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**Local dynamics of codevelopment and migrant incorporation
in three Catalan cities**

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Abstract

This paper takes a critical look at how local governments in Catalonia promote migrant transnationalism within the context of codevelopment policies. Spanish migration codevelopment practices, in particular in Catalonia, attempt to include migrant as transnational actors in decentralized projects of codevelopment. Over the past decade local governments have been at the forefront of this development.

The objective of codevelopment is not just to promote development in migrant countries of origin. It is also to create synergies between migrant participation in codevelopment projects and their local processes of incorporation. In this sense codevelopment is an innovative policy of fostering trans-local spaces of solidarity, where migrants play a key role as linking pins between governments, civil society and populations in their country or origin and residence. However, this paper shows how the reality on the ground is more complex. Drawing on a recently completed qualitative research project on trans-local citizenship in the 3 provincial capitals of Barcelona, Lleida, Girona, the paper engages in a critical analysis of local responses to migrant transnationalism along the following dimensions.

First, the paper illustrates how local governments operating under the same regional policy framework, may differ in terms of the scope, forms and ‘philosophies’ of codevelopment. Second, the paper highlights how migrant collectives (in particular from Senegal, Morocco and Ecuador) have navigated the local policy environment of codevelopment. Finally, the paper revisits the synergies between codevelopment and local incorporation of migrants, with a particular emphasis on the perceptions of codevelopment as a way of empowering migrants in both local and transnational spaces. In so doing, the paper contributes to the ongoing discussion of concepts of trans-local citizenship which stand central in the literature on migrant transnationalism and migration and development.

Introduction

Migrant transnational networks, resources and practices have gained attention in both academic and policy making circles concerned with the relationship between migration and development. This is especially so within the policy field of codevelopment where migrants are heralded as important actors in processes of development in their countries of origin. In its widest sense, codevelopment refers to all the activities undertaken to translate migration into development of the country of origin. This includes the sending and use of remittances and how to facilitate return migration to the benefit of both migrants and countries of origin. An important part of the codevelopment policies, and the key focus of this paper, also concerns the local and transnational role of migrants in decentralized development cooperation between their country of residence and origin. The configuration of such decentralized cooperation on codevelopment means that migrants negotiate their transnational development resources with not just their states of origin, but also of residence.

Codevelopment involves many different levels of government and actors. In the European context, policy plans and initiatives can be identified both at the level of EU-institutions, major development NGO networks and national governments. However, the overall interest of European migrant receiving states in codevelopment is so far fairly dispersed with only France, Spain and to some extent the Netherlands and Italy engaging in a more visible policy effort (Pinyol 2010; Nijenhuis and Broekhuis 2010; Hein de Haas 2006). Most other countries (especially in Northern Europe) have little or nothing in the way of a more coherent policy field on codevelopment at the national level (de Haas 2006; Pinyol 2010; Nijenhuis and Broekhuis 2010; Collyer 2011). In contrast, several recent studies of the relationship between migrant transnational activities and development policies indicate that the level of local governments is an important site (Østergaard-Nielsen 2011; Lacroix 2009a; Bermudez 2010; Fauser 2007; Portes, Escobar, and Arana 2008; Morales and Jorba 2009).

The priorities of local governments in codevelopment are arguably different from the state level in many respects. One important dimension is that while codevelopment policies at the national level have been more strongly linked with concerns with migration flows than codevelopment at the level of local governments has been more firmly grounded in concerns with migrant incorporation. This is not a clear-cut division of labour, but the different competences in migration among different levels of government has, at least in the case of Spain, tended to translate into different priorities in terms of codevelopment. Consequently, codevelopment policies of local governments, which have little to say in terms of migration

control, are characterized by a more consistent concern with involving the migrants themselves in transnational codevelopment cooperation. Migrant involvement in codevelopment is instead encouraged and supported with public funds and explicitly promoted as beneficial for their level of participation, their *ciudadanía* in Spain.

Our analysis of local policies of codevelopment in Spain relates to two key concerns in studies of the relationship between local governments and migrant transnationalism. First, there are the discussions of why some migrants more readily engage in transnational development activities than do others. The scope of migrant engagement in transnational development activities has been analysed through the lenses of the migrant organizations themselves and the policies of the countries of origin. Studies in both the US and Europe have focused on the factors related to the characteristics of the particular migrant collective such as their migration trajectory and the relationship between their process of settlement and their continued relationship with their country of origin (Bermudez 2010; Lacroix 2009a; Morales and Jorba 2009; Portes, Escobar, and Arana 2008). However, the Spanish experience of migration and development sits uneasily in this literature on migrant transnational engagement because of the important role of host-country institutions in the emerging. This paper tries to be positioned in the interface of institutional devices and migrant associations. Instead of looking at the transnational migrant dimension through migrant organisational lenses, the present paper focuses on the transnational practices (codevelopment practices, specifically) as a result or as a catalyser of for the relationship between local government and migrant associations.

Second, there is the more recent attention to the relationship between local citizenship and migrant transnationalism. While there is a fast growing literature on the role of local governments in migration and migrant incorporation policies, then attention to the role local governments in terms of migrant transnationalism is more recent (Penninx and Martinello 2006; Però 2005). Calls for more attention to local dynamics comprise the notion that the role of local governments responses to migrant transnationalism does not necessarily reflect dynamics at the state level (Çağlar 2007; Martinello and Lafleur 2008; Østergaard-Nielsen 2011). This is particularly relevant in terms of how state responses to migrant transnationalism are located in concerns with its incompatibility with processes of migrant integration. Studies on either side of the Atlantic argue that migrant transnational engagement in their countries of origin does not come at the expense of their process of local engagement in the country of residence. On the contrary, migrant transnationalism may reinforce political incorporation in the country of residence (Østergaard-Nielsen 2001; Lacroix 2009b; Bermudez 2010; Portes, Escobar, and Arana 2008). Still, at the state level there seem to be

some correlation between the overall citizenship regime and responses to migrant transnationalism. In the case of Denmark, for instance, the lack of tolerance of dual citizenship or the withdrawal of funding for migrant associations more oriented towards the homeland than the country of residence is linked to the country's perception of migrants' sustained transnational relations with their country of origin as incompatible with their process of integration (Østergaard-Nielsen 2009a). It is not immediately clear how these dynamics are replicated at the local level. For instance, one hypothesis is that citizenship, understood as migrant practices and political incorporation is more exclusive at the state level than at the level of local governments. The latter employ a less exclusive concept of citizenship which translates into a more inclusive response to migrant transnational engagement in their localities of origin. Local governments are clearly located in a multi-level policy framework where state-level policies on citizenship, migration and development provide an overall framework for local responses to migrant transnationalism. Only a cross country comparison can reveal to what extent local governments follow the state level logic of codevelopment.

In turn this paper is concerned with differences among local governments within the same state. The overall understanding of the inclusion of migrant transnationalism in local strategies for migrant incorporation is an important starting point for this analysis. There is still a lack of comparative studies of why certain local governments within the same state, even region, more readily embrace the idea of codevelopment than others. In particular the paper wants to show how local codevelopment policies and strategies are fairly diverse and, importantly, link up with local citizenship in different ways. Finally, there is still little understanding on how codevelopment policies actually relate to local migrant incorporation and the empowerment of migrant association in trans-local spaces. It is therefore relevant to scrutinize and compare different local experiences in order to understand the different motives, philosophies and impact of codevelopment on migrant transnational engagement.

This paper therefore centres on how local citizenship matters for local government responses to migrant transnationalism. To that end it takes a critical look at the motives, practices and implication of codevelopment policies among three provincial capitals in Catalonia: Barcelona, Lleida and Girona. The case of Catalonia is often conflated with the experience of Barcelona. However, zooming in on the local level reveals a number of different configurations of the citizenship – development nexus throughout the Catalan territory. Two overall arguments guide the comparative analysis of local policies on

codevelopment and citizenship in Catalonia:

- Local government policies on migrant transnationalism in the realm of codevelopment are in practice inseparable from policies of political incorporation. Different emphases in either policy area result in different configurations of the citizenship-codevelopment nexus across the provincial capitals of Barcelona, Lleida and Girona.
- Consequently, different configurations codevelopment and citizenship impact processes of migrant trans-local empowerment, understood as migrants' access to public funds and voice in political spaces.

To discuss these points, the following parts of the paper analyse three different dimensions of local contexts:

First, the paper questions the motives behind the local government's encouragement of migrant transnationalism through codevelopment activities in order to understand how these policies are influenced by or tied in with local citizenship policies. We especially focus on the interplay between **different philosophies of migrant incorporation** and how this translates into codevelopment activities. These philosophies relate to the extent to which the local government perceives the need for a particular policy and programme on including migrants in local policy debates. Even within the same overall regional and national policy framework on citizenship and migrant incorporation, some governments find this an important area of intervention. Others don't.

Second we look at the way these policies are implemented, especially in terms of how local governments connect with migrant associations in relation with codevelopment. We distinguish between **different categories of practices**, such as a traditional approach of codevelopment understood in terms of international solidarity leading to a more reactive policy of letting migrant associations compete with other actors for codevelopment funds (competitive model) vs. a more proactive policy of seeking out migrant association and encouraging them, even helping them formulate proposals for the codevelopment funding calls (nurturing model). Another important distinction is between local governments that engage codevelopment practices managing their "own" budget to pursue a plan (i.e. in direct development cooperation) and others that facilitate, usually by competitive calls, the practice of codevelopment through the actions of other NGO (i.e. indirect cooperation).

Third, we look at how this might **impact on migrant local citizenship**. With local citizenship we mainly refer to processes of political incorporation measured as forms of contact and interaction with the local government. The key indicators employed in this paper

are the extent to which migrant associations obtain public funding for co-development projects and gain access to consultative councils and other participative spaces in order to make their voice heard in local politics.

The analysis of different configurations of codevelopment and citizenship draws on material from a qualitative study of local governments and migrant transnational involvement in codevelopment in Catalonia in 2009-10.¹ The overall study includes 57 interviews with local governments and migrant associations and an extensive analysis of documentary material from all actors involved. Access to hard data, including the exact amount of funding that local governments reserve for codevelopment as well as their distribution has been uneven. Still, the material, including participatory observations of key public debates on codevelopment, allows us to trace the different motives, practices and perceptions of the role and impact of local governments in codevelopment.

The migrant collectives selected for this project are Moroccans, Senegalese and Ecuadorians. It is beyond the scope of this paper to offer a detailed analysis of the much differentiated access of these associations to codevelopment funds in Catalonia. Very generally speaking, the Senegalese migrant associations have since decades undertaken codevelopment with funding from not just local governments but also more recently from the Catalan government. Moroccan migrant associations generally come to codevelopment later than their Senegalese counterparts but have managed to access more funds over the past 5-6 years (Østergaard-Nielsen 2009b). In contrast the codevelopment experience of Ecuadorian migrant associations is sparser. Given the concentration of Ecuadorian migrants in Barcelona and its metropolitan area there are very few Ecuadorian associations, let alone codevelopment experiences in the rest of Catalonia.

It is also important to highlight that codevelopment in Spain, and elsewhere, is still a policy field in the making. The last decade has witnessed a series of policy plans on codevelopment which gradually have incorporated a stronger focus on potential synergies between migrant transnationalism and local processes of incorporation. In parallel, Spain as well as Catalonia has recently launched more comprehensive policies on local citizenship for migrants, emphasizing the importance of migrant political participation and incorporation at the local level. Still, even without including the role of the countries of migrant origin, the division of labour between different levels of governments, development agencies,

¹ This study *Ciudadania local i transnacional a Catalunya: la participació i incorporació política dels migrants a Barcelona, Girona, Lleida i Tarragona* has been financed by the Research Agency of the Catalan Government, AGAUR.

development NGOs and migrant associations is still ongoing.

Barcelona: codevelopment as a long term outcome of migrant associations' local incorporation

The local government of Barcelona has a long-standing experience in the field of local migrant incorporation but less so in terms of codevelopment. Barcelona is the largest city of Catalonia as well as its capital and therefore an important and complex node within the interwoven decentralised multi-government Spanish political system. Since 1979, when the first democratic elections took place after the end of the Franco period, and until Spring 2011, the socialist party has ruled Barcelona's City Council alone or in coalition with other left-wing parties.

Barcelona has experienced intense in-migration over the past decade. In 2000 there were only 3,08% foreign passport holders among its population but by 2010 this figure had rise to 17,5 %. The migrant population of Barcelona is unevenly distributed throughout the city with some districts in the city centre reaching more than 40% migrants. The origin of migrants is different in Barcelona than in the rest of Catalonia. For instance, Morocco is the first migrant origin of total foreigners residing in Catalonia, and yet they are group number seven in Barcelona city. Ecuadorians are in the third place at Catalan level but number two in Barcelona. People from Senegal are a smaller collective in terms of population in Barcelona (number 40th in the general ranking) than in the general Catalan context (where they are in the 16th place)².

² Source: Idescat, statistical exploitation from municipal registration, <http://www.idescat.cat/> [last access 31/05/2011]

Foreigner population. 2010				
Barcelona (municipality)				
Barcelona's total population (1)	1.619.337			
Barcelona's foreigner total population (2)	282.794	% Foreigner population [(2)/(1)]	17,46%	
	Population from the country residing in the municipality (3)	% Over total foreigner population residing in the municipality [(3)/(2)]	% Over total from same country residing in Catalonia	
Italy	22.859	8,08	46,47	1
Ecuador	20.172	7,13	25,6	2
Pakistan	17.893	6,33	50,76	3
Bolivia	15.430	5,46	27,81	4
Peru	14.685	5,19	42,01	5
China	14.383	5,09	31,04	6
Morocco	13.734	4,86	5,87	7
...				
Senegal	1.076	0,38	5,34	40
...				

Source: Own elaboration from Idescat data, statistical exploitation from municipal registration

Overall the local government of Barcelona seeks to strengthen the dialogue with migrants within areas of migrant settlement and migration. In principle, the municipal council has had an approach to immigration policies based on what politicians and civil servants call ‘normalisation’, meaning that public policies offer the same services to all citizens no matter their ethnic origin. However, in practice, policy-makers and civil servants also state that the current reality does not allow for ‘normalisation’ because of the specific necessities and challenges related to the increase in the migrant population. In reality, this approach is reflected in the existence of different devices specific to newcomers such as social, legal and linguistic services, specific governmental areas or action plans, as well as the presence of spaces to promote the relationship between the local government and migrants. Barcelona’s local government is the only one from those studied which has also implemented a commission where all the represented political parties deal with immigration issues and there is a cross-sectorial commission to coordinate the local government immigration actions (thus assuring a cross-sectorial view over municipal’s activities).

In terms of political incorporation, local government representatives emphasize the necessity of setting up specific consultative councils and other spaces for dialogue with migrant associations. Such spaces should be promoted because many non-EU migrants have

no voting rights and their presence in general municipal consultative councils is disproportionately low compared to their demographic presence in the city. Indeed, the City Council conducted a survey in 2010 which backs up the perception of low migrant presentation in consultative municipal spaces. Already in 1997, Barcelona set up an Immigration Council where 36 out of 43 represented organisations or associations belong to migrant collectives (the others are different City Council's representatives, or social agents like trade unions or neighbours' associations). The Immigration Council is the most visible within a complex architecture of spaces for citizenship participation. Moreover, in 2010 Barcelona's City Council had at least 5 established spaces of interaction between migrant civil society and the local government. These instruments are seen as indispensable mechanisms to give migrants some public voice although it is recognized that migrant associations do not per default represent the wider community.

Barcelona's codevelopment policies are guided by the Development Actions Plans (*Pla Director de Cooperació Internacional, Solidaritat i Pau*, periods 2005-08, 2009-12), and appeared within the Municipal Action Plan for the first time in the legislature of 2008-11. There has been an evolution since the first Development Plan to the latter: while the first emphasized codevelopment as mainly related to remittances, currently the concept is more framed in terms of "international solidarity". Since 2007, the departmental areas of International Development and Immigration are under the same technical organ: the Office of International Co-operation and Immigration Services (*Direcció de Serveis de Cooperació Internacional i Immigració*). The two areas were merged in the name of streamlining the administration, but politicians and technicians explain that the merger helped clarify the substantial common backgrounds, interest and potential synergies between the two areas. The Office for International Cooperation and Immigration Services is not the only area dealing with participation or inclusion issues, but it is responsible of local government actions regarding migration and development and the only one in charge of codevelopment policies.

It is important to emphasize that Barcelona's City Council has never launched any calls for funding of codevelopment projects in particular. Instead migrant associations have competed for codevelopment funding within the general calls for funding of development cooperation. The success rate of migrants is modest. In the period 2004-2010 only 4 migrant associations have received funding for development projects. These 4 associations represent migrant collectives from Morocco, Colombia, LA and Senegal. Until 2008, migrant

associations mainly accessed funding for projects on awareness³/education which is categorized as codevelopment, but the project is executed in Catalonia only and often includes the aim of strengthening the migrant association itself. These projects are seen as improving the migrant associations' possibility of accessing funds for develop projects abroad. From 2008 migrant associations have accessed funds for co-development projects in the countries of origin (3,88% of total funding) (see Annex 1)⁴. It is likely that the support for and strengthening of migrant associations, combined with the institutional merger of the migration and cooperation areas have paved the way for an increasing prioritization of co-development projects of migrant associations.

In contrast to the policy area on migration, the policy area of codevelopment is far less open to consultation with migrant associations. Formally, political incorporation is not seen as a part of codevelopment policies. Instead processes of migrant incorporation and the strengthening of local citizenship are understood to mainly derive from the policy instruments related to migrant incorporation. Still, all local government representatives interviewed recognize that codevelopment is somehow related to migrant incorporation. The technical officer responsible of the general Office for International Development and Immigration (who was, before the merger, responsible only of the Immigration area) expressed that his main lines of work in relation to codevelopment were “empowering” migrant associations through strengthening their capacity, and promoting the interaction of migrant and established native NGO. The latter is connected to the local government's perception of a conflictual relationship among those associational fields. Subsequent developments have translated this statement into reality. In June 2010, the Municipal Cooperation Council has allowed for the ‘the representation of up to 4 representatives of the main migrant federations or associations’⁵. Currently, there is representation of a Moroccan association, a LA federation, another representative of African women and a Peruvian federation's representative.

Representatives of Moroccan, Ecuadorian and Senegalese migrant associations welcome the growing interest in codevelopment of the local government of Barcelona. In particular they welcome their increasing possibility to access codevelopment funds for development projects in the country of origin. The associations interviewed are not

³ Awareness is a translation to the Spanish word “sensibilización”. The concept is near to the advocacy one, even though advocacy is nowadays usually being translated to Spanish by “incidencia”. Anyways, there is neither a univocal translation for “sensibilización” nor for the English concept “advocacy”. In Spain, the “sensibilización” projects are almost always associated to actions developed in the “North”.

⁴ 2011's calls are not published yet, but both because of the new ruling political party after 2011 municipal elections and the cuts on social spending, the percentage may decrease in the future.

⁵ Source: http://www.bcn.es/cooperacio/cat/consell_municipal/composicio.html [last access 31/05/2011]

associations set up specifically for codevelopment purposes. Instead they have started out working on migrant politically issues of the settlement and integration of migrants and see it as a logical step to begin dedicating more resources to codevelopment. None of the migrant associations see any conflict between working on migration and development issues with the exception of one Ecuadorian association that laments the lack of time to participate in all the consultative spaces available.

There is a strong correlation among those associations who gain access to codevelopment funds and who have a strong presence in consultative spaces for dialogue on both migration and development issues. This is, however, only the case for a small handful of associations who can be said to have entered a virtuous circle of access to both funding and voice. Moreover, one Senegalese migrant representative who participates in both codevelopment projects and consultative councils on migrant issues, emphasizes that his presence in these councils does not necessarily translate into the local government being very attentive to the role the association plays facing the problems of the Senegalese migrant collective in Barcelona.

To sum up, at the level of the local government in Barcelona, codevelopment is still in the making and is neither supported by a specific Action Plan nor by direct cooperation fund channelling (meaning reserving an aid development amount to be managed directly by the donor). Codevelopment is seen as having potential in terms of strengthening migrant associations and their relationship with the local government, but generally migrant incorporation is already a highly prioritized and institutionalized area with migrants being offered a series of formal participatory spaces for dialogue on issues of migration. The following table offers a summary of the different points characterising Barcelona's case.

Table. Local configuration of citizenship-codevelopment dynamics (Barcelona)

	Dimensions	Barcelona
Philosophies of migrant incorporation within local government	Normalisation and cross-sectorial view	Yes, with specific services and instruments for promoting a cross sectorial view
	On migrant and migrant's assoc. participation (Problematization of non-EU lack of civil rights and specific difficulties to participate?)	Yes
	Local departments of migration and development	Under same area, high technical alignment, lower technical-political alignment
	Action plans promoting/addressing the need of migrant participation	Diverse and numerous published public policies
Codevelopment practices	General approach	International solidarity, it will come as time goes on and associations get stronger.
	Existence of specific action plans	Integrated in the general development plan. Not very precisely defined.
	Activities	Strengthening the collaboration among "native" NGOs and migrant assoc. to work together. Not very defined.
	Type of funding	Bilateral aid on paper, not directly funded. Increasing tendency of channelling aid through migrant assoc. by competitive calls.
Impact of migrant trans-local empowerment	Access to funds	Increased from almost 0,7% in 2007 to 3,9% in 2008.
	Representation on municipal spaces (not at district level)	Specific council for migrant associations. Others (women, youth, development...) with direct representation. 42% of the migrant associations that participate in social councils have also received been funded with ODA.

Source: Own Elaboration

Lleida: codevelopment as an instrument for dialogue with migrant associations

Lleida is one of the four provincial capitals of Catalonia and its fifth largest city. Lleida constitutes a paradigmatic case of codevelopment in the Spanish context because of both the strong relationship with incorporation of migrants and the policy instruments through which codevelopment is practiced.

Although the overall numbers of migrants are smaller than in the case of Barcelona the proportion of migrants is higher and the process of immigration has been more intense. While migrants constituted 1,85% of the population of Lleida in 2000, the proportion of migrants

had increased to 20,96% of foreigner population by 2010. Migrants are more evenly distributed throughout the urban space than is the case of Barcelona. The largest migrant collectives are Moroccans as is the case of Catalonia. Senegalese migrants come in as the fifth largest collective compared to their position as group number 16 in Catalonia. In relative terms, there are not as much Ecuadorians in Lleida (10th place) than in the Catalan context (group number 3), as many people from LA origins are living in Barcelona's metropolitan area⁶. Migration needs to be located in the local economy of Lleida which is highly dependent on food and agriculture industry. Migrant jobs are therefore mostly seasonal and temporal and patterns of settlement fairly unstable (Molina Luque et al. 2011).

Foreigner population. 2010				
Lleida (municipality)				
Lleida's total population (1)	137.387			
Lleida's foreigner total population (2)	28.798	% Foreigner population [(2)/(1)]	20,96%	
	Population from the country residing in the municipality (3)	% Over total foreigner population residing in the municipality [(3)/(2)]	% Over total from same country residing in Catalonia	
Romania	6.229	21,63	6,31	1
Morocco	4.663	16,19	1,99	2
Colombia	1.407	4,89	2,88	3
Algeria	1.382	4,8	16,11	4
Senegal	1.098	3,81	5,44	5
...				
Ecuador	716	2,49	0,91	10
...				

Source: Own elaboration from Idescat data, statistical exploitation from municipal registration

For the last eight years the socialist party has ruled Lleida (in absolute majority or in the framework of a leftist coalition)⁷. Similarly to Barcelona, municipal policies on immigration are in principle characterized by normalizatio. However, in practice local administration offers specific services to migrants in order to deal with specific issues of migrant settlement. Municipal actions related to immigration and international development are under the same

⁶ Source: Idescat, statistical exploitation from municipal registration, <http://www.idescat.cat/> [last access 31/05/2011]

⁷Since 1979, Lleida's Mayor has been from the socialist party except from 1987 to 1989 when the Christian Democrats took office.

administrative area, the Office of Civil Rights, Cooperation and Immigration (*Regidoria de Drets Civils, Cooperació i Immigració*) but the coordination among these two areas within the administrative unit appears weaker than in Barcelona. There is no formal mechanism for harmonization across the many different sectors working with migrants and a cross-sectorial municipal policy on migrant settlement is not clear. Among the local government's civil servants and political representatives interviewed, there is no consensus regarding the extent to which the lack of local political rights of migrants from outside the European Union should lead the establishment of formal consultative councils or spaces for migrant representatives. In spite of this, the actions undertaken by the civil servant responsible for municipal's development work are clearly underpinned by the idea of unequal access to rights and social exclusion suffered by migrant collectives in Lleida. Thus, curiously, although the migration area mainly works on migrant settlement, the international development area is the only area of the local government clearly dealing with migrant incorporation issues. Local instruments of migrant incorporation are located within the framework of codevelopment.

Lleida's local government started working with codevelopment experience in 2003. The local government collaborated closely with the *Fons Català de Cooperació al Desenvolupament*, one of the pioneers in introducing codevelopment in Catalonia. More recently the codevelopment activities of the local government have been financed by the Catalan Agency for Development Cooperation. Since 2003, the municipality has worked through annually revised formal Codevelopment Programmes. Lleida's codevelopment programme is understood as direct municipal co-operation. This means that the local government is in charge of executing the funds derived to this purpose, instead of being indirectly "subcontracted" to NGO or other kind of organisations, as is the case in Barcelona. In practice, this modality assures high local government control and agenda setting.

The Codevelopment Programme works through a cycle that includes, firstly, a diagnosis of the migrant civil society in order to identify potential groups to work with (e.g. in 2009 the local government wanted to engage young migrant people and women in codevelopment work). This includes a diagnosis of the viability and capacity of the migrant associations. Secondly, all migrants and non-migrants interested in codevelopment are invited to participate in a course which aims to strengthen their understanding of and capacity to engage in codevelopment. At this stage it is not a defining criterion whether the participants belong to an association. Thirdly, mixed groups consisting of migrants and non-migrants are formed in order to elaborate, together with the partner in the country of origin, the objectives and scope of the codevelopment project. The key aim of this process is to create or strengthen

relations between migrant and non-migrant participants. This addresses one of the key concerns with how codevelopment clashes with migrant incorporation: that codevelopment may ghettoize migrant associations because it is an incentive to focus only on the common locality of origin and not wider concerns that migrants from different localities and countries may share. At the end of cycle, projects can be presented to competitive calls in order to get funded. Usually the successful applicants are migrant associations and not individual migrants, but there is a prioritization of also including more recent migrant associations with younger and/or female representatives.

In the evaluation of both the political representative and the civil servant in charge of codevelopment in Lleida, this process has had a clear impact on migrants' empowerment and auto esteem. This perception is also highlighted by interviewed migrants who have been part of the codevelopment projects funded by the local government of Lleida. However, Moroccan associations that have not participated in the cycles are less convinced by how the decisions have been taken or how it works. For these associations there is the perception that the process is too selective resulting in the local government spending the codevelopment funds on a limited number of migrant associations without allowing the rest to compete in the same conditions. Hence, one of the aspects to be solved is the clarification of government's election criteria when deciding the prioritised "collectives" (from the fieldwork one could say that the priorities have been Sub-Saharan, women, young) for starting up the training courses.

While the courses are ongoing, the specific calls for codevelopment only lasted from 2004-2008. In 2008 it was decided to re-integrate the funding for codevelopment into the general call for funding of development projects, because it was considered to be better that the codevelopment projects compete in terms of quality with the rest of the development projects. The funding call still explicitly mentions codevelopment as one of the prioritized areas though.

Despite the existence of a specific call for codevelopment funding, migrants' access to codevelopment funds has been somewhat uneven throughout the entire period of codevelopment work in Lleida. Before the codevelopment practices were formalised in Lleida, migrant associations were already accessing competitive funds (initially one association from Equatorial Guinea and LA accessed to the bi-annual development projects, and other associations from Mali, Senegal, Morocco, Colombia had access to the awareness funds. In 2004 there was a change in prioritization, and no funds were spent on awareness projects implemented by migrant associations. Instead, this year a call was launched, targeted to "support the projects of migrant associations" with explicit aims such as "fostering of

migrant integration and associative strengthening”. In 2005, no migrant association obtained any funding. So the overall amount given to migrant associations in the period it existed (2004-2005) was lower than in the previous (2002-2003).

Interviews reveal that the local government often feels that migrant associations are not ‘strong enough’ to get funded. Even so, the local government of Lleida has concentrated more efforts than Barcelona on incorporating migrant associations into the circuit of accessing public development cooperation funds (they get a higher percentage on the total amount). However, unfortunately this does not translate into any visible political incorporation of said associations. In 2009 no space at municipal level were detected with the presence of migrant associations. The exception is the Interreligious Council where representatives of Lleida’s different faiths are represented. The reason for the lack of migrant associations in consultative spaces refers back to the overall lack of participatory democracy in Lleida, where there as mentioned is a lack of political will (expressed by their lack of plans and specific spaces to it) to increase migrant participation in local affairs outside the area of development cooperation.

Interviews with the migrant associations themselves confirm the situation of a fairly scarce dialogue with the local government largely based on individual contacts, apart from the codevelopment programme and ad hoc contacts regarding cultural activities. This situation, even if creates conflict among the collectives, is not seen as a consequence of a lack of collective spaces to interact with local government, but mostly as an unevenly managed mechanism. Overall, Moroccan associations detect a higher demobilisation of migrant collectives in Lleida than in other cities, and they express a local government bias towards Sub-saharian associations. In contrast, Senegalese associations in Lleida are very appreciative regarding the work being done by the municipality in terms of codevelopment, even though they ask for more support in terms of having stable premises to meet.

The following table illustrates the previously mentioned main points:

Table. Local configuration of citizenship-codevelopment dynamics (Lleida)

	Dimensions	Lleida
Philosophies of migrant incorporation within local government	Normalisation and cross-sectorial view	Yes, with specific services. Lack of instruments for promoting a cross sectorial view
	On migrant and migrant's assoc. participation (Problematization of non-EU lack of civil rights and specific difficulties to participate?)	No
	Administrative articulation of migration and development areas	Under same area, low technical alignment, higher technical-political alignment
	Action plans promoting/addressing the need of migrant participation	One regarding inclusion and importance of migrants' participation, another related to citizenship.
Codevelopment practices	General approach	Social inclusion, empowerment, promoting participation. Strong purpose and monitoring from LG
	Existence of specific action plans	Specific action plan.
	Activities	Experience began in 2003. Cycle: Strengthening of mig. ass, creation of mixed groups, development projects through migrant assoc.
	Type of funding	Direct LG's funds (sometimes obtained through Generalitat or Fons Català). Development projects funded by competitive calls.
Impact of migrant trans-local empowerment	Access to funds	An average of 7,6% of competitive funds are accessed by migrant associations in a 8 years' period.
	Representation on municipal spaces (not at district level)	No specific council for migrant assoc. No direct representation found besides the inter-religious space.

Source: Own elaboration

Girona: institutionalisation of already existing dynamics of codevelopment

The overall dynamics of migrant and codevelopment policies in Girona are different than in Barcelona and Lleida. While Barcelona has a stronger focus on political incorporation of migrants than codevelopment and Lleida has a stronger focus on codevelopment than political incorporation then the situation in Girona is much less clear.

Like Lleida and Barcelona, Girona is a provincial capital which has experienced a relatively large immigration over the last decade. In 2000, migrants constituted 8.19 % of the

population and in 2010 it was 20,58%.⁸ Like Barcelona, Girona has neighbourhoods with a high concentration of migrants (e.g. 41,95%).⁹ Moroccans are the most numerous migrant group in Girona. Ecuador is the 10th most important group in terms of population in the city and Senegalese come in at the 18th largest group, largely on par with their position in the overall Catalan statistic.

Foreigner population. 2010				
Girona (municipality)				
Girona's total population (1)	96.236			
Girona's foreigner population (2)	19.807		% Foreigner population [(2)/(1)]	20,58%
	Population from the country residing in the municipality (3)	% Over total foreigner population residing in the municipality [(3)/(2)]	% Over total from same country residing in Catalonia	
Morocco	3.790	19,13	1,62	1
Honduras	2.758	13,92	19,34	2
Romania	1.589	8,02	1,61	3
Colombia	981	4,95	2,01	4
...				
Ecuador	580	2,93	0,74	10
...				
Senegal	293	1,48	1,45	18
...				

Source: Own elaboration from Idescat data, statistical exploitation from municipal registration

In parallel to the local government of Barcelona, Girona has been ruled by the Socialist Party since 1979 until Spring 2011, sometimes in coalition. During the fieldwork, the municipal office with more responsibilities in terms of migration work, the Social and Cooperation Policies Area (*Àrea de Polítiques Socials i Cooperació*), was ruled by the communist and eco-socialist party.

The approach taken by this local government when it comes to immigration is quite different from both Barcelona and Lleida. There are no specific policies, instruments or political platforms for migrants at the level of the municipality. No department or area of the

⁸ Source: Idescat, statistical exploitation from municipal registration, <http://www.idescat.cat/> [last access 31/05/2011]

⁹ Located within the sectors, the particular most mentioned neighbourhoods are called Sant Narcís and Santa Eugènia. Source: *Ajuntament de Girona*, exploitation from municipal registration (2010), http://www.girona.cat/observatori/indicadors_municipals.php [last access 01/06/2011]

local government is labelled with the word “immigration”. Furthermore, the political representative of the Social Policies and Cooperation Area emphasize that the local government does not want to take any measures to promote the political incorporation of migrant associations but set up participatory mechanisms aimed at all citizens regardless of their origin. In this way the local government wants to avoid any accusation of favouritism or clientelism in relations with migrant associations. Thus, when migrants visit local government offices, they are served through the general social services, district centres or neighbourhood associations, all instruments related to the local government aim of bringing public closer to the citizens. Some local projects trying to survey migrant civil society has been implemented at the level of individual neighbourhoods through the municipal community centres.

However, within the Office of International Development, which is part of the Area of Social Policies and Cooperation there is another approach to relations with migrant associations. The political representative has contacts with migrant associations, facilitates their transnational activities when it comes to political mobilisation, minds the twinning of the city to others in the South and, since 2007, the first Girona’s Development Plan introduces a codevelopment line of work in order to use it as an instrument to work on the inclusion of migrant collectives as well as a way to foster the visibility of migrant associations.

At this point, it is important to explain that Girona has its own history in terms of codevelopment outside the local government: in the city there are migrant associations (mainly from people originally from Gambia and Senegal) which began their codevelopment trajectory during the second half of the 80s. Some of these associations are influenced by contacts and experiences with codevelopment in France. Other associations work closely together with local non-migrant associations which support their codevelopment activities. Indeed, the *Fons Català per a la Cooperació al Desenvolupament*, later on a major codevelopment actor at Catalan level, started out in Girona. Compared to Barcelona and Lleida, codevelopment practices in Girona have traditionally been more located in the collaboration among especially African (Moroccan and Sub-Saharan) migrant associations and local NGOs. Only in 2009 did the local government launch a more comprehensive policy on development which began with a survey of the main codevelopment actors in the city. This survey concluded that more training and support of migrant associations is needed in order to strengthen their capacity to formulate and implement codevelopment projects. Next year, a specific call directed to fund codevelopment projects was launched, and Girona’s local government was in touch with Lleida’s local government to share its experience.

The migrant associations in Girona largely welcome the more civil society dominated

approach to codevelopment in the city. For instance, a young Moroccan representative stressed the importance of codevelopment processes coming “from below” rather than through the local government institutions. The Senegalese representatives also highlight the support they have received by the NGOs in codevelopment work, but also welcome the tendency within the local government to work more consistently on codevelopment.

In any case migrant associations have enjoyed relatively easy access to codevelopment funds. Even if the access to previous data is complicated, it appears that migrant associations have received an average of 13,21% of the total funds distributed through competitive calls for funding of development projects, even excluding projects on awareness/education. In 2008 migrant access to such funding peaked at 30% per cent. The awarded projects mainly belong to associations of Senegalese or Gambian origin, and only more recently (since 2010) one can find a Colombian and a Moroccan NGO.

In terms of participation in formal spaces, and in spite a disaggregated access to information, when considering the formal spaces dependent on the studied area it can be observed that, in June 2010, its main social council did not have any representation of migrant associations. Some of it is only being found when taking into account cooperation devices.

To conclude this part, it can be said that in Girona codevelopment is regarded as a new potential instrument for linking up with migrant association in an environment where specific instruments for dialogue with migrants have otherwise been largely absent. The local government is trying to capitalise its environment experience in codevelopment “from below” but not with enough determination (meaning resources and high level political will).

The following table summarises the different points characterising Girona’s case.

Table. Local configuration of citizenship-codevelopment dynamics (Girona)

	Dimensions	Girona
Philosophies of migrant incorporation within local government	Normalisation and cross-sectorial view	Yes, trying not to provide specific services. Lack of instruments for promoting a cross sectorial view
	On migrant and migrant's assoc. participation (Problematization of non-EU lack of civil rights and specific difficulties to participate?)	No
	Administrative articulation of migration and development areas	Under same area, high technical alignment, lower technical-political alignment
	Action plans promoting/addressing the need of migrant participation	Two, mainly related to actions on specific districts.

Codevelopment practices	General approach	Social inclusion, promoting participation.
	Existence of specific action plans	Integrated in the general development plan. Elaborated documents with deeper definition.
	Activities	NGOs promoting codevelopment historically. LG's support of development projects through competitive calls. Diagnosis of codevelopment in Girona in 2009. Creation of a codevelopment commission in 2009 and priority to training processes. Contact with Lleida (benchmarking strategy).
	Type of funding	Mostly by development projects funded by competitive calls.
Impact of migrant trans-local empowerment	Access to funds	An average of 13,21% of competitive funds are accessed by migrant associations over a 6 years' period.
	Representation on municipal spaces (not at district level)	No specific council for migrant assoc. Direct representation at the Cooperation Council, creation in 2009 of a weak co-development commission.

Source: Own Elaboration

Conclusions

Codevelopment policies in Catalonia provide an interesting example of how local governments support migrant transnationalism. In so doing Catalan local governments are not diverging from the Spanish overall state policies on migration, citizenship and development which also point to the inclusion of migrant transnational development potential as part of their local process of political incorporation. Still, local governments have been at the forefront of this development, as they have dedicated part of their development budget to codevelopment and funded decentralized development projects of migrant associations who wish to support local development in their country of origin from afar. The growing number of migrant associations that secure funding for codevelopment projects testify to the lack of any zero-perception regarding migrants' engagement in both their country of origin and residence. On the contrary, the general idea is that codevelopment may reinforce processes of local incorporation.

A research design that samples on the dependent variable and focus on those migrant associations that do engage in codevelopment might further reveal the synergies between migrant local and transnational practices. In this paper, however, we have chosen to scrutinize

the overall institutional dynamics of how local governments engage in codevelopment in 3 of the 4 provincial capitals of Catalonia. The comparison between these cities highlight important differences in terms of the political will, type of implementation and the extent to which support for codevelopment relates to local citizenship policies in theory and practice. Indeed, although these local governments operate under the same national and regional framework, there are huge discrepancies in terms of both the scope and form of support for migrant transnational engagement in codevelopment.

One key comparison has been to locate codevelopment policies in the local perceptions and politics of migrant incorporation. The analysis has revealed three quite different configurations of citizenship and codevelopment policies. Curiously, although all three cities are ruled by the socialist party, only Barcelona perceives a ‘democratic deficit’ in terms of the voice of non-EU migrants and has facilitated consultative spaces for dialogue with migrants on issues of their settlement and integration. Neither Lleida nor Girona have such mechanisms in place at the level of the City Council. Indeed, in Girona and Lleida, the only systematic and explicit local government approach at municipal level for migrant incorporation is done through codevelopment practices. In these cities the discourse associating codevelopment to empowerment and social inclusion is stronger than in Barcelona. There is a trend towards a redirection of development funds towards incorporation policies in the absence of alternative policymaking.

The implementation of codevelopment is also quite different across the different cities and in our view also related to the overall philosophies of migrant incorporation. Barcelona has employed a more competitive model where migrant associations more or less on their own need to come up with viable projects in order to secure funding through the general call for development funding. The recent merging of the Cooperation and Immigration Areas has led to recognition of the need to strengthen the codevelopment capacity of migrant associations in the face of strong competition from other actors such as development NGOs. In stark contrast, Lleida has from the beginning launched a nurturing model where the local government trains migrants and migrant associations through codevelopment courses and collaborate on the formulation of the project proposals. Girona, in contrast to both Barcelona and Lleida has until recently taken a laissez faire civil society approach to migrants’ access to codevelopment funding. The local government has relied on a long-standing experience of local development NGOs helping in particular Sub-Saharan migrant associations formulate and implement codevelopment projects.

The cases of Girona and Barcelona highlight how codevelopment dynamics are not the result of local government policies only. The trajectory of migration and the degree of consolidation of migrant associations are important features as well. In both Barcelona and Girona there are more long-standing and resourceful migrant associations than is the case in Lleida and they have also gained more experience in both transnational codevelopment projects (Girona) and in local political spaces for participation (Barcelona). That said, the local government priorities on codevelopment and citizenship increasingly constitute the key parameters for the access of migrants to funding and voice.

Overall migrant associations experience a very heterogeneous and not always very transparent institutional environment for their transnational development engagement. Clearly some migrant collectives such as the Senegalese, for reasons that we cannot go into this paper, have enjoyed a much larger share of the codevelopment project funds than the Ecuadorians. All migrant representatives welcome local government funding and attention to codevelopment. However, access to funding through the local government calls is very competitive. In the case of Lleida where the local government reaches out to migrant associations in order to facilitate their project formulation, migrant associations lament the lack of transparency in terms of local government priorities.

At this point in time it is difficult to convincingly assess the impact of trans-local empowerment or migrant associations' access to development funds and political spaces. The overall numbers involved are also not very large. The extent to which the 'competitive' or the 'nurturing' models impact on migrant incorporation is difficult to answer because there is still no advance in political participation in formal municipal spaces in both Lleida and Girona. In Barcelona where a multi-level environment of consultative spaces is available for migration associations, there is indeed a high coincidence of migrant associations working on codevelopment and being represented in consultative platforms in Barcelona. However, these are a very small handful of the largest and most influential associations among the interviewed migrant collectives. In the evaluation of the migrant associations themselves, codevelopment is appreciated as an instrument for strengthening the association and it may be that more time is needed to assess to what extent this can translate into more political voice of the migrant associations.

The local level is an important field where participatory and direct democracy can co-exist with policies that foment transnational engagement in development in other parts of the world including migrant origin countries. A wider survey of local government practices including a

cross national comparison can help us understand to what extent local configuration of citizenship and development diverge from national logics and what is the impact on trans-local voice of migrant collectives.

Table. Local configurations of citizenship-codevelopment dynamics (Barcelona, Lleida, Girona)

	Barcelona	Lleida	Girona
Philosophies of migrant incorporation within local government	High importance to the lack of political rights underpinning public policies approach.	Low importance to the lack of political rights underpinning public policies approach.	Low importance to the lack of political rights underpinning public policies approach.
Codevelopment practices	Related to international solidarity, it will come as time goes on and associations get stronger. Not very precisely defined. Political view on cooperation dragging Barcelona's development in codevelopment practices. Competitive model.	Social inclusion, empowerment, promoting participation. Strong purpose and monitoring from LG. Main area of LG's work, explicitly targeted to migrant associations, for incorporation purposes. Nurturing model.	Codevelopment having emerged since the 80's from below, LG trying to institutionalise the practices aiming at social inclusion and the promotion of participation. Main area of LG's work, explicitly targeted to migrant associations, for incorporation purposes. Formerly nurtured 'from below' model.
Impact of migrant trans-local empowerment	Low access to funds	Medium access to funds	High access to funds
	High representation on municipal spaces (district level not considered)	Low representation on municipal spaces (district level not considered)	Low representation on municipal spaces (district level not considered)

Source: Own elaboration

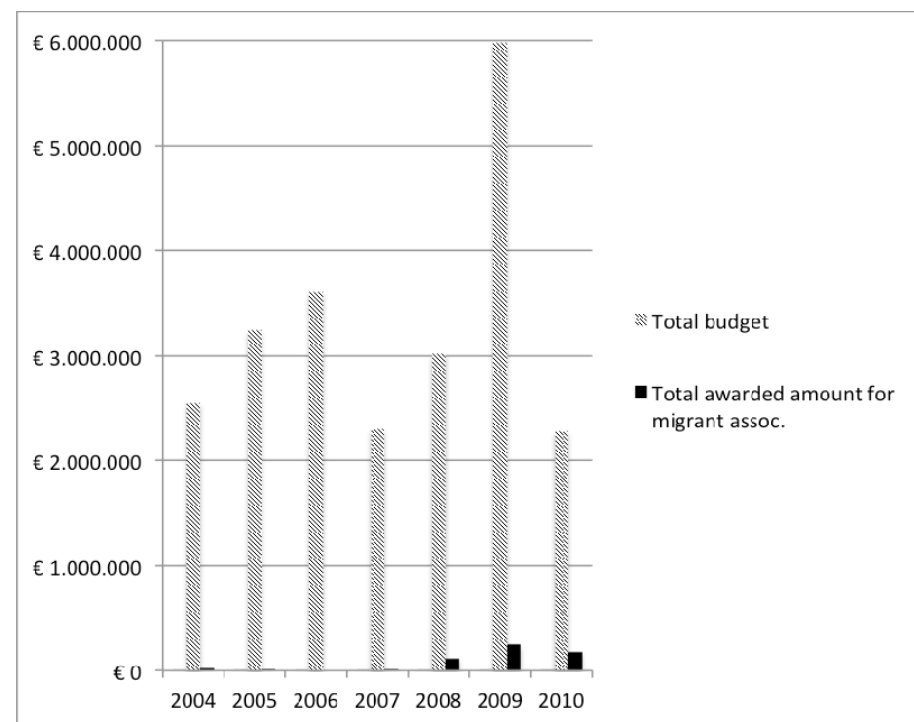
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Annex 1. Total awarded amounts for migrant associations per year (Barcelona's LG; 2004-2010)¹⁰

Year	Call	Total budget (€)	Total awarded amount for migrant assoc. (€)	Awarded / Total Budget(%)
204	Annual, development	2.062.00	0	0,00%
200	Annual, awareness	481.000	19.00	3,95%
Total 2004		2.543.000	19.000	0,75%
2005	Annual, development	2.744.00	0	0,00%
05	Annal, wreess	96.500	13.000	2,6%
Total 2005		3.41.000	13.000	0,40%
2006	Annual, development	1.050.000	0	0,00%
2006	Pluriannual development	1.800.000	0	0,00%
2006	Annual, awareness	750.000	0	0,00%
Total 2006		3.600.000	0	0,00%
2007	Annual, development	900.000	0	0,00%
2007	Pluriannual development	546.206	0	0,00%
2007	Annual, awareness	850.000	15.936	1,87%
Total 2007		2.296.206	15.936	0,69%
2008	Annual, development	850.000	116.934	13,76%
2008	Pluriannual development	1.192.173	0	0,00%
2008	Annual, awareness	970.000	0	0,00%
Total 2008		3.012.173	116.934	3,88%
2009	Annual, development	3.000.000	0	0,00%
2009	Pluriannual development	1.943.370	156.779	8,07%
2009	Annual, awareness	1.035.000	91.273	8,82%
Total 2009		5.978.370	248.052	4,15%
2010	Annual, development	300.000	57.472	19,16%
2010	Pluriannual development	850.000	68.521	8,06%
2010	Annual, awareness	1.130.000	50.579	4,48%
Total 2010		2.280.000	176.572	7,74%

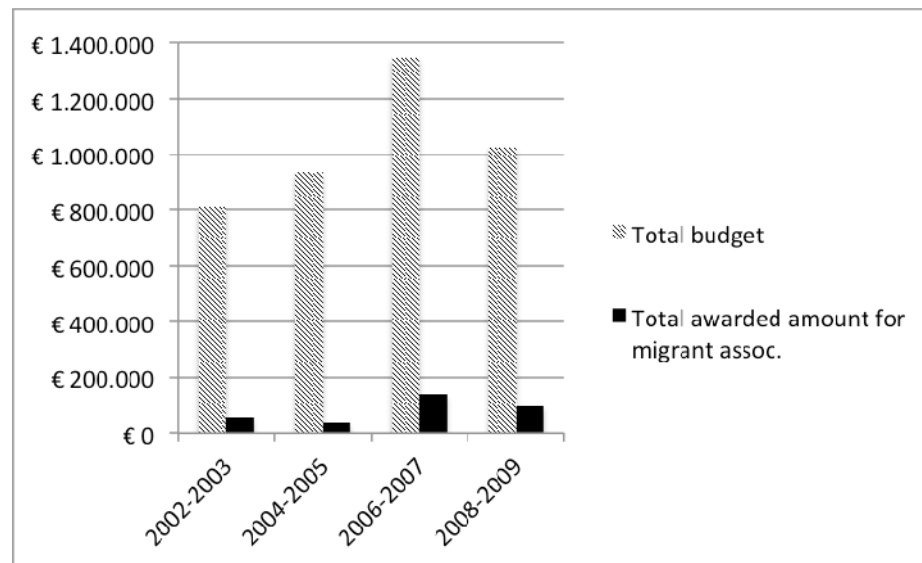


Source: Own elaboration from official documents and reports from Barcelona's local government. http://www.bcn.es/cooperacio/cat/bcn_solidaria/

¹⁰ Even if "awareness" funds are not usually spend in countries of origin, these have been considered because of their relative weight in some cases. The study has considered Official Development Assistance (ODA). That is, funds coming from other municipality's areas directed to associations for cultural or social purposes have not been considered. In the case of Lleida and Girona this consideration may be pointless, but in Barcelona there is another field in there, as there are important fund calls for other issues a part from development.

Annex 2. Total awarded amounts for migrant associations per year (Lleida's LG; 2002-2010)

Year	About the call	Total budget (€) ¹¹	Total awarded amount for migrant assoc. (€)	Aarded / Total Budget (%)
2002	Bi-annual, development	679.144	43.626	6,42%
2002	Annual, awareness	71.571	6.732	9,41%
2003	Annual, awareness	60.101	5.554	9,24%
Total 2002-2003		810.816	55.92	6,90%
2004	-anu, development	781.316	7.277	4,77%
2004	Annual, awareness	60.101	0	0,00%
2004	Annual, integration, associative strengthening	18.030		0,00%
2005	Annual, CODEVELOPMENT	15.643	0	0,00%
2005	Annual, awareness	60.101	0	0,00%
Total 2004-2005		935.191	37.277	3,99%
2006	Bi-annual, development	781.316	137.672	17,62%
2006	Bi-annual, awareness	60.101	0	0,00%
2006	Annual, integration, associative strengthening	22.000		0,00%
2007	Annual, awareness		0	0,00%
2007	Annual, integration, associative strengthening	22.000*		0,00%
Total 2006-2007		1.347.997	137.672	10,21%
2008	Bi-annual, development and CODEVELOPMENT	845.986	86.322	10,20%
2008	Bi-annual, awareness	180.000	10.950	6,08%
Total 2008-2009		1.025.986	97.272	9,48%

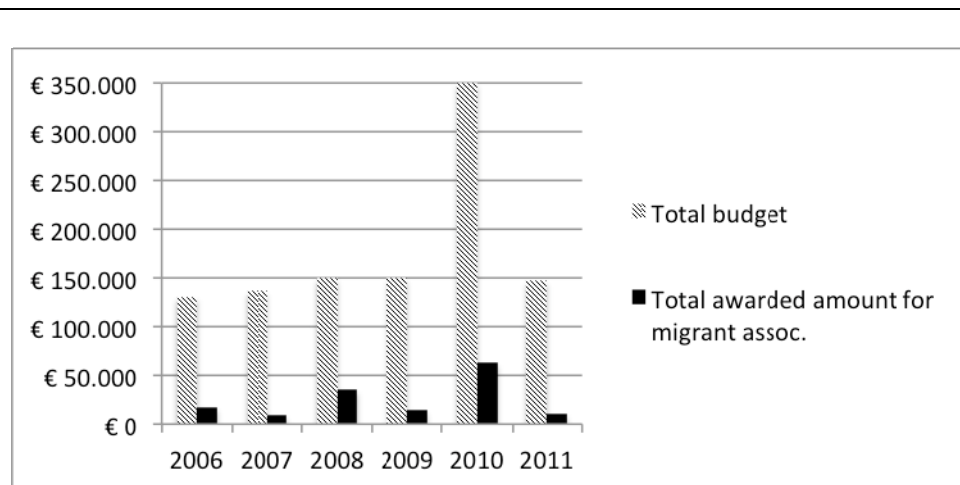


Source: Own elaboration from official documents, provincial gazettes and reports from Lleida's LG. Obtained from <http://www.paeria.cat/dcci/> and provincial gazettes

¹¹ In the case of Lleida and Girona, the access to the information has been more difficult than in the case of Barcelona. When signalled by *, as data was non-found, amounts have been deduced or extrapolated from other years.

Annex 3. Total awarded amounts for migrant associations per year (Girona's LG; 2006-2011)

Year	Call	Total budget (€) ¹²	Total awarded amount for migrant assoc. (€)	Aarded / Total Budget (%)
2006	Annual, development	110.000*	17.526	15,93%
2006	Annual, awareness	20.680	0	0,00%
Total 2006		130.680	17.526	13,41%
2007	Annual development	115.686*	9.210	7,6
2007	Annual, awareness	20.680	0	0,00%
Total 2007		136.36	9.210	6,75%
2008	Annual, development	118.000	35.436	30,03%
2008	Annual, awareness	32.000	0	0,00%
Total 2008		150.000	35.436	23,62%
2009	Annual, development	118.000*	14.750	12,50%
2009	Annual, awareness	32.000*	0	0,00%
Total 2009		150.000	14.750	9,83%
2010	Annual, development	300.000	50.186	16,73%
2010	Annual, CODEVELOPMENT	18.000	12.250	68,06%
2010	Annual, awareness	32.000*	900	2,81%
Total 2010		350.000	63.336	18,10%
2011	Annual, development	100.000	1.000	1,00%
2011	Annual, CODEVELOPMENT	15.000	10.050	67,00%
2011	Annual, awareness	32.000*	0	0,00%
Total 2011		147.000	11.050	7,52%



Source: Own elaboration from official documents, provincial gazettes, technicians and reports from Girona's LG. <http://www.girona.cat/solidaritat/cat/ajuts.htm>

¹² In the case of Lleida and Girona, the access to the information has been more difficult than in the case of Barcelona. When signalled by *, as data was non-found, amounts have been deduced or extrapolated from other years.