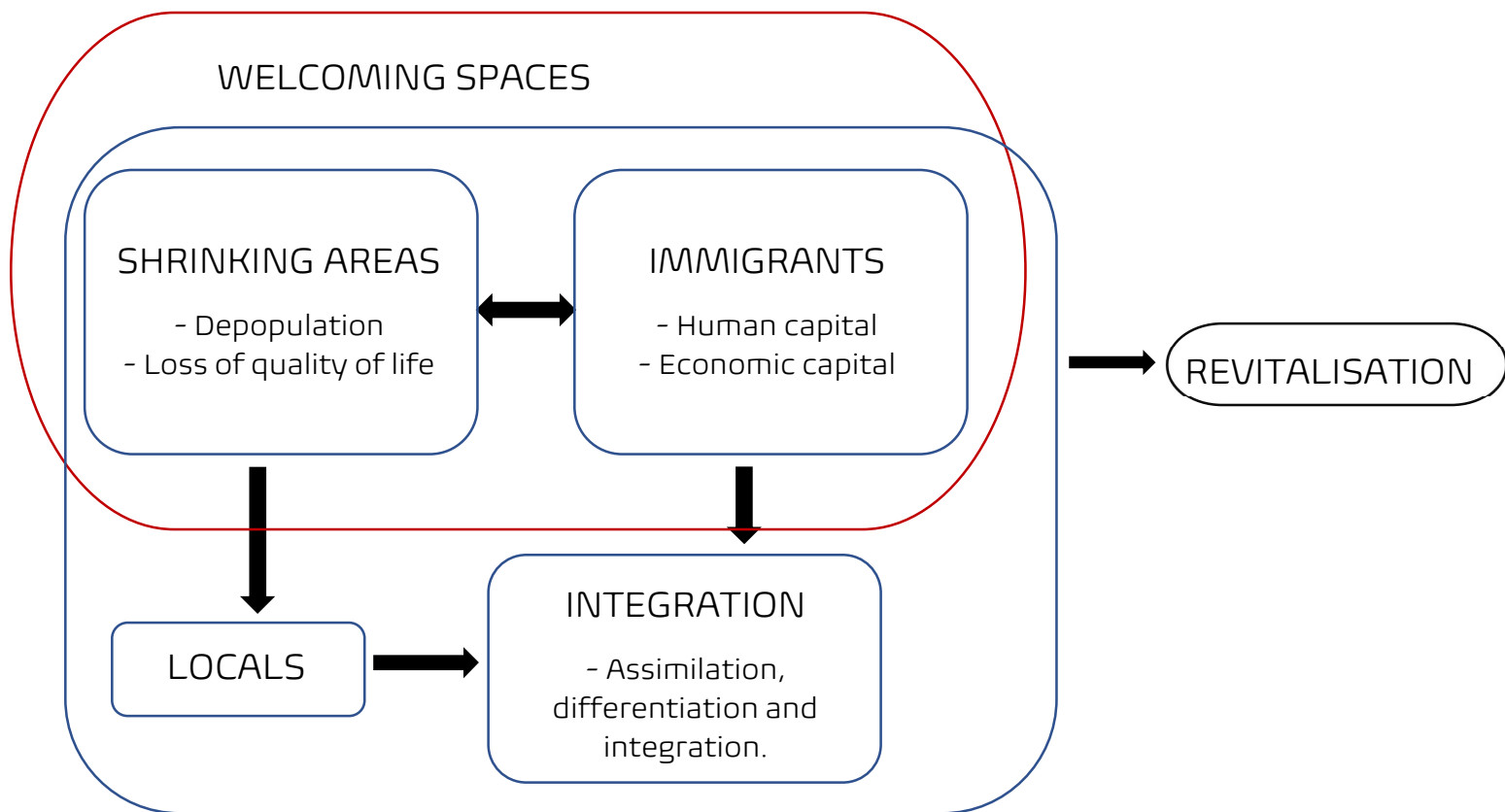


Figure 2. Conceptual Model. Authors' own creation.

With this conceptual model, both the relation between the different theories and concepts used for the theoretical framework and the object of the thesis can be more easily understood. Migration theories are the link between the concepts of 'Welcoming Spaces' and 'depopulation', being the nexus between on the one hand, the translocal theory, linked to the first concept; and, on the other hand, the demographic theories linked to the concept of depopulation.

CHAPTER 3. Methodology.

3.1 Research in times of Covid-19

At the beginning this thesis was going to be a comparative case study between two villages, Giessenburg in The Netherlands, and Calamocha, in Spain. Due to the corona pandemic I was forced to move back to Spain, where the situation was no optimal for carrying on a normal fieldwork.

From the 12th of March till the 10th of May total isolation was mandatory, only being allowed to go out for essential activities, and from May till July the transition phases towards what was called by the Spanish Government as 'New Normal' took place. There were four phases, in the first one, being only allowed to go out for one hour and no further than 1km from your residence, only by pairs of co-habitants; and getting more flexible as time passed till July when the freedom of movement was fully recovered. This crisis resulted in a shift of focus, having to conduct research online, first because of the restrictions, and after that, because of the fear of meeting non-usual people that may worsen the situation. All this meant a change from the comparative study, as doing the fieldwork in The Netherlands was impossible, to an in-depth analysis in Spain.

The choice of the villages depended on the Dutch case, villages in both countries are vastly different, being in Spain much smaller and further away from each other than in The Netherlands, so finding two villages with similar demographic and socioeconomic realities was not easy. Giessenburg and Calamocha, even though had great differences, they also had much in common, so the comparison would have been possible and interesting. As the choice still works for an in depth analysis, I decided to continue the process of my thesis with Calamocha as case study. Factors as proximity to the place of residence and possibilities of establishing contact with the locals were taken into account too.

Calamocha is a village situated in the province of Teruel that counts with 4.339 inhabitants and where the population from other countries is around the 15% of the whole population, having the highest rate of immigrants in the area. Foundations as Cruz Roja and Cepaim help in the integration of immigrants in this area. This municipality also

had a huge growth of population between the 60s and the 80s that became slower and slower till 2009 when the loss of population started and continued till nowadays.

This thesis, set up according the multi-sited-ethnography (MSE) methodological approach, based in three pillars, literature and secondary data, and quantitative and qualitative research, giving more importance to the last one. The research is going to be divided in four phases:

3.2 Literature review and secondary data analysis

A literature review about the topic, and a compilation demographic, economic and service data that can be useful for the comprehension of the situation in the municipality has been done. The situation of this municipality has been explained in the comparison to Spain, thus the differences between urban and rural areas can be understood.

The literature review includes articles and scientific reports, but also news and more 'informal' writings about immigration, integration, migration flows, transnationalism, demography and depopulation, that can help understand the migration and integration processes in both countries.

The secondary data will be collected from different statistics institutes:

- 'Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE)', or in English, the National Statistics Institute of Spain.
- 'Instituto Aragonés de Estadística (IAEST)' or in English, the Statistics Institute of Aragón.
- Other official sites will be used too, as the Spanish Government site or the different Ministries sites.

3.3 Surveys

In order to stablish contact with people and find the most important organizations and institutions that help the integration of immigrants, eighty surveys were conducted. The surveys have been done to different profile people so I could have the most complete idea possible. The questions were formulated to know the principal situation and opinion about the topic of the survey respondents. The initial idea was to go to the village and conduct these short interviews in person, but in the end, the way

of doing it was with an on-line survey created with 'Google Forms' that was shared through different media.

The survey was shared through different Facebook groups of the village as "Calamocha" or "No eres de Calamocha si... (you are not from Calamocha if...)" and asking the respondents to share the survey via WhatsApp with their acquaintances from the village. 'Calamocha TV' and the city Council also helped on the distribution of the survey in order to reach as many people as possible.

These surveys were done in order to classify and choose fewer people for further interviews. The data will be classified and explained with graphs and tables in the thesis.

The guide and questions used in the survey is in the annex 1.

3.4 In-depth semi-structured interviews to locals

From the conducted surveys, 22 people were chosen to interview, in order to know in depth their opinion in regard to immigration, integration, depopulation and welcoming spaces. The condition to be chosen from the surveys was to live and work in Calamocha, as they have to know the dynamics and the life in the village.

The guide for these interviews consist of thirteen open questions that will be asked based on the answers of the interviewees. They began with personal questions for a presentation, in order to stablish the different variables that will be used to analyse the answers. Then a few questions about immigration and integration, to end with more concrete questions about the village. Thus, the structure of the interview is like follows, a total of sixteen questions grouped in four groups of questions (the guide used for the interviews is added in the annex 2):

1. Presentation (questions to get to know the interviewee)
2. Immigration (questions to know the general opinion of the interviewee)
3. Integration (questions to know the general opinion of the interviewee)
4. Calamocha (concrete questions about the village, immigration, welcoming spaces and depopulation⁹)

Before the Covid-19 situation I would have liked to ask the interviewees to take at least two pictures of places or situations in their village that they think are welcoming

(in the case of the natives) and that make them feel welcome (in case of the immigrants) and explain why with the objective of giving an image to the concept of 'welcoming space' in order to elaborate a possible definition for the term. But as the situation in the streets has changed a lot, the result of this practice would be unusable.

These interviews will be transcribed and labelled with Atlas.ti for the analysis.

3.5 In-depth semi-structured interviews with key people

From the answers given in the survey about institutions and organizations that help the integration of immigrants, I have chosen key people in the village in order to know their opinion about immigration, integration and the term 'welcoming space' and its use as attractive factor for shrinking areas. The institutions that were studied, with interviews and secondary data, are:

- School (interviews to different teachers)
- Highschool (interviews to different teachers)
- School for adults (adult education) (interview to a teacher)
- Local government (interview to the Rural Development and Depopulation technician)
- Cáritas (interview with a person in charge, not recorded)
- Cruz Roja (no interview done, analysis from secondary data retrieved from the website).
- Teruel Existe (interviews to different members)

For these interviews were used the same questions as the ones used for the locals, in case they also live in the village, but new questions, more concrete, were added.

As the other interviews done, these will be semi-structured, with just a few bullet points and general questions to guide the conversation and will also be transcribed and analysed.

All the interviews with both locals and key people were done via Skype or phone in order to respect the measures taken by the government in Spain due to the Covid.19.

3.6 Analysis

As it has been said before, the interviews were transcribed in Spanish, the labelling and the analysis done in English. Also, a chart with the most important information and answers in English was created and added to the transcriptions.

The variables used to distinguish the different samples of people will be:

- Gender
- Age.
- Origin (if the person was born in the village or not).
- Migration record (if the person has migrated or if they are migrants of second/third generation)

The interviews were labelled with the programme Atlas.ti. A total of seventy labels were used, grouped in nineteen groups, which, at the same time, were grouped in four smart groups. Those smart groups coincide with the groups of questions for the interviews. Colour codes were also used, in order to better distinguish and ease the labelling process. The groups and codes used were:

Smart group	Group	Label
Presentation	Gender	F [for female]
		M [for male]
	Age (per group of age)	18-34
		35-50
		51-64
		>65
	Born in the Village	Yes (BV)
		No (BV)
	Migration History	Yes, within Spain
		Yes, other countries
		No (MH)
		Family History
Immigration	Definition of Immigrant	Different country [if it is defined as a person from a different country]
		Looking for a job [if it is defined as a person looking for a job]
		Better life [if its defined as a person seeking a better life]
		Leaving place of birth [if it is defined as a person that leaves its place of birth]
	Are all immigrants the same?	Yes (IS)
		No (IS)
	Differences between immigrants	Race
		Culture
		Reason to Migrate

	Are all immigrants treated equally	Yes (ET)	
		No (ET)	
Integration	Definition of Integration	Two sides [if it is defined as a two sides job, for the local and the immigrant]	
		Good coexistence [if it is defined as a good environment and coexistence in the village]	
		Adopt Spanish culture [if it is defined as the adoption of the Spanish culture by the immigrant]	
		Equality [if it is defined as the equal situation and treatment for locals and immigrants]	
		Respect different cultures [if it is defined as mutual respect]	
	When is an immigrant integrated?	Totally adapted [if it is considered when the immigrant is fully adapted to society and has fully adopted the culture and customs]	
		Participation in the village [if it is considered when the immigrant participates in the village issues, organization and governance]	
		Job (ID) [if it is considered when the immigrant gets a job]	
		Social relations (ID) [if it is considered when the immigrant has friends and relation with the locals]	
		Feeling [if it is considered when the immigrant develops a feeling of belonging and integration to the village]	
	Key element for integration	Language	
		Job (KE)	
		Social relations (KE)	
		Government actions	
		Empathy and education	
		Housing	
		Favourable environment	
Calamocha	Immigrant profile	Nationality	N. Morocco
			N. Romania
			N. China
			N. S. America
		Social and demographic	S. Families
			S. Workers
			S. M. Age
	Integration in the village	Yes (I)	
		No (I)	
	Integration differences	Romanians Better	
		Moroccans Worse	
		B. Culture [if the integration is better or worse because of the culture similarities or differences]	
		B. Language [if the integration is better or worse because of the language similarities or differences]	
		Accepted vs integrated [if the respondent considers that they are integrated, says that they do not participate in the social life of the village, but they do participate in other activities]	
	Activities that help the integration	School and Highschool	
		Local Government	
		Institution	

		None
	Is Calamocha a Welcoming Space?	Yes (WS)
		No (WS)
		Depends
	Can immigration stop depopulation?	Yes (ST)
		No (ST)
	Ideal immigrant	Worker
		Family
		Adapted
		Does not Exist

Table 1. Codes classification table.

With the information extracted from the interviews after labelling, content boxes were created for every interview with the relevant information, and, in some cases, accompanied with literal quotes.

The model of interview content box used to classify the answers is:

Interviewee X		
Presentation	Gender	
	Age	
	Was born in the village?	
	Migration history	
Immigration	Definition of immigrant	
	Are all immigrants the same?	
	Are all immigrants treated equally?	
Integration	Definition of integration	
	When is an immigrant fully integrated?	
	Key element for integration	
Calamocha	Profile of immigrant	
	Are they integrated?	
	Activities that ease integration	
	Is Calamocha a welcoming space?	
	Can immigration stop depopulation?	
	Ideal immigrant.	

Table 2. Interview content box model.

Apart from these content charts for the general information from the interviews, other content boxes will be created for the particular information extracted from the key people interviewed, in order to have the information about the different institutions they work for and the projects created to help immigrants and their integration. The model of these content charts is:

Institution Name	
Explanation	

Profile of immigrants	
Activities done	
Participation	
Results	

Table 3. Institution context box model.

The content charts are in the annex 3.

3.6 Research plan

3.6.1 Work plan and timeline

Due to the global crisis produced by the Covid-19 pandemic, I was forced to go back to my home country (Spain) in March, and stay there for three months, of which two of them were in total isolation at home. Therefore, the most important change is that the thesis was no longer a comparative case study, but a single case study, focusing the research in Calamocha, Spain. There was also a gap of three months on which I still worked on literature review and online surveys.

Project Task	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September
Research Proposal									
COVID-19									
Fieldwork Spain									
Data analysis & writing									

Table 4. Gantt Chart for the Thesis.

3.6.2 Work plan and timeline before Coronavirus pandemic

The idea was to end the thesis by June 2020, starting on March. During the month of February I've been working on the Research Proposal and start making formal contacts for the fieldwork in Netherlands, on March I would have started the thesis by doing some literature review and compilation of secondary data (first part of the methodology).

Fieldwork Netherlands (5-6 weeks): the first week would have been for observation and making contact with the village and the people, during the next week conduct the surveys and programme the interviews. During the weeks four and five I would have the in-deep interviews.

Fieldwork Spain (3-4 weeks): as I did my bachelor thesis about the region in Spain, I do not need as much time for this part of the fieldwork as for the first one. During the

first week I would have been observing and doing the surveys, during weeks two, three and four I would have set and done the interviews.

Project Task	January	February	March	April	May	June
Research Proposal						
Fieldwork Netherlands						
Fieldwork Spain						
Data analysis & writing						

Table 5. Gantt Chart before Covid-19.

3.7 Internship

I have been doing my internship from February onwards in a research project for Utrecht University: “‘Welcoming Spaces’ in Europe: Revitalising shrinking areas by hosting non-EU migrants”.

The project aims to search for new ways to merge two policy challenges: how to contribute to the revitalisation of shrinking areas while also offering space for the successful integration of non-EU migrants in line with the Sustainable Development Goals (‘leaving no one behind’). The point of departure are existing examples of ‘welcoming spaces’ which do exist in some places, but often remain invisible and dispersed. Examples of small towns and villages offsetting a declining population by attracting non-EU migrants are found in various European regions in Italy, Spain, but also Germany, the Netherlands and Poland.

CHAPTER 4. Demographic analysis.

In this chapter, the demographic evolution of Spain will be explained and compared to the demographic evolution and situation of the province of Teruel, and the Jiloca region, where Calamocha is located.

As it has been explained before, Spain is now going through the third demographic transition (Coleman, 2016), meaning that the main changes of population are due to migration flows. An aged population and higher deaths than births also characterize this demographic transition. Spain is also in, as King (2012) explained, the fifth stage of migration, what he called advanced society, determined by inter-urban migration, mass immigration of low skilled workers from less developed countries and international circulation of professionals.

The aim of this chapter is to describe the demographic situation of Spain, and show the main differences to the province of Teruel, depopulated area. Hence, understanding the distribution of immigrants will help to understand further chapters where the concrete situation of the village that is case of study.

All the data used and analysed in this chapter are gathered from the Spanish National Statistics Institute, and the Statistics Institute of Aragón. The graphs are created with Excel.

4.1 Demographics of Spain

Spain is a big country in sense of territory, having a surface of 505.781 square kilometres, almost a five per cent of Europe, and 11,4% of the EU. Nevertheless, when speaking about population, Spain is not that big country, having a population density of 93,1 inhabitants per square kilometre, being the global density of population in the EU of 115,8 inhabitants per square kilometres, and compared to other countries as the UK (274 inhabitants/square kilometre), Germany (232 inhabitants/square kilometre) or The Netherlands (416 inhabitants/square kilometre).

Talking about the evolution of population, between 1975 and 2000 the population of Spain suffered a slight growth of population that started to increase due to immigration, suffering a high curve of population growth between 2000 and 2008.

The good economic position of the country during that period of time, caused the arrival of immigration, that combined with a slight growth of the birth rate, defined the increasment of the population in almost six million people.

In 2008 the country submerge into a financial crisis, thus, the immigration rate dropped terribly till 2014, decreasing the arrival of more than 900.000 immigrants in 2008 to the arrival of just 300.000 in 2014 (as can be seen in the graph called 'Evolution of Immigration' in Figure 3). This rate improved again till nowadays reaching again more than 700.000 immigrants in the year 2018. During this period of time, the natural growth of population dropped too, but continued being positive, of 0,0012, meaning that the population of the country grew 1,2 people per 1.000 inhabitants, having a difference of 0,6 from the previous period of time (2000-2008). In contrast to immigration, the natural growth of population did not recovered, continuing decreasing from 2008.

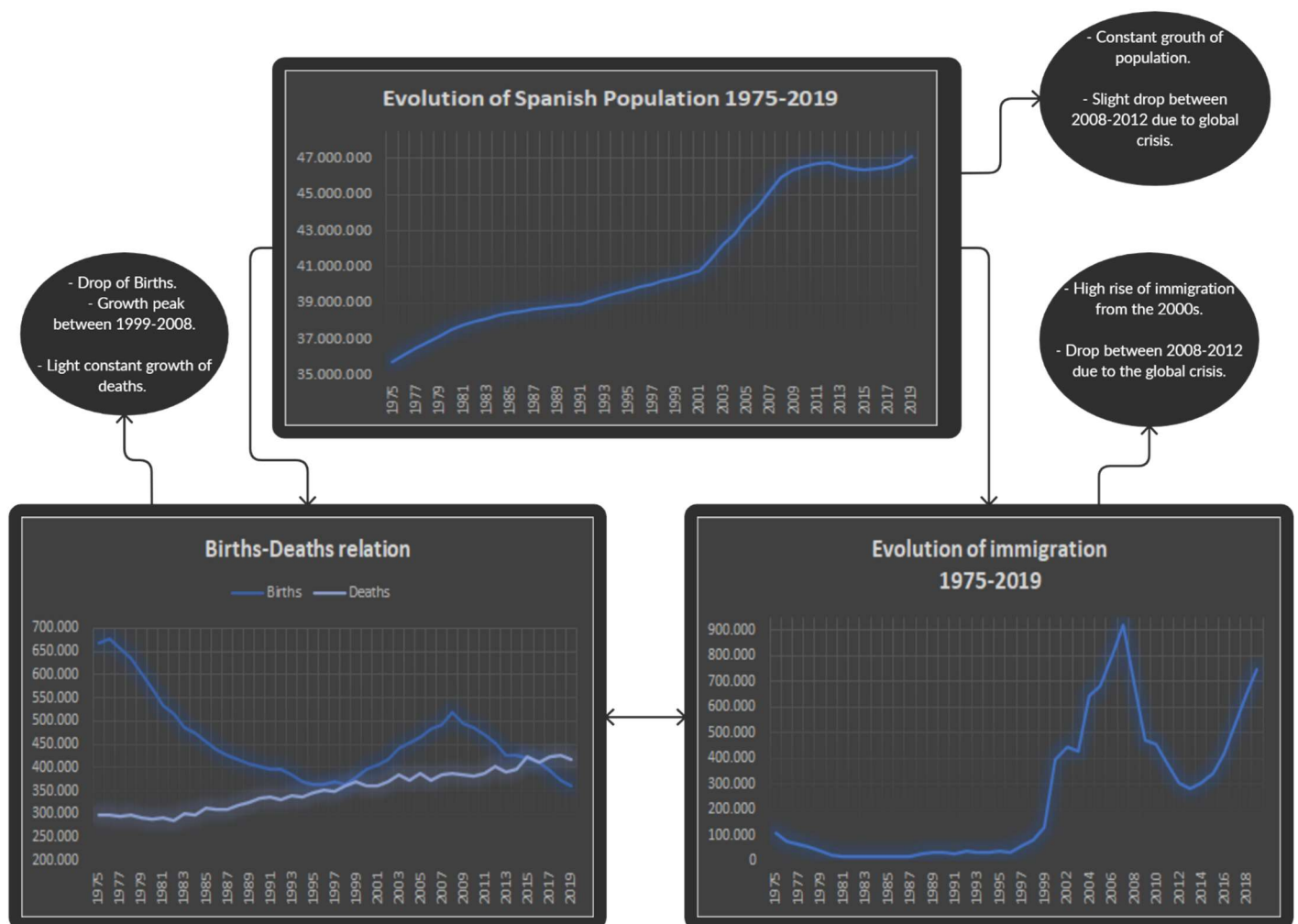


Figure 3. Demographic Evolution of Spain. Authors' own creation with data retrieved from the Spanish National Statistics Institute.

Nevertheless, Spain suffers a big population growth from the year 2000, suffering a slight descense, due to the reasons explained before, and continues growing after 2015 (as can be seen in the graph called 'Evolution of Spanish Population 1975-2019' in Figure 3). The main reason for this is the immigration, as the natural growth is not that big during the first period to provoque that huge increasment of population, and, during the second period, the natural growth keeps descending.

The first important indicator for understanding the differences between Spain and the province of Teruel is population density. It also is the most important indicator talking about depopulation. Spain has a population density of 93,1 inhabitants per square kilometre. Another important factor in order to understand the demographic differences between Spain, in general, and the concrete case of the province of Teruel, is the population pyramid, in order to aknowledge the male/female ratio and the population ageing. In the graph 'Population Pyramid Spain, 2019' (Figure 4) can be seen that the gross of the population is concentred in the periods of age situated between 30 and 64 years, being the period 40-44 years the one with biggest population. According to the Spanish National Statistic Institute, the male/female ratio is of 96,16, meaning that per 100 women there are 96 men.

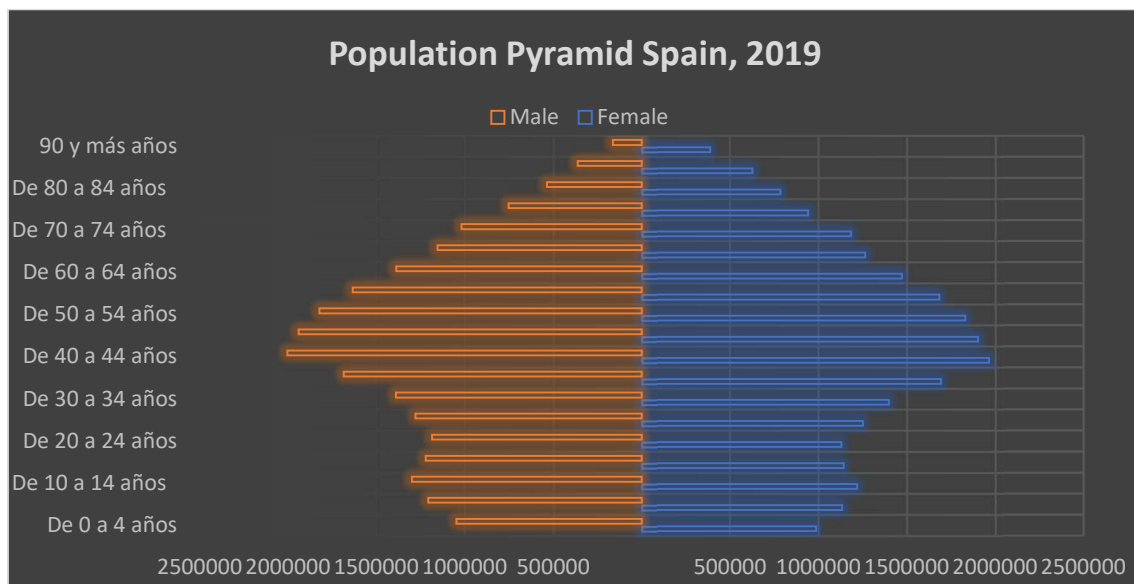


Figure 4. Population Pyramid of Spain, 2019. Authors' own creation with data retrieved from the Spanish National Statistics Institute.

As it has been said before, Spain is an immigration receiving country, therefore there is an imoportant amount of foreign people living in the country. In 2019, a total of

5.036.878 inhabitants were foreign, a 10,7% of the total population of Spain. As can be seen in the graph called 'Foreigns in Spain, 2019' in Figure 5, almost half of the foreign people residing in Spain (specifically a 42%) are from Europe, followed by a 26% of inhabitants from America, of which 72% are from South America. Immigrants from Africa are also important, since 22% of immigrants in Spain are from this continent. The proximity of Europe and Africa, and the cultural and language similarities with South America explain that the two bigger communities of foreigners in Spain are those ones.

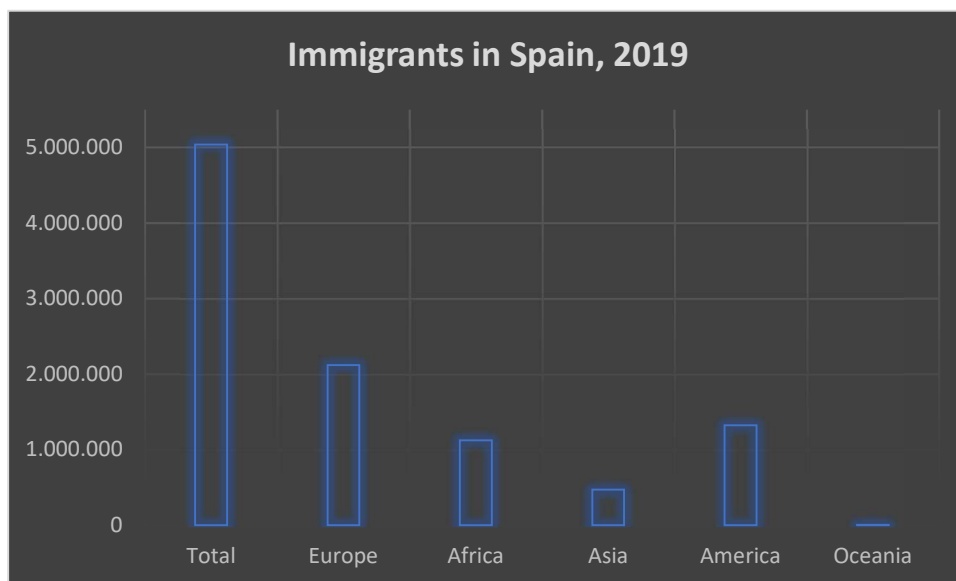


Figure 5. Foreigns in Spain, 2019. Classified by Continent of Origin. Authors' own creation with data retrieved from the Spanish National Statistics Institute.

4.2 Demographics of Teruel Province

Spain is made up of seventeen autonomous communities, which, at the same time, add up to fifty provinces. Teruel is one of the three provinces that conform the autonomous community of Aragón. Aragón has the 2,8% of the total population of Spain, and 9,4% of the total surface of the country.

Talking about population density, Aragón has a density 23,8 inhabitants per square kilometre, showing the way population in Spain is concentrated in big cities and areas as Madrid and Barcelona are, and then having big territories with less concentration of population. Even though we can see that in the difference of population density, the distribution of population in Aragón is, as in general Spain, not even. The province of Zaragoza, where the city of Zaragoza (capital of the Aragón) is,

concentrates the 73,4% of the population of the whole autonomous community, having just the 36,2% of the surface of the community. That way, Zaragoza has a population density of 56,2 inhabitants per square kilometre, much higher than the total of Aragón (23,8). Teruel, on the other hand, has a 10% of the population of Aragón, and 31% of the surface, having a population density of 8,98 inhabitants per square kilometre.

It is important to highlight that most of the population is also concentrated in the big cities (and capitals) of the provinces. In the case of Zaragoza province, its capital, also named Zaragoza, concentrates the 65,5% of the population of its province, and 50,2% of the population of the whole community of Aragón. While Teruel, the capital of the province of Teruel, concentrates the 26,9% of the population of its province.

Explaining the evolution of its population, in contrast to Spain as a whole, the province of Teruel has been suffering a loss of population since 1975, only alleviated by a slight growth between the years 2001 and 2008 (as can be seen in the graph called 'Evolution of the Population of Teruel Province 1975-2019' in Figure 6), period of economic growth in both, Spain and the province, after 2008, due to the world financial crisis, this growth of population was lost.

Teruel province was never very densely populated, having in 1975 a population of almost 165.000 inhabitants, for a territory of 14.805 square kilometres, having a population density of 11,1 inhabitants per square kilometre. This population dropped to around 133.000 inhabitants in 2019, losing 32.000 people in those years, having now a population density of 9 inhabitants per square kilometre. This population drop is due to the huge reduction of births. Mortality rate is pretty much stable during the whole period, varying from 1.600 to 1.800 deaths per year. But the birth rate has dropped from a bit more than 1.800 births per year (in 1981) as the highest point, to barely a thousand of births in 2019 (as can be seen in the graph called 'Births-Deaths relation. Teruel Province' in Figure 6). During the last period of time (2008 onwards), the natural population growth of the province was negative, of minus 0,0041, meaning that the province lost 4,1 inhabitants per every 1.000 people. This makes a huge contrast with the global natural population growth (of 1,2 people per 1.000 inhabitants) of Spain.

The only factor that helps to slow down the loss of population in the province is immigration. Even though in almost every year from 1975 the emigration has been higher than the immigration, the arrival of around 2.000 immigrants per year has made a huge difference for the province. Contrary to the birth rate, that continues dropping, in the last five years the immigration to the province has raised, being higher than the emigration (as can be seen in the graph called 'Immigration-Emigration relation. Teruel Province' in Figure 6).

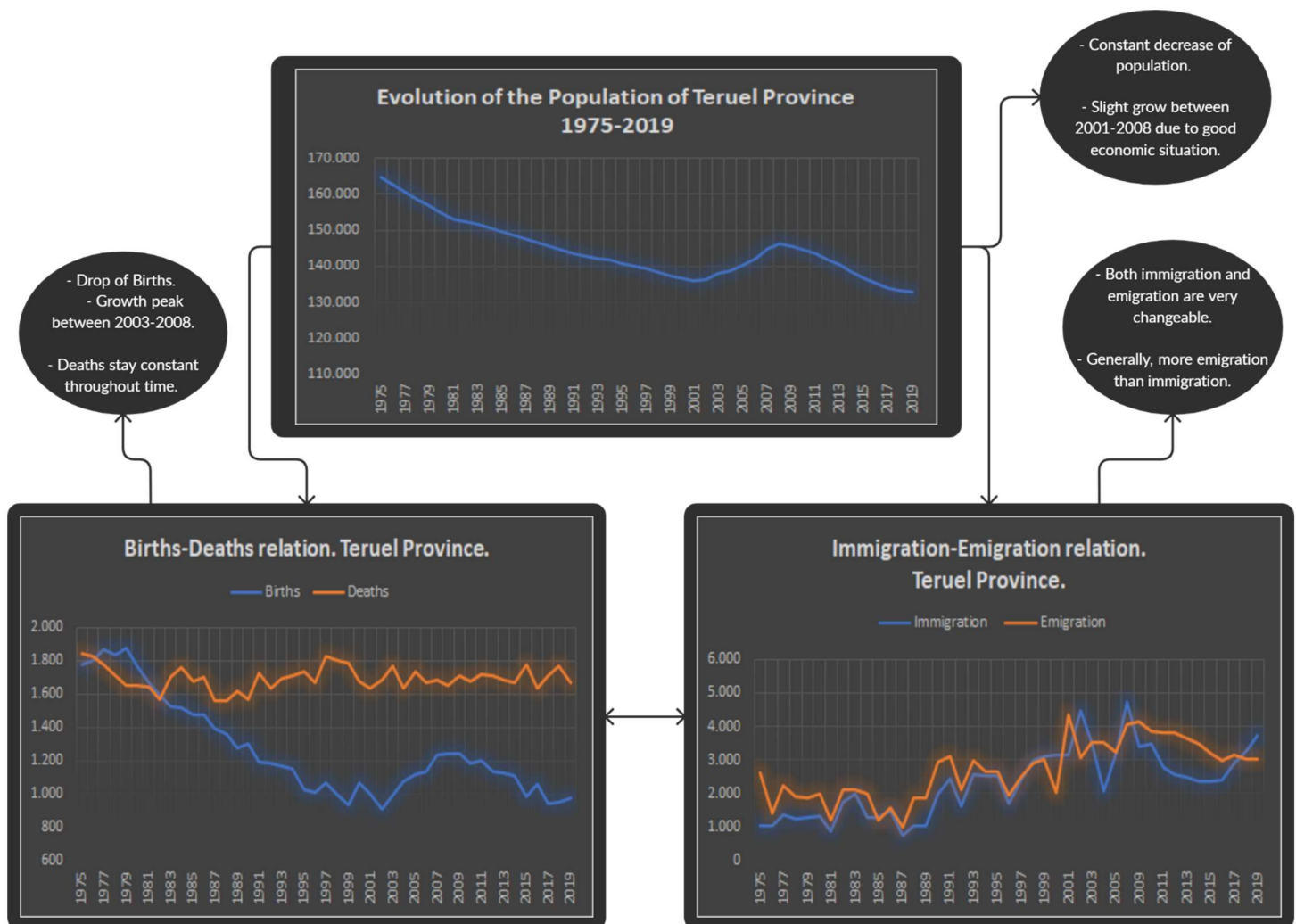


Figure 6. Demographic Evolution of Teruel province. Authors' own creation with data retrieved from the Spanish National Statistics Institute.

Studying the population pyramid, as can be seen in the graph called 'Population Pyramid Teruel, 2019' in Figure 7, the gross of population is aged 55-59, five-teen years older than the Spanish one. This shows the ageing of population in the province, caused

by the drop of births and the emigration of young population. According to the Spanish National Statistics Institute, the masculinity rate, as of 2019, is 102,7, meaning that per 100 women there are 102 men, being higher than the male/female ratio of Spain.

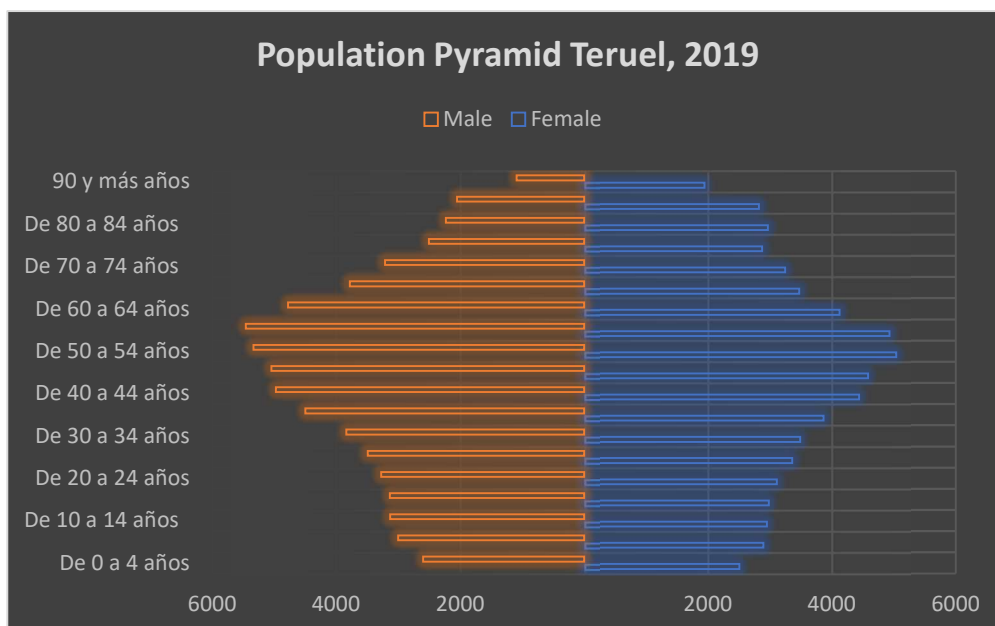


Figure 7. Population Pyramid of Teruel province, 2019. Authors' own creation with data retrieved from the Spanish National Statistics Institute.

As for Spain, foreign inhabitants are very important for Teruel province, having 13.845, a 10% of the total population of the province, almost the same as the general rate (10,7%) of Spain. Of these 13.845 foreign inhabitants, the 49,9% are from Europe, followed by the 34,3% that are from Africa (as can be seen in the graph called 'Foreigns in Teruel, 2019' in Figure 8). The main difference with Spain is the higher presence of Africans and lower presence of Americans, this can be due to the cheaper lifestyle in rural areas of Spain.

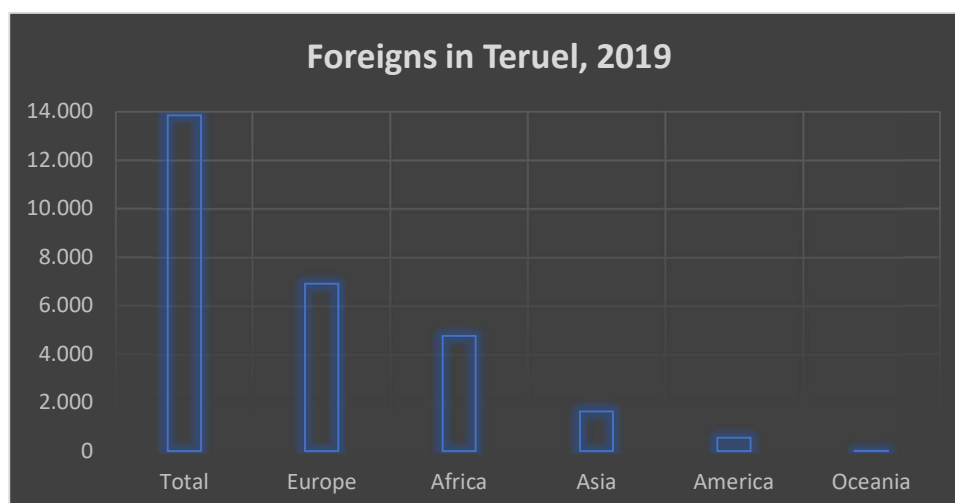


Figure 8. Foreigns in Teruel province, 2019. Classified by Continent of Origin. Authors' own creation with data retrieved from the Spanish National Statistics Institute.

4.3 Demographics of Jiloca Region

Jiloca is one of the ten regions that form the province of Teruel, it is situated at the north-west of the province and its administrative capital is Calamocha, the village that is object of study for this thesis. Demographically it is not that different from Teruel province, in general, but it is important to mention that 26,9% of the total population of the province are living in the capital, Teruel, and another 12% in the second biggest city of the province, Alcañiz. Therefore, the other 63,1% of the population is divided in other 234 municipalities.



*Picture 5. Map of Teruel province with regions divisions.
Retrieved from Provincial Council of Teruel webpage.*

Having a surface of 1.932 square kilometres, and, according to the Statistics Institute of Aragón, in 2019, a population of 12.153 inhabitants, it had a population density of 6,3 inhabitants per square kilometre, lower than the general population density of the province (8,98 inhabitants/square kilometre).

Talking about the evolution of population, as the whole province, the region of Jiloca has been losing population since 1975, having lost 34% of its population since 1981. The natural growth of the population of the area since 2003 (there are no previous data available) has been negative, due to a much higher number of deaths than births, as can be seen in the graph called 'Births-Deaths Relation. Jiloca Region' in Figure 9. What have helped to attenuate the loss of population in this region is immigration. Being since 2008 higher than immigration, except in years 2015 and 2016 that was slightly lower (as can be seen in the graph called 'Immigration-Emigration Relation. Jiloca Region' in Figure 9). According to the Statistics Institute of Aragón, more than half of this immigration was from outside Spain.

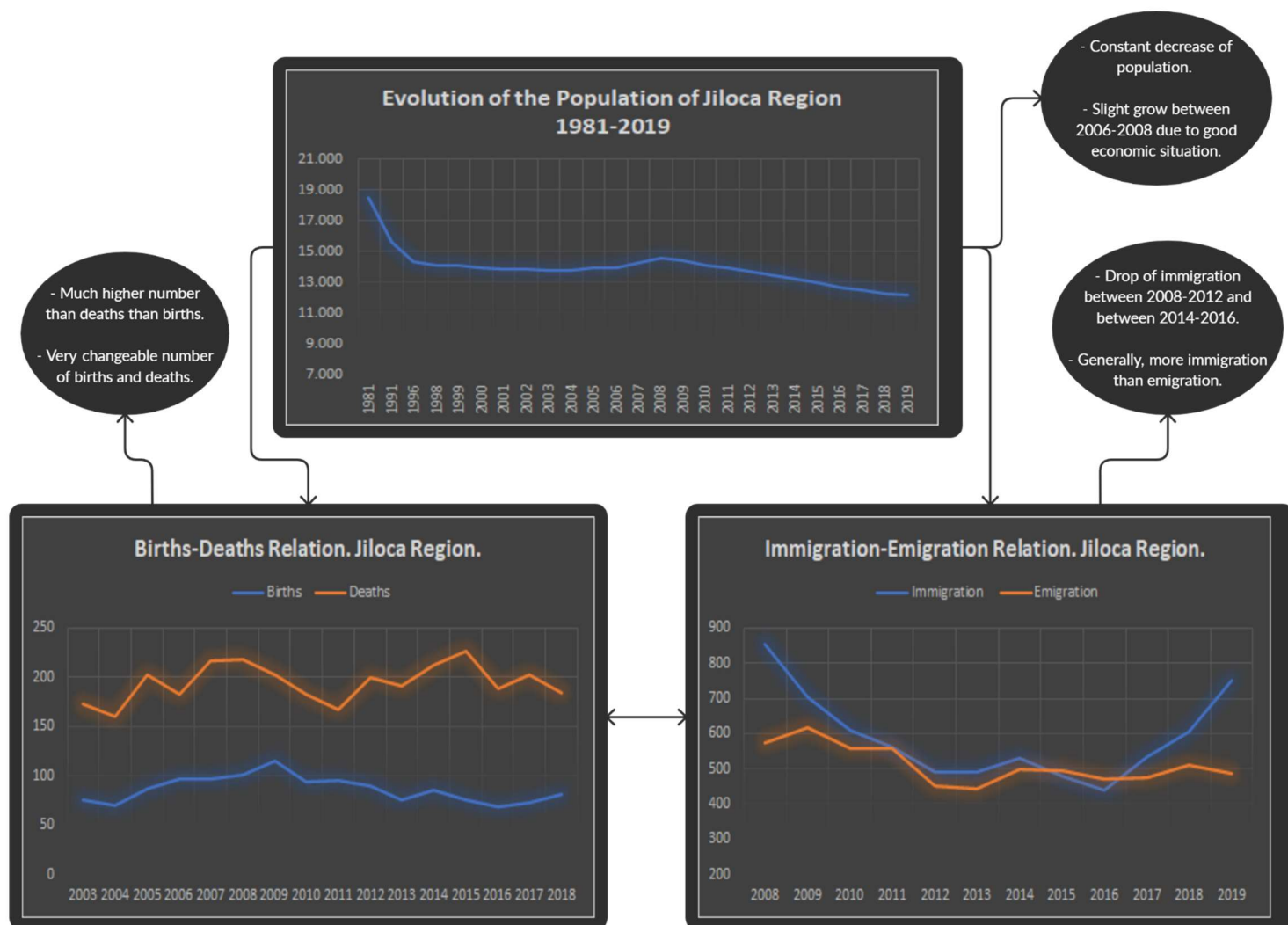


Figure 9. Demographic Evolution of Jiloca region. Authors' own creation with data retrieved from the Spanish National Statistics Institute.

Taking a look to the population pyramid (Figure 10), the gross of population is aged 50-54, a bit lower than the general in Teruel province, meaning that the population in this region is younger than the general. This can be explained with the emigration of old people to the capital of the province, in order to be closer to the hospital. It also can be seen the higher number of men over women, having, in 2019, a masculinity rate of 109, meaning that there were 109 men per every 100 women, higher than the general of the province (109), and much higher than the Spanish one (96).

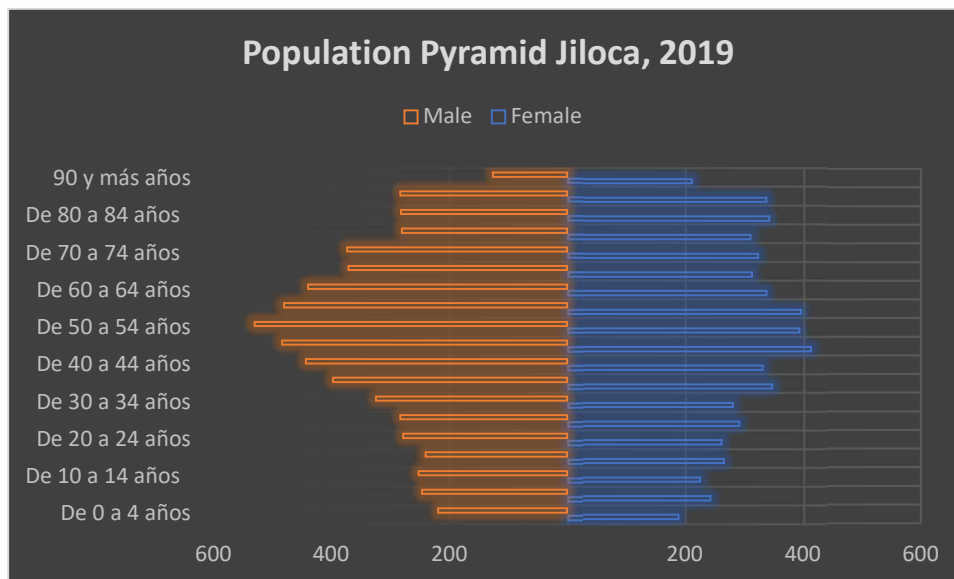


Figure 10. Population Pyramid of Jiloca region, 2019. Authors' own creation with data retrieved from the Statistics Institute of Aragón.

The higher immigration than emigration proves the importance of foreigners for this region, as it has been said, more than half of the immigrants are from outside of Spain. In 2019 there were 1.393 foreign people living in the region, being the 11,5% of the total population. There are no data available of the precedence of these immigrants, but, in 2019, 750 immigrants arrived from outside of Spain to this region, being 70% of them from other countries in Europe, followed, by far, by inhabitants from Africa, being the 18% of the immigrants arrived in 2019 (as can be seen in Figure 11).

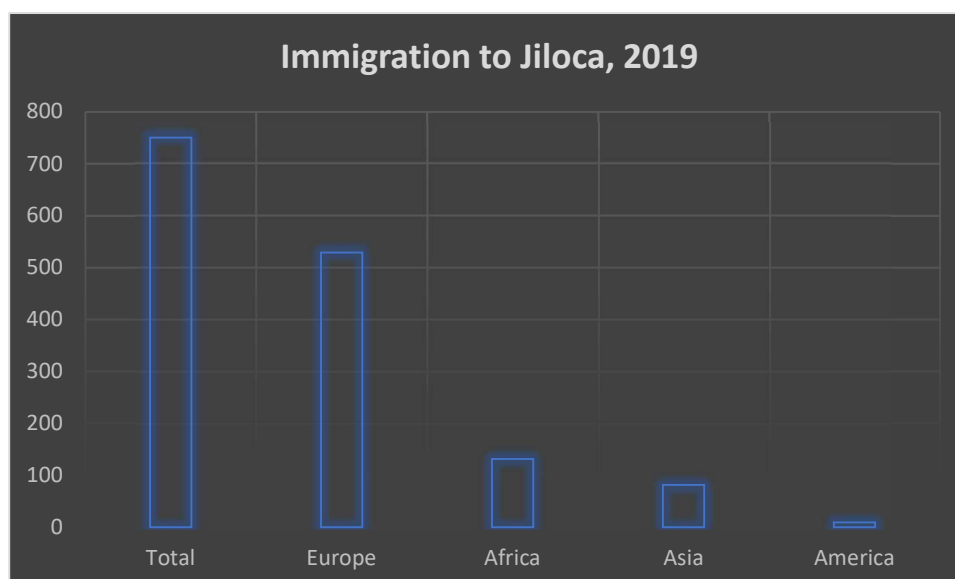


Figure 11. Immigration to Jiloca Region, 2019. Authors' own creation with data retrieved from the Statistics Institute of Aragón.

4.4 Conclusion

As it has been seen, the demographic situation of Spain is pretty different to the one in Teruel and Jiloca. This shows how depopulation affects rural areas of inner Spain, converging most population in big urban areas as Madrid, Barcelona or Seville. But, it is needed to point out that the same distribution of population is repeated in the rural areas, concentrating all the population in the capital of the province, leaving the other regions with less population, and at the same time in regions, concentrating most of the population in the administrative capitals of those regions, leaving small villages without population. This repetition of populating structure in different scales contributes to depopulation and the disappearance of the smallest villages.

CHAPTER 5. Welcoming spaces to revitalise shrinking areas.

5.1 What is a Welcoming Space?

The most important and immediate insight that can be extracted from all the interviews done with the local population in Calamocha regarding the concept of Welcoming Space, is that is an independent concept from the term integration explained before. Half of the interviewees considered that immigrants were not integrated in the village, while nearly seventy per cent of the locals interviewed consider Calamocha as a welcoming space that facilitates the arrival of new immigrants, using as explanation the lack of problems with them and between them. That is why, according to what was explained in the previous chapter, the concept Welcoming Spaces will be related to the term acceptance, rather than integration.

A place, in order to be considered a Welcoming Space, would need to cope with a few aspects or factors, that affect and construct the definition of what a Welcoming Space would be. These factors are:

- Job vacancies available in the village or region.
- Services and infrastructure available.
- Housing opportunities.
- Existence of immigrants (pull effect).
- Acceptance from the locals, understood as non-existence of problems.

The three first factors are the most important. This is because even though a village helps with the integration of immigrants, or there are already immigrants from some nationalities that may help the arrival of others; if the village has no jobs to offer, no services or infrastructures available, or there is no opportunity for housing; that means that it could not be considered a welcoming space as it cannot offer a stay for immigrants.

The other two factors can be considered as enablers for a welcoming space. Having a good willingness from the locals towards immigrants would facilitate the acceptance, and even an integration of immigrants. The existence of previous immigrants affects in two ways, on one hand, the locals are used to the arrival of

immigrants, so their willingness would be better; and, on the other hand, the immigrants already living in the village can work as pull factors for the arrival of new ones, and, at the same time, help with them to adapt to the village.

"Pues yo creo que es fácil, en cierto sentido, porque ya hay varias, o sea, quizás no tanto por los Calamochinos, sino porque... como que ya hay varias, a ver, cómo decirte, etnias o nacionalidades, y quizás les puedan arropar mejor los de su propio país, no sé si me explico. Calamocha yo creo que somos gente... [...] Yo creo que somos un poco hostiles, en plan, sí fiestas todas las que quieras, y si quieres nos tomamos unas cervezas, pero para entrar y eso en el círculo, yo creo que es un sitio un poco hostil, ¿sabes?, que hay como grupos muy cerrado."



"Well I think it's easy, in some ways, because there are already several, I mean, maybe not so much for the Calamochinos, but... As there are already several, see, how to tell you, ethnicities or nationalities, and perhaps if there are some from their country already living in the village, can help them, I do not know if I explain myself. Calamocha I think we are people... [...] I think we're a little hostile, like, ok, all the parties you want, and if you want to have a few beers it is ok too, but to get in,

Box 1. Elvira, 35 years old. Answer to the question 'Do you consider Calamocha as a Welcoming Space?'

It is important to take into account these factors explained, because about one third of the interviewees consider, alike Eduardo, that Calamocha could be a welcoming space if the village had all those factors, but it does not. Therefore, only big villages and regions with all those possibilities explained are the ones that would have the option of being called a 'Welcoming Space'.

"Eh... En cuanto a adaptación y actitud de la gente respecto al inmigrante está bien, considero que no es un lugar problemático. Lo malo que tiene Calamocha es su situación geográfica si quieres, es un lugar difícil al que llegar para casi cualquiera, debido a la despoblación, poco trabajo. Pero en cuanto a la recepción por parte de la gente, creo que es buena."



"Uh... as for people's adaptation and attitude towards the immigrant the village is fine, I consider that it is not a problematic place. The bad thing about Calamocha is its geographical location, I would say, it is a difficult place to reach for almost anyone, due to depopulation, without jobs. But as for the reception from local people, I think it is

Box 2. Eduardo, 29 years old. Answer to the question 'Do you consider Calamocha as a Welcoming Space?'

This is also a reason to relate this concept of Welcoming Spaces to the depopulation concept and shrinking regions. In Spain shrinking regions have an obvious lack and loss of population, therefore the existence of immigrants is less than in big cities, and the acceptance from the locals can be harder; and, at the same time, the lack

of jobs, services and infrastructures are reasons for this depopulation, therefore, it is very hard for a shrinking area to be a welcoming space in every sense discussed.

5.2 Immigration vs Depopulation.

This thesis is about how the concept Welcoming Spaces can be used in order to attract immigrants and revitalise shrinking regions. In the conceptual framework, the concept depopulation was defined as a loss of population in a territory comparing to a previous period of time (Pinilla and Sáez, 2017). As it was explained in the demographic analysis done in Chapter 4, Teruel province, and all its regions and municipalities were losing population, and the only factor that helped palliating this loss, was immigration, both national and international. It was also explained that there was an important percentage of immigrant population in Calamocha, the village chosen as case study, being almost a 15% of the population. Therefore, from this data can be concluded that immigration maybe is not helping to revitalise shrinking areas, but it is helping to prevent the death of many villages and regions mitigating the effects of depopulation.

5.2.1 The importance of services, specially the education.

Delving into the answers from the interviews, more than the eighty per cent of the interviewees considered that the immigration can stop, or it is already stopping depopulation, giving examples of many villages that keep their schools open thanks to the immigrant families that arrive.

During chapter five, it was explained how important the education is for the integration of the kids, and for the conscience and respect of different cultures from both sides, locals and immigrants. But the education is also an important factor for depopulation, in a more material point of view. A village that lose its school, is a dead village. That is why the immigrant families are so important, and why immigration has helped to stop depopulation.

"Para mí lo más triste, y la tristeza máxima, es cuando veo que no hay retorno, que igual me equivoco, es cuando se cierran los coles, cuando se cierran los coles de un pueblo, es ya la muerte sentenciada de ese pueblo, para mí. O sea, ya es el principio del final, que se cierre el colegio."



"For me the saddest thing, the greatest sadness, the moment when I see that there is no way back, maybe I am wrong, but, it is when the schools are closed, when the schools of a village are closed, it is the sentenced death of that town, from my point of view. I mean, it's the beginning of the end, the school closing."

“Lo ha hecho durante muchísimos años, por esta zona hay muchísimos pueblos que han estado manteniendo las escuelas abiertas única y exclusivamente por la inmigración. Durante muchos años el cupo mínimo de niños para mantener una escuela abierta era de cinco, que a la mayoría nos puede parecer ridículo, pero es algo con lo que muchos pueblos de la zona han estado lidiando durante los últimos, qué se yo, veinte años. En muchos casos, las escuelas se han conseguido mantener abiertas por la llegada de inmigrantes, y es tan sencillo como eso. Sin la inmigración, muchos pueblos ya estarían muertos, porque un pueblo sin escuela, es un pueblo que... que se ha muerto.”



"It [depopulation] has been doing so for many years, there are many villages in this area that have been keeping schools open solely and exclusively thanks to immigration. For many years, the minimum quota of children to maintain school open was five kids, which most of us may find ridiculous, but it is something that many villages in the area have been dealing with for the past, what do I know, twenty years. In many cases, schools have been kept open by the arrival of immigrants, and it's as simple as that. Without immigration, many villages would already be dead, because a village without a school is a town that... has died."

Box 4. Eduardo, 29 years old. Answer to the question 'Do you think that immigration can stop the depopulation process?'

Immigration has not only helped from the point of view of education, the more population a village has, more services it deserves and will get. Thanks to immigration health centres, security services, cleaning and garbage collection services... keep working in those villages, making the inhabitants stay longer, and being a pull factor for the arrival of new immigrants, creating a virtuous circle of population increasement.

“Tenemos que darnos cuenta que no son elementos extraños, si no que elementos que nos favorecen y que favorecen que siga habiendo ciertos servicios, porque los servicios públicos de educación, sanidad y tal, pues bueno, sin ellos van a ir cayendo porque no hay población , porque no hay población, no hay más.”



"We have to realize that they [immigrants] are not strange elements, but elements that favor us and that favor that there are still certain services, because public services of education, health and such, well, without them are going to fall because there is no population, because there is no population, that is all."

Box 5. Martín, 54 years old. Answer to the question 'Do you think that immigration can stop the depopulation process?'

Even though most of the interviewees answered that immigration can help stop the depopulation processes, almost a twenty per cent of them answered that immigration can not be a solution for shrinking areas.

Immigration can help bigger villages, that still have an important number of Spanish inhabitants, and where the immigration processes have already started,

working as pull factors for the arrival of other immigrants. Nevertheless, smaller villages, according to these people are destined to succumb.

The possibility of using villages as trampolines, meaning that the villages are used for getting an economic backup, and then moving to the bigger cities seeking for a better job; are also explained by the interviewees, worried about that problem, that is already happening in the village. The lack of resources, services and infrastructures, mentioned before, reinforces this problem.

"Más bien que no. En un momento dado, sí que se puede, ¿eh?, o sea en un momento dado decir, bueno, pues para cuatro o cinco años. Pero si después ven que no hay recursos, o no les gusta, o no están bien, se van. Como es normal."



"I think it [immigration] does not [help]. At a certain point, it might, huh? At a certain point, say, well, maybe for four or five years. But if they [immigrants] see later that there are no resources, or they don't like it, or they are not well, they leave. As is normal."

Box 6. Pilar, 49 years old. Answer to the question 'Do you think that immigration can stop the depopulation process?'

"En un pueblo pequeño, como el mío, no. Porque, aunque tú les ofreces algo, no les ofreces todo lo que pueden conseguir en otro pueblo, es decir, aquí una familia, es muy difícil, en un pueblo de cien habitantes, de ciento cincuenta, que se quede."



"In a small village, like mine, no [immigration cannot help]. Because, although you offer them something, you do not offer them everything they can get in another village, that is, here a family, it is very difficult, in a town of one hundred inhabitants, of one hundred and fifty, to stay."

Box 7. Marta, 55 years old. Answer to the question 'Do you think that immigration can stop the depopulation process?'

Therefore, for these interviewees, immigration can help in welcoming spaces, that is to say, places where all the factors explained before are available. However, as it has been said, most of the interviewees think that immigration is already helping to stop depopulation, and, according to secondary data from the Spanish National Statistics Insitute, immigration is the factor that is keeping villages away of extinction.

5.2.2 Applying notions of Welcoming Spaces. Two local projects

In regard to this topic, two key people were interviewed. One, part of the movement 'Teruel Existe', explained in the introduction of this thesis; and the other, the Rural Development and Depopulation expert of the town council of Calamocha.

'Teruel Existe', as it has been explained before, is a citizen movement that claims for improvements in matter of services and infrastructure in Teruel province. According

to the interviewee, there is no focus on immigration, but there are a few proposals of policies, that will be discuss with the government, for the attraction of new population to depopulation areas, without distinguishing between national or international migrants. Thus, there are no particular ideas or projects in regard to facilitation of integration of immigrants or international immigration. Nevertheless, the interviewee considered the idea of 'Welcoming Spaces' as a useful tool that may help the attraction of international immigrants to depopulated areas.

On the other hand, the rural development technician, is a local government figure that acts in the city council of Calamocha and in the Jiloca Region. Talking to her, she expressed that there is no initiative or programme in order to integrate or attract international immigrants, but when talking about the concept of Welcoming Spaces and the way it could be used, she described a similar project carried on in the village, called 'Abraza la Tierra' (Embrace the Land, in English).

'Abraza la Tierra' Project.

According to their website, 'Abraza la Tierra' is the best structured program for the revitalization of shrinking areas in Spain. It was born in 2004, and, though it is still working nowadays, the best moment for the project was between 2004 and 2008. It was formed by eighteen local development groups, located in five regions in Spain, designed a model of actions to ease the integration of newcomers to those depopulated areas. The target group for this project were Spanish people that wanted to move from big cities to rural areas, and the aim of the project was to facilitate to the institutions of shrinking areas the know-how and the way of action for maintaining and increase the population.

In order to achieve so, the project explains the need of several actors to be involved, those are:

- Local population.
- Municipal councils.
- Local action groups.
- New neighbourhoods.
- Private and public institutions.

- The media.

Of those, it is necessary to highlight the importance of the media. The villages and depopulated areas have to be able to show and sell themselves in order to attract new population. According to the ways of action carried in this project, the way to do so is:

1. The importance of living resources: it is needed to present the village and show the demographic and geographic situation of it, the services offered to the inhabitants, a list of housing opportunities (for both, renting and buying), and information to ease social networking.
2. Business resources: describe the business opportunities, give contacts of people working in the village, information about grants and subsidies, and about the infrastructure of the region.
3. Job resources: information about the job opportunities in the village.

An important institutional figure, created especially for this project, was the 'Welcoming Offices'. These offices were delegations of the programme that helped the people interested in the project and made the selection of candidates and monitoring the process. This concept can be compared to the term 'Welcoming Spaces' and show a way of using it in order to create a programme destined to attract new population to shrinking areas.

According to the results displayed in the webpage of the programme, between 2004 and 2008, four thousand Spanish families went to the 'Welcoming Offices' asking for more information in order to leave urban areas and about the possible benefits of rural areas, and five hundred people (230 families) were settled in rural areas. Even though those were positive results, the interviewee explains that, in Calamocha, it did not work out well. There was a lack of commitment from both sides, the locals and the newcomers, making the integration harder. She also explains how the people participating in the programme used the village as trampoline (as it was explained before), using the cheap prizes of the village and the jobs there to have a better economic situation, and then, leaving and moving to big cities again.

"[...] Te encontrabas con que la gente, no quieren que sus pueblos se vacíen, pero luego no quieren alquilar la casa de la abuela. Entonces son cosas que son muy incoherentes, ¿vale? Entonces tampoco se puede intentar hacer oficinas de acogida que les faciliten de tal manera a los inmigrantes, en menosprecio o menoscabo del habitante ya establecido, entonces hay que tener un poco de, o sea, hay que tener en cuenta que tiene que haber un compromiso por parte del inmigrante, tanto como por parte del que... de la población acogedora, entonces es un trabajo que hay que hacer, no solo de marketing, si no de concienciación."



"[...] You found that people, they don't want their villages to be empty, but then they don't want to rent out Grandma's house. So, these are very incoherent things, okay? So neither can we try to make reception offices that provide them in such a way to immigrants, in contempt or detriment to the already established inhabitant, then we must have a little of, In other words, we have to bear in mind that there has to be a commitment on the part of the immigrant, as much as on the part of those... of the welcoming population, so it is a job that has to be done, not only of marketing, but of awareness."

Box 8. Violeta, 44 years old. Questions about 'Abraza la Tierra' project.

Thus, as this project can be used as a guide for a new project focused in international migrations and targeted to international immigrants, and the concept of 'Welcoming office' can be compared with the one 'Welcoming Spaces', it is important to take into account the need of awareness and commitment of both the locals and the newcomers to the area in order for it to work and be useful.

CHAPTER 6. Calamocha.

6.1 Surveys and Interviews

Before starting the analysis and relating it to the literature used in the theoretical framework, it is important to explain the profile of the respondents of the survey and the interviewees, in order to understand better the results of the investigation, being some variables and indicators more representative than others.

As it has been explained in the methodology, surveys were done online, on one hand, in order to know general and short answers about immigration in the village, and on the other hand, with the objective of choosing and contacting people for the interviews.

Eighty people answered the survey. Taking a look into their profiles, ages of the respondents oscillate from 19 to 72 years old, being the gross of the respondents, more exactly 33,8%, aged between 51 and 64. It is important to take into account that the female participation was much larger than men's participation, 77,8% of the respondents were women. All the respondents had relation with the village, either live or work there, but just 33% were born in Calamocha. As the research is focused on locals, all the respondents were born in Spain. Almost 80% of them shared spaces with immigrants, and a bit more than half of the respondents knew about institutions that helped the integration of immigrants.

The respondents were asked to write down their email, in order to contact them for the interview, a 41% of the respondents facilitated it. All of them where contacted, as all the respondents live and work in the village, but in the end, twenty-two interviews were done. The interviewees, as the respondents, the bast majority was female, sixteen of the twenty-two interviews done, were done to women. The 36% of the interviewees were between 18 and 34 years old, and the number keeps reducing throughout the age groups, till interviewees over sixty-five, being a 9% of the total.

6.2 Immigrants

6.2.1 Definition (literature, definition from interviewees)

According to the Dictionary of Human Geography, a migrant is a person who has moved or is moving from one place to another. There are different criteria to add to this definition, migration can be international or intranational, temporary or permanent, forced or voluntary and legal or illegal (Gregory et al., 2009). Another important factor that affects migration is the reason to migrate, it can be a purely economic decision, migrate in order to get a better job (de Haas, Castles and Miller, 2009), or be motivated by other external factors as a war or negative political situation of the sending area.

The common definition answered by the interviewees to the question ‘What is an immigrant?’ could be summarized as: a person that goes to Spain from a different country, trying to find a job and seeking a better life. Relating this to the previous given definition, it is important to take into account how more than half of the interviewees assumed that an immigrant was a person coming from a different country, migrating in a permanent way, with an economic motive. Having the image of an immigrant as a person from global south that leaves his or her place of birth in order to improve the quality of life.

“Aquellos que se trasladan es decir, por ejemplo, los futbolistas yo no entiendo que sean inmigrantes, ¿eh?, los que, yo qué sé, el Borbón este que se nos ha... que se ha escapado, yo tampoco entiendo que sea un inmigrante fuera de España... O gente de esta que, de alguna manera, los jeques que vienen a Marbella y se compran los yates, o los inversores extranjeros que vienen y aquí ven que viven mejor, y que entonces se pasan la vida aquí porque... Esos para mí no son inmigrantes, esos tendrían que tener otro tipo de definición, desde luego no inmigrantes.”



“Those who move, that is to say, for example, the footballers, I do not see them as immigrants, eh? I don not consider that the Borbón [emeritus King of Spain], that escaped away, is an immigrant outside of Spain... Or people like, the sheikhs who come to Marbella and buy the yachts, or the foreign investors who come here and see that they live better, and then spend their lives here because ... for me they are not immigrants, those would have to have another type of definition, certainly not immigrants.”

Box 9. Inmaculada, 66 years old. Answer to the question "Are all the immigrants the same?"

As it has been explained in the theoretical framework, the categorisation of immigrants influences into the perception and integration of immigrants. Thus, to the question ‘Are all immigrants the same?’, more than the 68% of the interviewees

answered 'no', explaining that there are different reasons to migrate; and that the cultures, religions and languages of the immigrants can be different. And almost all the interviewees, a 86,4%, answered that immigrants are not treated the same, as Patricia explains, assuming that culture, race, and wealth are factors that can influence the different treatment to immigrants. Therefore, the conclusions extracted from the interviews are that black and poor people are treated worse than white people and immigrants that have money or already have a job.

"El inmigrante es... Se trata mejor por su nivel económico, o sea que, al final, no es tanto... Bueno, pienso yo, no es tanto a lo mejor el hecho de que seas de fuera, si no el hecho de que seas pobre."



"The immigrant is ... He is treated better because of his economic situation, that is, in the end, it is not like ... Well, I think, maybe it is not that much the fact that you are from abroad, if not the fact that you are poor."

Box 10. Patricia, 34 years old. Answer to the question 'Are all immigrants treated equally?'

Hence, according to the interviews done in the village, immigrants are perceived as poorer people than the locals, that come from a different country with the objective of finding a job and having a better quality of life.

6.2.2 Profile of immigrants (demographics, relate it to answers from the interviews)

According to the information extracted from the interviews, the profile of immigrant population in Calamocha is of people in working age (middle age) with families. The nationalities that are more abundant are Moroccan and Romanian.

Comparing this to the demographics of the village, according to the data retrieved from the Spanish National Statistics Institute, Calamocha counts with 4.339 inhabitants, being, of those, 642 immigrants, 14,8%. Of those immigrants, 52,3% are from Romania and 30,4% from Morocco. The 18% remaining correspond to immigrants from South America, as can be seen in the graph on Figure 12.

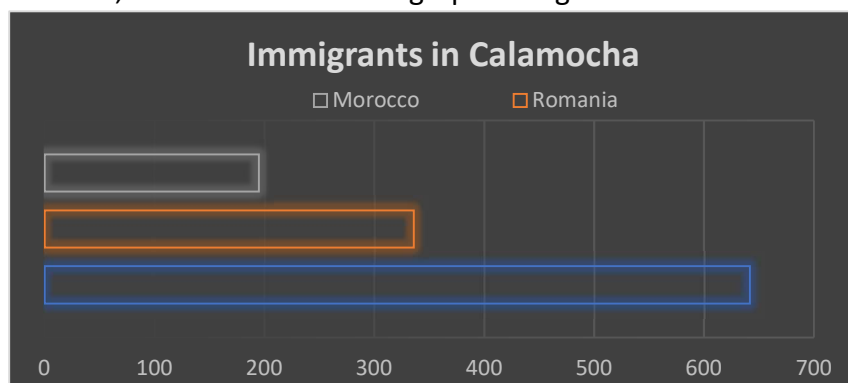


Figure 12. Immigrants in Calamocha, 2019. Authors' own creation with data retrieved from the Spanish National Statistics Institute.

Taking into account the male/female rate, it is the same in both, Spanish and immigrant population, being of almost exact fifty-fifty. However, a big demographic difference can be found when talking about age. The immigrant population is much younger having 23% of kids under sixteen, and a 74% of people at working age; compared to the 14% of Spanish population under sixteen and the 61% of Spanish inhabitants at working age. Thus, the percentage of Spanish population over sixty-four years old, is much bigger than the immigrant percentage, being a 24% against a 2% respectively, as can be seen in the graph in Figure 13.

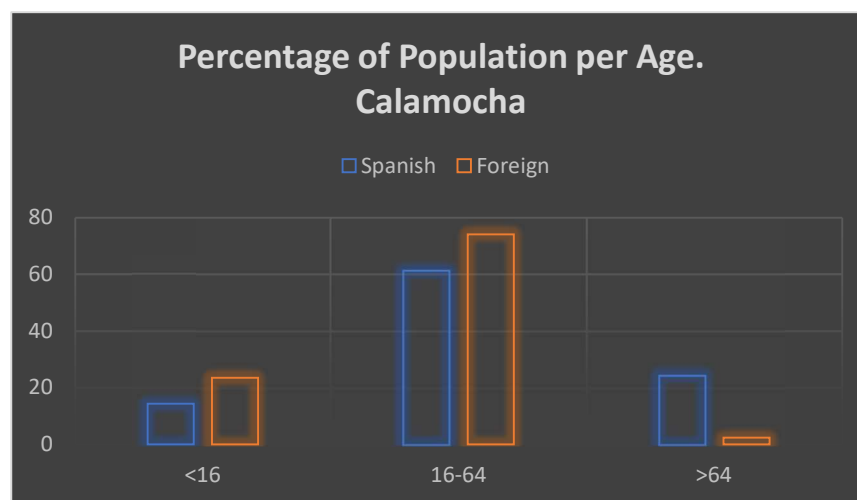


Figure 13. Immigrants-Locals relation classified per group of age. 2019. Authors' own creation with data retrieved from the Statistics Institute of Aragón.

The higher percentage of under sixty-four population within immigrants helps to explain how immigration could help revitalise shrinking and rural areas, re-activating the economy and keeping schools open. This will be further explained in the following chapter.

6.3 Integration

6.3.1 Definition of Integration

As it was explained in the theoretical framework, the term integration makes reference to a three-dimension process that leads towards the achievement of citizenship status and participation in the society where immigrants take up residence (Bijl et al., 2008). According to the European Commission (2005), those three dimensions are, a legal dimension, that explains the total participation as full members of the political

community; socioeconomic, making reference to the achievement of economic and social obligations and rights; and sociocultural, taking into account the cultural and religious rights. It is important to mention that this means a respectful treatment of every cultural and religious practice in both sides, the receiving culture and the culture of the immigrants.

The answers from the interviewees for the question 'How would you define integration?' do not mention the legal part of the integration concept explained before. All the answers focused on the socioeconomic and sociocultural points of view of the integration, meaning that integration consists of having a job and economic stability, and having a social network, and adapting to the culture and lifestyle of the village. The most common answer, 63,3% of the interviewees, was that the integration process consists in adopting Spanish culture, and having a good coexistence, as Elvira and a 45,5% of the interviewees say. The same percentage of the interviewees answered that it is a two sides job that involves both immigrant and locals.

"La integración consiste en la convivencia sana. Por ambas partes, por el que viene, y por el que está aquí ya. Pero claro, yo creo que así tampoco, en la mayoría de los casos, creo que no se entiende así. Creo que la integración, lo que la mayoría de las personas quiere es que los inmigrantes lleguen, que se integren, nos conozcan, que vayan los domingos al vermouth y que hagan todas nuestras costumbres dejando de lado lo que hacían en su país. Y eso no es la integración."



"Integration consists of healthy coexistence. From both sides, the one who comes and the one who is already here. But, of course, I do not think that, in most cases, it is understood that way. I think that for integration, what the majority of people want is for immigrants to arrive, to integrate, to get to know us, to go to vermouth on Sundays and to do all our customs, leaving aside what they did in their country. And that is not integration. "

Box 11. Elvira, 35 years old. Answer to the question 'How would you define integration?'

6.3.2 Legal Point of View

Even though the interviewees did not consider the legal point of view of immigration, it is important to explain it in order to understand the integration in the country. This is going to be done throughout the *Constitutional Law 4/2000, of January 11, on the rights and freedoms of foreigners in Spain and their social integration*. Law currently in use for these matters.

According to this *Aliens Act*, every foreigner that wants to enter the country will need a passport or ID and documents that justify the objective and conditions of the stay and prove that they have sufficient means of life for the time of stay. In case of being a EU citizen, if the stay is shorter than three months, no justification is needed. If the foreigner is not an EU citizen, a visa will be needed, the types of visa depend on the terms of the stay. Stay makes reference to the permanence in Spain for no longer than ninety days, after that time is completed, a renewal of the stay permit would be needed, or the application for a residence permit. There are two types of residence. Temporary residence, when the immigrant is going to stay in Spain for longer than ninety days, and shorter than five years, and long-term residence, making reference for an indefinite period of time. For non-EU citizens, when the stay is going to be longer than six months, a Foreigner ID is needed.

Every foreigner in Spain has the right and duty of preserving their ID from the country of origin, and the documentation that shows the type of stay they have in the country. For some of the rights inside the country, like public participations, having a job, housing... It is needed to be a resident. Others like a public and free education (for people under sixteen), and universal free health care, are universal for every immigrant, regardless of what is their legal situation in the country.

In this law is also explained that every Public Administration will have the objective of integration of every immigrant into society, from a transversal point of view in every policy and public service, promoting the social, economic, cultural and political participation of immigrant. And it is considered discrimination every act that, directly or indirectly implies distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference against an immigrant, based on race, colour, national origin, ethnicity and cultural and religious practices.

6.3.3 Analysis of the integration of immigrants in the village. Assimilation, differentiation, integration and cultural diversity

Now that the legal point of view of immigration and integration has been explained, it is time to dig into the other two perspectives (sociocultural and socioeconomic), presented by the interviewees. As it has been said before, the most common definition given for integration was: to have a good coexistence and adoption of the Spanish culture.

The next question asked was, 'When an immigrant is fully integrated?'. The aim of this question was to know when do locals think that a foreign immigrant is fully integrated, or if they consider that they can ever be fully integrated into the village. The most given answer was also related to the given definition for integration. The locals in Calamocha consider that immigrants are fully integrated when they are totally adapted to the way of living in the village and have adopted the Spanish culture. Social participation and relations, having a job, and the personal feeling of the immigrant were other answers to this question, giving integration a more complete description. The interviewees were also asked about the key element for integration. The most important element to facilitate integration, according to the answers given, was language, as 59,9% of the interviewees answered. For the locals, the fact that the immigrants are able to speak Spanish is an important fact in order to be integrated. After that, having a job, having social relation with locals, and empathy and education for both sides, are the other important key elements for integration, with answers of 36,6%, 18,2% and 27,3% of the interviewees, respectively. Only one person considered that government actions were the most important factor, and other person considered the problem of housing.

The most important point of view in this matter is the participation in the village and the social relations with locals. Half of the interviewees consider that immigrants are integrated in the village, while the other half do not think that way. This polarity can only be explained by one factor, on the one hand, 72,7% of the interviewees that answer that the immigrants are integrated were born in the village, and the other 27,3% have been living there almost their whole life; on the other hand, the interviewees that answered that immigrants are not integrated, the division between born and not born in the village is fifty-fifty. Nevertheless, even though half of the people have answered that immigrants are integrated, this integration is related to the absence of problems with those immigrants in the village. Almost all the interviewees think as Elvira: that immigrants in Calamocha have no relations with locals and that they do not participate on the life of the village, driving to the creation of ghettos and groups of immigrants per nationalities. Therefore, as was explained in the theoretical framework, the situation of immigrants in Calamocha would be of assimilation or differentiation, not of integration (Sanz-Fernández et al., 2001).

“Es simplemente que salgan un poco de sus guetos. Que a veces se crean y yo creo que son inevitables, ¿no?, porque tu buscas el arropo de una persona que te comprenda mejor, ¿no?, y tal, pues entonces quizás que salgan un poco de esos guetos, y llevar una vida, pues, individual, como la que llevarías en tu país, pero sin estar encerrado en esa comunidad tan, pues lo que digo, cerrada.”



“It is just that they have to get out of their ghettos a bit. Sometimes they are created, and I think they are inevitable, right? Because you are looking for the protection of a person who understands you better, right? Maybe if they had an individual life, like the one you would lead in your country, but without being locked up in that community so, well what I am saying, closed.”

Box 12. Elvira, 35 years old. Answer to the question 'When an immigrant is fully integrated?'

Delving into the different nationalities that can be found in the village, all the locals, 100% of the interviewees, consider that Romanians are better integrated, this is due to two factors. The first factor is that Romanians have been in the village longer, starting to arrive, as Belén explains. According to the Spanish National Statistics Institute, in the late nineties, while Moroccan people started to arrive in 2005 or so, those ten years make a big difference in the integration. The other factor is the closeness, maybe not in space, as Morocco is closer to Spain than Romania, but in culture. Romanian culture is much more similar to the Spanish one, most of Romanians are catholic, the biggest religion in Spain, and Romanian language is a Latin-rooted language, therefore it is similar to Spanish. For Romanians is easier to learn the language and to adapt to the way of living in the village, as Elvira and Eduardo state, thus they are more integrated than Moroccans.

“A los musulmanes les cuesta más, pero por tener una cultura tan diferente a la nuestra, culturalmente somos más diferente, y yo creo que ellos se quedan en sus propias, pues eso, costumbres.”



“For Muslims it is more difficult, but because they have a culture so different from ours, culturally we are more different, and I think they stay on their own, with their own customs.”

Box 13. Elvira, 35 years old. Answer to the question 'Are the immigrants integrated in the village?'

"Sí, supongo que los que han tenido la integración más fácil han sido, pues gente sudamericana y gente rumana, hay más problemas de entendimiento, si lo podemos llamar así, con la gente que ha venido del norte de África, pero supongo que es más por el tema cultural e idiomático, al final es más fácil entendernos con gente de Sudamérica, o rumana, porque al final es lengua latina y les cuesta menos aprender castellano."



"Yes, I suppose that those who have had the easiest integration have been South American and Romanian people. There are more problems of understanding, if we can call it that, with the people who have come from North Africa, but I suppose it is because of the cultural and idiomatic issue, in the end it is easier to understand each other with people from South America, or Romanians, because in the end it is a Latin language and it is less difficult for them to learn Spanish. "

Box 14. Eduardo, 29 years old. Answer to the question 'Are the immigrants integrated in the village?'

"Ya te digo, las personas de Rumanía ya llevan mucho más tiempo, están mucho más integrados que por ejemplo una familia que acaba de venir de Marruecos, ¿vale?"



"I am telling you, people from Romania have been around for much longer, they are much more integrated than, for example, a family that has just come from Morocco, okay?"

Box 15. Belén, 25 years old. Answer to the question 'Are the immigrants integrated in the village?'

The fact that both nationalities, Romanians and Moroccans, have been in the village for a long period of time now, means that there are already second generation immigrants. Locals see no difference between a first generation and a second generation immigrant, as Carmen mentions. Nevertheless, children (being either first or second generation immigrants) are an important fact for integration, helping the integration of their parents into society. This doesn't mean that kids have more relation with locals, the teachers that were interviewed explain that the differentiation is still present.

"Sí, sí, muchos ya han nacido aquí. Hay muchos que tienen hermanos mayores, a lo mejor el hermano mayor ha nacido fuera, pero el pequeño ya ha nacido aquí. Hay muchos, muchos, yo te diría que casi todos ya tienen nacionalidad española, sí, sí."

Q. *¿Y hay diferencia entre los que han nacido aquí y los que han nacido fuera?, ¿o es lo mismo?*

No, es lo mismo porque el núcleo familiar es el mismo."



"Yes, yes, many have already been born here. There are many who have older brothers, maybe the older brother was born abroad, but the little one has already been born here. There are many, many, I would tell you that almost all already have Spanish nationality, yes, yes."

Q. *And is there a difference between those who were born here and those who were born abroad? Or is it the same?*

No, it is the same because the family nucleus is the same. "

Box 16. Carmen 40 years old. Answer to the question 'Are the immigrants integrated in the village?'

"No, en el colegio se empiezan a producir ahí ya los rechazos, sobre todo, rechazos que, a ver... Por ejemplo, los niños que juegan bien al fútbol se integran bien con sus compañeros en el recreo, pero luego fuera, no se da que estos niños estén en las pandillas de los chicos del pueblo, ¿vale?, luego ellos se juntan a jugar con, pues propios marroquí, no suelen hacer panda con los chicos de aquí. Las chicas en el colegio directamente, las marroquí se juntan sólo entre ellas, y es muy raro que, bueno, yo no he visto ningún caso, ¿eh?, de que se integren en las pandillas del colegio, yo creo que sería difícil encontrar alguna. No sé la culpa, entre comillas, de qué parte va, ¿no?, pero, realmente, no, no se les invita a cumpleaños, no... En fin, no hay mucho interés, yo creo, por las dos partes. Entonces, lo que pasa, yo creo, estos restos, luego, digamos, bueno... [...] Y luego ya, cuando llegan al instituto, ahí es como que se buscan, ¿no?, entre ellos, y ya es cuando forman grupos."



"No, at school rejections begin to occur, especially rejections that, let's see ... For example, children who play soccer integrate well with their classmates at recess, but then outside, they do not meet. They do not hang out with locals, okay?, they get together to play with, well, Moroccans themselves, they do not usually go with the boys from here. The girls at school directly, the Moroccans only hang out with each other, and it is very rare that, well, I have not seen any case, eh?, Of them joining the school groups, I think it would be difficult to find any. I do whose fault is it, right? But, really, no, they are not invited to birthdays, no ... Anyway, there is not much interest, I think, for both sides. So, what happens, I think, this remains, then, let's say, well... [...] And then, when they arrive at high school, then, they look for each other, right? Among them, and that's when they form groups."

Box 17. Encarna, 56 years old. Answer to the question 'Are the immigrants integrated in the village?'

As it has been said before, for the locals the most important factor for integration is participation in the village and social relationships. The point of view towards social relations has been explained already. According to the locals, the participation of immigrants in the life of the village is not ideal. The kids do participate in the activities organised, but older people do not fully participate. It is important to mention though, as many interviewees have talked about it, that, during the quarantine and the Covid-19 crisis in Spain, the Moroccans and the Muslim Community of the village, donated two thousand euros to the City Council, like Soraya explains.

"Pero, por ejemplo, la comunidad árabe de Calamocha, con esto del Covid-19 hizo una donación al ayuntamiento para desinfectar las calles, o para lo que fuera. Quiero decir, que ellos también hacen sus gestos para que la integración se vea, y que el resto de la gente veamos que también pertenecen a la comunidad, y que esto nos afecta a todos."



"But, for example, the Arab community of Calamocha, with this Covid-19 made a donation to the city council to disinfect the streets, or whatever. I mean, they also make their gestures for integration to be seen, and for the rest of the people to see that they also belong to the community, and that this affects us all."

Box 18. Soraya, 38 years old. About the donation to the City Council.

HERALDO Aragón Teruel

La comunidad islámica de Calamocha recauda 2.000 euros en una colecta por el coronavirus y los dona al Ayuntamiento

Quiere ayuda a financiar las acciones que se están llevando a cabo para evitar la propagación del virus.

ACTUALIZADA 3/4/2020 A LAS 10:08 EP

Facebook Twitter Instagram



Picture 7. Headline picture talking about the donation made by the Muslim community in Calamocha to the City Council. Retrieved from the webpage of the newspaper Heraldo (3-4-2020).

“Lo que sí que hicieron fue un donativo bastante importante cuando pasó todo esto del Covid, sí que hicieron un donativo al ayuntamiento, de parte de la Mezquita, para pues eso, para, no sé si dieron 2.000 euros para la causa, y luego hubo otras asociaciones que se sumaron, o sea fueron los pioneros, yo creo.”



“They did make a pretty big donation when this whole Covid thing happened, they did make a donation to the town hall, on behalf of the Mosque, so, well, I don’t know if they gave 2,000 euros for the cause, and then there were other associations that joined, I mean, they were pioneers, I think.”

Box 19. Patricia, 34 years old. About the donation to the City Council.

6.3.4 The ideal immigrant

In order to relate the integration and the perception of the immigrants that the locals of Calamocha have, the question ‘How the ideal immigrant would be?’. The intention with this question was to know what are the characteristics that the locals may value the most in a new-comer in their village, if they preferred a young working-age person, a family... And also, to know how an ‘ideal’ migrant would be in order to be integrated.

The vast majority, 59,1% of the interviewees, answered that an ideal immigrant would be the one that makes an effort to adopt Spanish culture and adapts to the way of living that the locals have in the village, renouncing to their own culture. As it has been explained before, this would make reference to assimilation, not integration.

Another common answer, given by a 36,4% of the interviewees was that the ideal immigrant is the one in working age, that comes to the country in order to find a job. This is related to the need of working age population that execute the jobs that nationals do not want to do in the village, and to the importance of a contribution to the society.

Just one person answered that an ideal immigrant would be the one that comes to Spain with a family or has the intention of having one. Can be related to the need of children for the villages with depopulation problems in order to survive. This topic will be addressed in the following chapter.

Finally, four people, 18,2% of the interviewees, answered that the ideal immigrant does not exist, being all people. The interviewees argued that asking for an ideal immigrant would be like asking for an ideal person, and in their opinion, that does not exist, thus, every immigrant that goes to Spain is an ideal immigrant.

6.3.5 Institutions that help integration

Interviewees were asked about some institutions and activities that help immigrants to integrate in order to study and explain them. For some of the institutions, people that form part were interviewed, for other, secondary data were retrieved.

School

School has an especially important role in the integration process, kids' integration and adaptation depend, mainly on how immigration is treated at school (Martiniello, 2006).

There is only one school in Calamocha, the C.E.I.P. (preschool and primary school educational centre) Ricardo Mallén. According to their webpage, at the moment it has six classes of preschool kids, and sixteen of primary education. There are 465 students and 38 teachers. According to the Statistics Institute of Aragón, around 30% of all the students at this school are immigrants.

The teachers interviewed are primary school teachers, they state that the immigrants-nationals relation is almost equal. The students that they teach have been, generally, at that school since preschool, thus they already speak the language and know the Spanish culture. The participation in class and in the activities organized by the centre is equal in both immigrants and nationals, however, they say that outside the school the kids do not relate that much.

Much of the work in integration depends on the class work and on how the teacher wants to approach the issue. For kids that do not know Spanish there are Spanish classes available, in order to help them to reach the learning rhythm that the rest of the class have.

All the activities offered in school are offered for both immigrants and nationals without distinction.

Every year for the past five years, a 'Cultural Week' is done. Each year this cultural week is from a different country. The objective is to get to know the different cultures, and there are a lot of activities done throughout the different cuisines. All the interviewees know about this, not only teachers, and according to what they answered, in 2019 the week was about Moroccan culture, and one day, a few Moroccan moms went to school with different dishes so everyone can try. This day the school is open for everyone that wants to join, not just for students.



Picture 8. Image from the Moroccan 'Cultural Week' organised by the School in Calamocha. Retrieved from a video recorded by Calamocha TV (4-7-2019).

Highschool

Highschool has not as important role as school has, mainly because almost all the immigrant students already went to school in the village, so, in terms of education, there are no differences between them and locals, and the social groups are already formed.

The village has one high school, the I.E.S (Secondary education institute) Valle del Jiloca. It offers the mandatory secondary education, and optative education as bachillerato (two years education taken in case that the student wants to go to university) or two different vias of professional training. The high school has 35 teachers and around 458 students. The immigrant-national rate is lower than in the school, around 23% of the students are immigrants (according to the Statistics Institute of Aragón). This rate will grow in the next years, when the kids at school finish their primary education and start high school.

According to the teachers interviewed, there are no specific activities in order to ease integration, but the participation in the cultural and sport activities done at the centre is the same for both immigrants and nationals. The interviewees affirm that there is no need of specific activities because the students have already been at school, so they are already integrated in class. Nevertheless, if new students come, there are available Spanish classes in order for them to learn the language.

Adults School

The importance of education and schools for the integration of immigrants has already been explained. According to the primary teachers that were interviewed, the biggest problem are parents, as they do not know the language, therefore they do not understand the meetings they have, and they are not able to help their kids if needed.

That is why the School for Adults and adults education are so important. Calamocha has one school for adults, which objective is to give adults that, for different reasons, were not able to complete their education, the basic skills and abilities in order to find a job. They offer secondary education, languages or computing classes. And the most important one for the integration of immigrants. They offer Spanish courses for immigrants.

There are different courses of Spanish, depending on the level of knowledge. There is a first course for making them literate, if needed, and then different levels starting from zero knowledge of the Spanish language. According to Carmen, a teacher interviewed for this thesis, almost all the students are Moroccan, and nearly a 100% are women, as men usually learn Spanish working. This is because for Romanian people is easier to learn Spanish, so, the interviewee stated that once they are able to understand a bit, they quit.

“Lo único que sí que tengo más mujeres que hombres, y justamente son la mayoría marroquí, y justamente las mujeres marroquí no suelen trabajar, son los maridos los que trabajan y ellas vienen a clase. Tengo poquitos hombres, pero sí que vienen algunos.”



“The only thing is that I do have more women than men, and precisely the majority are Moroccans. Precisely Moroccan women do not usually work, it is their husbands who work, and they come to class. I have few men, but some do come. ”

Box 20. Carmen, 40 years old. Questions about the School for Adults.

"Y sí te puedo decir que, para que se integren antes las mujeres, porque sabemos que son las más perjudicadas, se hacían grupos sólo de mujeres, porque si venía un hombre dejaban de venir. Pero este año ya, ya llevan muchos años viniendo, aunque venga alguna nueva y tal, bueno pues este año se ha dicho ya que este año entraban los hombres también, y parece que bien, hay alguna que si que ha retrocedido y se ha ido si había algún hombre, pero la mayoría se han quedado, porque es que, si no, no avanzamos."



"And I can tell you that, in order for women to be integrated, because we know that they are the most affected, groups were made only of women, because if a man came they would stop coming. But this for this year, they have been coming for many years, even if a new one comes and such, well, this year it has already been said that this year men are also coming, and it seems that it is working, there are some who have left if there were any men, but most of them have stayed, because if not, we will not advance. "

Box 21. Carmen, 40 years old. Questions about the School for Adults.

Local Government

The Jiloca Region offers different services in order to help integration. There are not specific activities for integration, but they offer social services and social workers that work and help with integration.

According to the teacher working at the school for adults, the local government offers the new immigrants the possibility of Spanish classes, redirecting them to the school for adults.

Cáritas

Most of the people that answered the survey considered Cáritas as the institution that helps immigrants in the village.

According to their webpage, it is a Catholic Church institution. Established in the province of Teruel (Cáritas Diocesana de Teruel y Albarracín) with the objective of carrying the charitable and social action of the Church in the 255 parishes that conform the diocese of Teruel. The institution is based on Teruel, but they offer activities in different villages. By offering both economic and social help to people in vulnerable situation, making no difference between immigrants and nationals in order to avoid the creation of ghettos.

According to the person in charged interviewed, in order to participate in the activities offered it is necessary to get into the "Host programme", in which the

necessities are studied by social workers, and the different activities and programmes are offered based on those needs. The different programmes offered are:

- Financial help for first-need actions (food, housing, clothes...)
- Training courses. If the course is in a different place, they pay for the transportation from one village to the other, or to Teruel.
- Help to find a job.
- Social and psychological accompaniment.
- School accompaniment for kids with difficulties. 60% of participants are immigrants, due to language difficulties.
- Sensibilization activities to help integration, with both, locals and immigrants.

In case that the applicants do not know Spanish, they offer literacy courses if needed, then the applicants are diverted to the School for Adults, in order to learn Spanish.

According to the last data available, in 2019 the organisation helped 557 families in Teruel province. No data of the percentage of immigrants available.

Cruz Roja (Red Cross Spain)

As with Cáritas, a lot of interviewees and people that answered the survey consider this organisation as one that helps immigrants in the village. There are no concrete data about Cruz Roja in Calamocha available, but, according to Red Cross Spain, they offer help to immigrants in different aspects, the one that has more impact for society is the shelter for immigrants and the basic financial assistance, helping at the arrival and with the integration. This group also offers sensibilization courses and activities for both immigrants and nationals in order to help for a good coexistence.

6.4 Conclusion

Locals of Calamocha consider an immigrant as a person from a less developed country that goes to Spain seeking for a better life, with the objective of finding a job. They do think that immigrants are not equal to each other, having cultural, social and economic differences, and that, due to these differences, they are treated different to each other, being able to distinguish a worse treatment, according to the interviewees, for poor and black immigrants.

Immigrants in Calamocha, from the point of view of the locals, are integrated when they adapt to the way of living in the village and to their customs, when they find a job, and when they have a social network in which to develop. Half of the interviewees consider that immigrants are well integrated, against the other half that thinks otherwise. Nevertheless, after the analysis it is important to mention that immigrants would be accepted, adapted and differentiated, more than integrated.

The interviewees also think that integration depends on both immigrants and locals, therefore it is important to mention the institutions that help immigrants at their arrival to the country and during the integration process.

CHAPTER 7. Conclusions and reflections.

The aim of this thesis was to research the concept 'Welcoming Spaces' and its possible use to revitalise shrinking areas, investigating the point of view of the locals in the village chosen as case study, Calamocha. It is a village of around four thousand inhabitants, located in the north-west of Teruel province, located in the centre-east of Spain (southern Aragón). To carry the research out, a multi-sited-ethnography methodological approach was chosen, basing it in three pillars, secondary data and literature review, quantitative, and qualitative research. A survey was conducted, answered by eighty people, from which twenty-two of them were chosen and further interviewed. Both, survey and interviews had to be done remotely due to the Covid-19 crisis situation in Spain. The project can be divided in the three points of view needed to understand the concept 'Welcoming Spaces' and its possible use: demography, migration and transnationalism.

From the demographic point of view, it is important to mention that the global north is suffering what Coleman (2016) named the third demographic transition, characterized by low birth and death rate, being migration and population movement the factors that cause demographic changes. This led us to the 'Mobility Transition' exposed by Zelinski (1971). Global north is characterised by inter-urban migration, intense internal and international circulation of high-skilled migrants, and mass immigration from less developed countries. This is the case of Spain, that, according to the Spanish Statistics Institute, has been suffering a big population growth from the year 2000, with a slight reduction of this growth after 2008, because of the global financial crisis, but recovering after 2015. The main reason for this growth is immigration, as the natural growth of the country (difference between the number of births and the number of deaths) keeps descending since 2008. A 10,7% of the population of the country are immigrants. On the contrary, Teruel province has been losing population since 1975, having lost 20% of its total population between that year and nowadays. Nevertheless, even though the emigration rate is higher than the immigration one, the arrival of around 2.000 immigrants per year, has been making a huge difference for the province, slowing down the loss of population, thus, 10% of the population of the province are immigrants. The demographic situation of Jiloca region, where the village chosen as case

of study is located, is very similar to the situation of Teruel province, being immigration as important as it is for it and for Spain in general, this can be seen in the 11,5% of its population, that are immigrants.

Another important concept from the demographic point of view is depopulation, understood as the loss of population in a territory comparing to a previous period of time (Pinilla and Sáez, 2017). Population density is one of the variables to take into account when studying depopulation. According to the Ministry of Territorial Policy and Public Service (2018), an area with a population density lower than 12,5 inhabitants per square kilometre suffers from depopulation; and an area with a population density lower than 8 inhabitants per square kilometre is suffering a severe depopulation. Spain has a population density of 93,1 inhabitants per squared kilometre (slightly low if it is compared to the population density of other European countries as the UK, 274 inhabitants/square kilometre, or The Netherlands, 416 inhabitants/square kilometre). However, the population density of Spain is much higher than the population density of Teruel province, being 8,98 inhabitants per square kilometre, or the population density of Jiloca region, being 6,3 inhabitants per square kilometre. Therefore, Spain, as well as its regions, is suffering the third demographic transition, being immigration the factor that keeps growing the country's population, and that helps depopulated areas to prevent their disappearance.

The second important lens to look through is human mobility and migration. First of all, a definition of migrant was needed, presented by the Dictionary of Human Geography (Gregory et al., 2009) as a person who has moved or is moving from one place to another, having different criteria that specifies the kind of migrant: international or intranational, temporary or permanent, forced or voluntary, and legal or illegal. According to 'The new economics of migration' theory, migration is a collective decision, in which, a member of the family is chosen to go away to try get a better job and help the rest of the family staying at home (de Haas, Castles and Miller, 2009), reinforcing the economy as the most important factor within the decision of migrating previously discussed by Ravenstein back in 1889. According to locals from Calamocha who were interviewed for this thesis, an immigrant is a person that goes to Spain from a different country, trying to find a job and seeking a better life, being perceived as

poorer people and rejecting the idea that an immigrant can be from a different area or city within the same country. Also, more than half of the interviewees considered that there are cultural, racial and economic differences between immigrants; and almost all the interviewees considered that white and rich immigrants are better treated.

In Calamocha, 14,8% of the population are immigrants, being most of them from Romania (52% of the immigrants), and Morocco (30% of immigrants). The vast majority are in their working age, and, according to the interviewees, also almost all of the immigrants came with their families.

Transnationalism and its grounded theory translocalism are the third and last important perspective within this thesis, being integration an important element of these theories. Integration can be defined as the process that leads to the achievement of citizenship status and to the participation in the receiving society (Bijl et al., 2008). The interviewees defined integration as a good coexistence and as the process done by the immigrants of adapting to the Spanish culture, forgetting the legal point of view of the integration process, and skipping directly to the socioeconomic and sociocultural point of view, giving special importance to the social networks and the relations with locals, as the translocalism theory does. That is the reason why from the point of view of the locals in Calamocha, an immigrant is fully integrated when he or she is fully integrated and fully adapted to the way of living in the village, having adopted the Spanish culture. They consider that social participation and relations and having a job are important steps towards integration, being the capability of speaking Spanish the key factor for integration.

As it has been said before, translocal theories highlight the importance the creation of a translocal space, necessary for the construction of migrant landscape, with different identities (Brikell and Datta, 2013). Half of the interviewees consider that immigrants are fully integrated, nevertheless, almost all of them think that immigrants in Calamocha have no relations with locals and that they do not participate on the life of the village, facilitating the creation of ghettos and groups of immigrants per nationalities. This drives us to the differences between assimilation, differentiation and integration (Sanz-Fernández et al., 2001). The assimilation would be described as an adaptation of the minoritarian groups, immigrants, to the dominant groups, locals,

meaning that the dominant group only accepts the minoritarian group if they accept their cultural patterns; that is to say, what the locals want or, at least, what the vast majority of the interviewees expect. The differentiation consists in a good coexistence, with acknowledgment of the rights of the minorities and with a parallel coexistence of both minoritarian and dominant groups; that would be the real situation of the village, according to the answers given in the interviews, as a 54,4% of the interviewees consider that immigrants have no relation with locals and no participation in the matters of the village, as it has been said before, but, they also explain that the coexistence is good and that there are no problems with the immigrants. Finally, integration means that, in spite of adaptation and integration efforts for minority groups, the host society has to accept and respect the cultural difference, being the ideal situation.

Focusing on the nationalities of immigrants, according to the locals, Romanians are more integrated due to two factors, on the one hand, they have been in the village longer, according to the Spanish Statistics Institute, they arrived ten years before than the Moroccans to the village, thus, their integration is better; on the other hand, Romanian culture, religion and language are much more similar to the Spanish ones than the Moroccans, therefore, their relations with locals are much easier. It is important to mention that both, Romanians and Moroccans have been in the village for a long period of time now, meaning that there are already second generation immigrants. However, locals see no difference between first and second generation immigrants, therefore can be concluded that it is not just a matter of time. Another important factor for integration is the willingness of the immigrants to participate in society matters and the life of the village, and how locals understand this willingness. This leads to the perception of immigrants that the inhabitants of the receiving society have.

Answering to the question 'How the ideal immigrant would be?', the vast majority answered that the ideal immigrant would be the one that makes an effort to adopt Spanish culture and adapts to the way of living in the village, renouncing to their own culture. This can relate to social identity theories, that explain how members of the majority group find their cultural values, norms and identity, superior to those of outsiders, finding immigrants as a threat to their own social and cultural identity (Sides and Citrin, 2007). Another common answer to that question was that the ideal

immigrant is the one in working age, that comes to the country to work. This can be related to the need of working age population and the demographic situation of depopulated areas, as Calamocha is.

Institutions and activities also play an important role helping in the integration of immigrants. According to the answers from the survey, there are three important institutions that carry on with this labour. First, education institutions, being school the most important, that has a particularly important role in the integration process and adaptation of kids. From this point of view, the school for adults is especially important to, giving the same service to adults, mainly with Spanish classes, that help the immigrants to acquire what is considered the key factor for integration, the language. In the second place public institutions are found, as, for example, the local government that helps the immigrants throughout social workers, or signs in different languages in the public spaces as health care centres. And last, but not least, complementing the work done by the local government, we find private institutions and organizations. Interviewees consider that Cáritas, a Catholic Church institution, and Cruz Roja (Red Cross Spain), are the organizations that help immigrants in the village.

These are the factors and variables within integration, but according to the information extracted from the interviews, integration is not the only factor that creates a 'Welcoming Space'. These factors are: the job vacancies available, the services and infrastructure that the village or region has to offer, the housing opportunities, the previous existence of immigrants, and, rather than integration, the acceptance from the locals (understood as a good coexistence and the non-existence of problems). To sum up, a Welcoming Space is not just a space that facilitates the integration of immigrants and the coexistence with the locals, there are other factors that affect the creation of a Welcoming Space. That is why some of the interviewees answered that Calamocha was not a welcoming space, because there are no jobs to offer in the village, because the housing opportunity is not that good, and because it cannot offer the infrastructure that another village or a city could offer. Thus, as the concept 'Welcoming Space' has not been defined yet, it could be explained as: every space, regardless of its size, where immigrants have the possibility of making a living and carrying out a life with the same easiness and the same possibilities as locals, being as adapted and integrated as

possible. Giving more importance to the equality between immigrants and locals than to what could be considered integration or not.

Can immigration stop depopulation? The answer is yes, for now. Data from the Spanish National Statistics Institute confirm this, immigration is not revitalising shrinking areas, but it is helping to prevent the demise of many villages and regions, mitigating the effects of depopulation. According to the answers given by the interviewees, immigration is already stopping depopulation, giving examples as villages that keep their services thanks to immigration, and, more important, villages that keep their schools open thanks to immigrant families, because, as can be concluded from the interviews, the closing of the school means the death sentence of the village.

Can the 'Welcoming Spaces' tool be used to stop depopulation? The first answer that comes to mind would be, again, yes, but let's analyse the question. First, the definition of a 'Welcoming Spaces', as it has been explained before, includes a few factors that go further than just the integration of immigrants. Job offers, services and infrastructures, housing... Are necessary for a village to be a Welcoming Space. This means that only big villages, regions that have these possibilities can have the option of being called a 'Welcoming Space' and of using it for a revitalising purpose. But, small villages, isolated regions, the ones that are suffering depopulation the most, the ones that have the biggest danger of disappearance or administratively amalgamate to bigger villages. They have no jobs, no services and institutions, that is why young people are leaving, and why new people do not want to go there, those villages are bound to the loss of all the population. So, making a vision of the future, and assuming that this trend keeps going, the small villages will disappear, but people living in bigger villages, will move to even bigger villages, and then to cities, leaving this big villages, for whose the 'Welcoming Spaces' concept could be used as marketing in order to attract new population, will be in the same situation as small villages are now.

Therefore, from this thesis the conclusion that immigrants are assimilated and, for some of the interviewees, integrated in Calamocha, but this does not mean that the village could be considered a 'Welcoming Space'. The existence of job offers, housing opportunities, and services and infrastructures, along with the previous existence of immigrants, that acts as pull effect, and the acceptance from the locals make the village

a 'Welcoming Space' nowadays but, if it keeps losing population, as it was shown in the demographic analysis, this factors will begin to disappear, and the village would no longer be a 'Welcoming Space'. This links to the other conclusion, depopulation can stop depopulation in the sense that immigrants help the villages to keep those factors that make a space welcoming, but immigrants will want to move somewhere as long as that space has something to offer.

7.1 Windows for further research

This thesis has been focused on the perspective of the locals towards immigration, integration, welcoming spaces and depopulation. Thus, further investigations from other perspectives can complete and enlarge the one carried on for this thesis.

First of all, from the perspective of the social target chosen for the fieldwork. Including the point of view of the immigrants, as are the other half of this whole. Asking them about the integration process, and if they feel integrated in the village, as some of the locals mentioned that the feeling of integration is an important factor for integration. Another perspective to continue investigating would be the study of the different factors included within the term 'Welcoming Spaces', investigating the housing possibilities, job opportunities and services and infrastructures of the village in a proper way, and, also from this point of view, a further connection between depopulation and what is considered a 'Welcoming Space' can be done.

Another way of enlarging the investigation would be throughout comparisons. Doing this same investigation in other villages or regions within Spain, and The Netherlands (as it was intended to be before the Corona crisis) in order to compare if the depopulation situation is the same, if the profile of immigrants, the integration and the attitude of the locals towards them is similar, and, if it is possible, show a pattern.

The research for this thesis also focuses on the immigrants in Calamocha, that have certain characteristics, come from other countries in order to find a job and seeking a better life than the one they had in their home country, according to what the locals said in the interviews. From this point of view, it would also be interesting a comparison between different immigrants, studying, for example, differences between the immigrants in Calamocha, and the immigrants in a village of the east coast of Spain, that

mostly are retired people from countries from the global north, in order to compare how the villages can be revitalised with those different immigrants, the first ones being working age people that suppose an economic active as working force, and the second ones that use their money as the activator of the economy.

To sum up, there are a lot of points of view and different perspectives on the basis of which, further investigations can be carried out, in order to make a more complete research on the relevant matter of 'Welcoming Spaces'.

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