
Immigrants and Nationalists: Political Participation of Immigrants in the Contemporary Catalan Nationalist Movement

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Mémoire

Immigrants and Nationalists: Political Participation of Immigrants in the Contemporary Catalan Nationalist Movement

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1. INTRODUCTION

During these last months, Catalonia has experienced numerous and tremendous political events related to the independence process led by nationalist political parties and nationalist movements. From demonstrations to referendum and then elections, the political actuality of this Autonomous Community of Spain has been dense. As student with interests in sociology, political sciences, and migration, all these elements have inevitably attracted my attention; this is why the present master's thesis takes its inspiration from those recent socio-political events. A nine-month stay in Catalonia dedicated to the study of this social phenomenon called migration surely was a huge help in writing this work. Migration is a reality that western societies have been facing for decades (Castles, 2003). Nowadays, with the globalization, international migrations have been accentuated and the visibility of these migrations has increased (Castles, 2010). Catalonia is one of the Spanish Autonomous Communities and one of the European territories which have attracted a large amount of immigrants since the beginning of the new century (Arrighi de Casanova, 2012). The conjunction of the influx of immigrants and the political process at work in Catalonia has attracted the attention of different scholars who have studied the link between migration and nationalism, or more precisely the link between migration and stateless nationalist political parties or minority nationalism (Franco-Guillén & Garcia, 2016; Franco-Guillén & Zapata-Barrero, 2014; E. Hepburn & Zapata-Barrero, 2014).

This particular research deals particularly with the political participation in the context presented above. More precisely, the focus is brought on the political participation of immigrants in the contemporary Catalan nationalist movement. Political participation of immigrants was a topic relatively neglected in the migration literature until recently (Bauböck, Kraler, Martiniello, & Perchinig, 2006). Actually, before the nineties the main thesis about political participation of immigrants was the "quiescence thesis" (Martiniello, 2005, p. 4): as immigrants did not have political rights, they were supposed to be politically inactive. This view has been heavily criticized and, nowadays, political participation of immigrants is widely acknowledged and studied (Martiniello, 2005). Different theoretical traditions have proposed different ways to study this topic: political scientists have mainly analyzed political participation in regard to the political opportunity structure (Koopmans, 2004); sociologists have used the concept of social capital to understand this social phenomenon (Fennema & Tillie, 2001); certain scholars have used individual

characteristics to explain political participation (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995); and tenants of transnationalism have approached political participation of immigrants by looking at both host and home countries (Lafleur, 2005).

By enumerating these different strands of the scholarship dealing with political participation and by stating that political participation has been widely studied these last years, one could wonder why to study political participation of immigrants if so much work has been done on it. In fact, the originality of this master's thesis is fourfold. Firstly, as it will be explained in the next sections, political participation of immigrants has been studied here through the prism of a particular form of political participation, classified as unconventional: the political participation of immigrants in the Catalan nationalist movement, outside of political parties, and therefore defined as an unconventional (see *infra*). Actually, what has been often studied in terms of political participation were conventional forms of participation such as voting or running for elections (Morales & Giugni, 2011). For the scope of this work, the object of research is slightly different because related to this unconventional form of political participation.

Secondly, political participation is traditionally studied at the level of states; here, the geographical scope is limited to the level of an Autonomous Community of Spain where a sub-state nationalism takes place (Franco-Guillén & Garcia, 2016). Therefore, the originality of this research arises from the context as well. Thirdly, as Franco-Guillén & Garcia (2016) stated, a large part of the research about political participation has been realized through quantitative methods, whereas the present case is built on a qualitative method allowing in-depth analysis of the social phenomenon studied. Lastly, works about political participation of immigrants often rely on one or another strand of literature, whereas this master's thesis uses an integrated approach that takes into account the different theoretical sensibilities in one single conceptual framework (Morales & Giugni, 2011).

All these elements are presented and discussed in the next pages of this master's thesis. In the following section, the research question is presented and justified; explanations of certain terms are also provided. The third section is dedicated to the review of the main theories and concepts relevant to analyze the empirical material collected. Macro-, meso-, and micro-level explanations of political participation are reviewed in this section as well as elements coming from the framework of transnationalism. In the fourth section a note about methodology is

given to readers: the main methodological assumptions are presented and choices about the method used are justified. The last and fifth part of the work is related to the analysis of the empirical material. The content of the interviews realized with immigrants who participate in the Catalan nationalist movement is analyzed in relation with the different theories presented in the section 4. All the results of this part are summarized in the conclusion, which underlines the main findings of this research as well as the main strengths and the weaknesses of this master's thesis.

2. RESEARCH QUESTION AND HYPOTHESES

As explained in the introduction, the object of this master's thesis is the political participation of immigrants in the contemporary Catalan nationalist movement. Beyond presenting the object, this section tackles the need of specifying the research question. In the present case, the aim of the study is to understand why immigrants participate in this particular movement; what are the explanations of this participation. Therefore, the research question that underlies this work is: *How to explain the political participation of immigrants in the contemporary Catalan nationalist movement?* In the following section (section 3.), the meaning of "political participation" as well as the related literature is examined in depth. However, as the meaning of "nationalist movement" will not be presented in this next section, a note about these terms is, here, necessary.

Numerous scholars have defined nationalism in very different ways. As the purpose here is not to write extensively about this issue, this section is limited to the two definitions of Guibernau (2013) and Goodman (2010). This first author defined nationalism as:

the sentiment of belonging to a community whose members identify with a set of symbols, beliefs and ways of life, and have the will to decide upon their common political destiny. (Guibernau, 2013, p. 594)

Goodman (2010) added that nationalism can be considered as an ideology promoting the sentiment of belonging about which Guibernau (2013) wrote. For the scope of this work, the definition of nationalism provided by Goodman (2010) will be used as it emphasizes the dynamic dimension of nationalism: nationalism is not only a sentiment, a feeling; nationalism is also an ideology that promotes a particular social organization.

Moreover, Goodman (2010) supports an approach of nationalism through social movements. Drawing upon Tarrow's (1994) definition of a social movement, he argued that social movements have four main features: (I) collective challenge, (II) common purpose, (III) solidarity, and (IV) collective action. Thus, if the common purpose is the self-governance of a community whose members identify themselves by symbols, beliefs and way of life, and whose members develop solidarity among them and aim to challenge a particular political order, the social movement is considered as a nationalist movement (Goodman, 2010). As it will be argued further in this work (section 5.), this is the case in Catalonia where a Catalan nationalist movement undoubtedly exists (Franco-Guillén & Garcia, 2016).

From these brief definitions of what a nationalist movement is and from the main research question, several sub-questions arose. They are five, namely:

- What is the role of the political opportunity structure, and more particularly, what is the role of the Catalan nationalist discourse in enhancing or constraining political participation of immigrants?
- Is group dynamics an explanatory factor of the political participation of immigrants in the Catalan nationalist movement?
- What are the individual characteristics that play a role in explaining the political participation of immigrants in the Catalan nationalist movement?
- Is political participation of immigrants in the Catalan nationalist movement influenced by an effect linked to the home country?
- Do political activities oriented towards home country have an effect of political participation of immigrants in the contemporary Catalan nationalist movement?

Following the readings and the first exploratory interview (see *infra*), the main hypothesis that was made to guide the research is that each explanation of the political participation of immigrants, through the political opportunity, through group dynamics, through individual characteristics, and through the influence of the host country matter. This hypothesis has guided the research in a way that does not exclude *a priori* potential explanations, which is coherent with the methodology used (see section 4.). Based on these first questions and on these first assumptions, a review of the relevant literature has been realized in order to identify the main theoretical basis useful to answer the research question and to collect information.

3. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF IMMIGRANTS

This second section is dedicated to a presentation of the conceptual framework used in this master's thesis in order to analyze the political participation of immigrants in the contemporary Catalan nationalist movement. It consists in a literature review encompassing concepts and theories that are relevant to analyze the empirical material. First, the terms "political participation" are clarified. What is their meaning? From which broader framework do they come from? These are the questions answered in the first part. Then, a second part examines more closely the political participation of immigrants through what is considered as explanations about their political participation. Here, three main levels of explanation are convened: (I) the macro-, (II) the meso-, (III) and the micro-levels. They deal respectively with the political opportunity structure, the social capital, and the individual characteristics that enhance or impede political participation. Lastly, a note about political transnationalism is offered, as it appeared that this element played a role in the political participation of immigrants.

3.1. FROM INTEGRATION TO POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: CLARIFYING CONCEPTS

Generally, defining a concept without taking into account the broader framework from which it comes makes difficult to understand it well. This consideration is also true in this case: political participation of immigrants as field of research is part of a broader theoretical framework, which is integration. Actually, political participation is a particular dimension of political integration (Martiniello, 2005; Zapata-Barrero, Gabrielli, Sanchez-Montajino, & Jaulin, 2013) which is, in turn, a particular dimension of integration itself (Penninx, 2005; Spencer & Charsley, 2016). Therefore, to situate the present work within the right research field of social science, it is relevant to give an overview of what integration and of what political integration do mean.

In the first place, integration, despite its widespread use in social science, remains a concept poorly defined and, as Martiniello & Rath (2014) have written, rather "fuzzy" (p.8). Even the single term *integration* does not make any consensus among the scientific community (Favell, 2003). This is mainly due to its proximity with the political sphere in which this term is used with a normative meaning which varies among nation-states (Favell, 2003; Martiniello & Rath, 2014). Nevertheless,

as noted by different authors have, integration is still one of the most appropriate word to describe the process of change that happens after the settlement of immigrants in a new society, both from the perspective of the new society and from the perspective of the immigrants (Penninx, 2005). Following this point of view, integration refers to, broadly speaking, “the process of settlement, interaction with the host society, and social change that follows immigration” (Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016, p. 16).

More precisely, integration can be defined as “the process of becoming an accepted part of society” (Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016, p. 18). This definition allows focusing on the mechanisms of integration rather than on other normative considerations. Moreover, by defining integration as a process, Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas emphasize the dynamic and interactive aspect of integration: this process depends on both immigrants and host society (Hellgren, 2015). Thus, both structure of the host society and individual characteristics or group characteristics of immigrants matter. Far from the earlier conceptualization of integration by the First School of Chicago, these authors present integration as a two-way process in which both host society and immigrants are involved (Hellgren, 2015; Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016). This approach is endorsed throughout this work.

Although integration is now defined, going a step further in unraveling this concept is still necessary. Actually, the process of integration concerns, from an analytical point of view, different segments of the society. Usually, three are differentiated: (I) the legal and political segment, (II) the social and economic segment, (III) and the cultural segment (Penninx, 2005). The first encompasses the questions of the right to vote, of access to citizenship, and of opportunity of political participation; the second refers to the accessibility to the labor market, to the questions of discrimination in housing, in education; and the third is about religious rights or equality of cultural rights (Penninx, 2005).

Of course, regarding the topic of this work, political integration is the dimension of the integration process that is relevant, even if the three aspects are closely intertwined. Political integration involves four elements: political rights, identification, norms and values, and participation (Bauböck et al., 2006). Back to the definition of integration as a two-way process, these four elements can be separated in two categories. From the side of the host society, political rights are

given to immigrants; these rights condition the opportunities that immigrants have of being politically integrated (Bauböck et al., 2006). From the side of newcomers, identification to the host society, acknowledgment of the basic norms and values, and participation in political affairs of the host society improve their overall political integration (Martiniello, 2005).

Finally, political participation is the dimension of political integration that is relevant for this work, as this is the political participation of immigrants in the contemporary Catalan nationalist movement that is being studied here. Political participation is defined by Martiniello (2005) as the “*active dimension of citizenship*” (p. 5). It means that it is through political participation that immigrants are directly involved in the management of political affairs. It is worth noting that until recently, the main research made by scholars studying political participation were about voting or running for elections, although other forms of participation need to be taken into account (Morales & Giugni, 2011). Minority mobilization, for example, is a way of political participation which was not considered until recently (Però & Solomos, 2010). In the present case, the emphasis will be put on less conventional forms of political participation such as participating in protests, in demonstrations, or being involved in civil associations.

The distinction between conventional and non conventional forms of political participation is discussed among scholars (Martiniello, 2005). The main issue concerning this analytical distinction is precisely its analytical relevance: is there really a difference between the two types of political participation? At least, this distinction warns that there are other forms of political participation than voting; and that scholars need to study them as well. However, a more important aspect justifies this distinction: the organizational one (Martiniello, 2005). Conventional forms of political participation require mainly individual commitment while non conventional forms of political participation imply, in addition to the individual commitment, a certain coordination between actors (Martiniello, 2005). Therefore, this collective aspect of the non-conventional political participation needs to be considered in order to understand how political participation of immigrants in the contemporary Catalan nationalist movement can be explained. This organizational aspect is one of the elements covered in the next section where explanations of political participation are reviewed and is one of the elements that make the originality of this research.

3.2. EXPLAINING POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

As often in social science, and especially in migration studies, competing explanations of a same social phenomenon exist without reaching the consensus in the scientific community (Castles, 2010). This observation of Castles is also valid regarding the theories that seek to explain political participation of immigrants: there is not one grand theory of political participation (Morales & Giugni, 2011; Però & Solomos, 2010). Indeed, two main approaches to immigrants political participation can be stressed out: the American one and the European one (Morales & Giugni, 2011). From the American side, political participation of immigrants has only been studied recently and most of the American works focus on individual characteristics explaining political participation (Però & Solomos, 2010). This American approach represents the micro-level approach, mainly considering socio-economic variables at the individual level as explanations of political participation (Zapata-Barrero et al., 2013). From the European side, until the nineties, the thesis of the political quiescence of immigrants prevailed (Martiniello, 2005): immigrants were seen as politically passive as they had no political right. This view was empirically challenged and the European scholarship began to study political participation through a structural perspective (Morales & Giugni, 2011). This is the macro-level approach focusing mainly on the political opportunity structure to explain political participation.

More recently, new topics have been tackled by social scientists. Firstly, Fennema & Tillie (1999) support that there is another level in the study of political participation of immigrants: the meso-level. They took into account the role of civic communities and the creation of a social capital they imply to explain political participation of immigrants (Jacobs & Tillie, 2004). Secondly, scholars who have studied transnationalism have also looked at political practices and political participation of immigrants in both home-country and host-country and at the effect of political participation in one context on political participation in another one (Lafleur, 2005; Lafleur & Martiniello, 2013; Østergaard-Nielsen, 2006). These parts of the literature will be useful to analyze certain patterns identified when the fieldwork was conducted.

All of these approaches are useful and allow an analysis of the political participation of immigrants in the contemporary Catalan nationalist movement. However, instead of using them separately, this thesis tries to bridge the different

approaches by using an integrated and multidimensional approach as recommended by different scholars (Martiniello, 2005; Morales & Giugni, 2011; Però & Solomos, 2010; Zapata-Barrero et al., 2013). This is why in this section are presented the different and competing explanations of political participation that tackle what constrains or facilitates political participation of immigrants. As presented briefly above, the different approaches are introduced following the level of analysis to which they are related: macro-, meso-, or micro-level. At the end of the section a closer look to theories about transnationalism is proposed before arguing in favor of the utilization of a multidimensional approach to political participation.

3.2.1. MACRO-LEVEL: POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE

When scholars began, in the early nineties, to study political participation of immigrants in Europe, the political opportunity structure approach was mainly used (Morales & Giugni, 2011). This approach, as its name indicates, is situated at the macro-level and takes as explanatory factor of political participation of immigrant institutions in the host-country. The relevant elements to study the case tackled in this work are presented in two parts. Firstly, the classical approach of the political opportunity structure is reviewed; Secondly, some improvements proposed by scholars to cope with certain weaknesses of this approach are presented.

3.2.1.1. Classical Approach

The political opportunity structure is a concept which was used, at the beginning, in the research field of social movements (Koopmans & Statham, 2000). One of the first scholar to use these terms is Eisinger (1973) who, in a study about minority mobilization, explained that not only individual resources constrain or facilitate mobilization, but opportunities shaped by the political system also play an important role in constraining or facilitating mobilization. Tarrow (1994), following the path opened by Eisinger, defined the concept as a “consistent but not necessarily formal, permanent, or national signals to social or political actors which either encourage or discourage them to use their internal resources to form social movements” (p. 54).

Finally, Kriesi (1995) operationalized the concept of political opportunity structure by specifying four dimensions:

- 1) The national cleavages structure. This dimension refers to the possibility of access that actors have to introduce a particular conflict in the political system.
- 2) The formal institutional structure. It refers to the legal framework that can more or less allow actors to influence the political system.
- 3) The informal procedures and prevailing strategies. Here, the question of traditions of openness and inclusiveness by opposition to traditions of closeness and exclusiveness of a political system is tackled.
- 4) The alliances structure. A dimension that is contingent to time and place and take into account the relation of power.

This explanation of social movements largely inspired social and political scientists when they tried, in the nineties, to analyze the political participation of immigrants. Ireland (1994), Koopmans & Statham (2000), or Bauböck et al. (2006) are surely some of the prominent tenants of this approach. The latest defined the political opportunity structure by explaining that:

[it] consists of laws that allocate different statuses and rights to various groups of migrants and formally constrain or enable their activities, of institutions of government and public administration in which migrants are or are not represented, of public policies that address migrants' claims, concerns and interests or do not, and of a public culture that is inclusive and accepts diversity or that supports national homogeneity and a myth of shared ancestry. (Bauböck et al., 2006, p. 54)

Even if the definition provided by Bauböck et al. may seem broad because encompassing different elements that compound the political opportunity structure, when the concept was used in migration studies it was mainly in reference to different domains of citizenship law, namely naturalization and voting. The best example of the operationalization of the political opportunity structure through citizenship law is found in the book of Koopmans & Statham (2000). They explicitly acknowledged that citizenship is the main clue to define the political opportunity structure: citizenship law which allows an easy acquisition of the citizenship and, then which allows voting is seen as the main element that qualifies an open political opportunity structure that enhances political participation. Thus, the political opportunity structure has often been reduced to the citizenship dimension,

forgetting other aspects previously developed in the field of social movements (Bousetta, 2000).

Therefore, it is worth noting that the political structure used in migration studies differs from the one developed in the field of social movements as the former is more rigid, taking into account law as the only type of power relations, than the latter (Bousetta, 2000). This very institutionalist view has been challenged by various authors as it eliminates for a large part the agency of immigrants and as it overlooks other structural elements (Bousetta, 2000; Però & Solomos, 2010). Nevertheless, as Bloemraad (2005) noted, political opportunity structure remains a powerful explanatory factor to analyze political participation, but it needs to be thought in a smoother way, what other authors have proposed.

3.2.1.2. Rethinking Political Opportunity Structure

A first attempt to improve the concept of political opportunity structure came from the incorporation of the discursive level by Koopmans (2004). Actually, apart from the set of laws, apart from institutions, another level exists, more informal, and needs to be taken into account. This other level of the political opportunity structure, as explained by Koopmans, refers to the “established notions of who and what is considered reasonable, sensible, and legitimate” (p. 451). This new element is particularly important regarding the scope of this work. In decentralized states, subordinated authorities may have opinions about a topic that are different from the central state’s opinion, even if the subordinated level of governance has not the competence to rule about the topic. It means that analyzing citizenship law promulgated by the central state to define the political opportunity structure may be insufficient if, back in the reality, the discourse developed by the political actors of the subordinated level of power is not coherent with the set of laws from the upper level.

This new element of the political opportunity structure leads to take a closer look at two other facts. Firstly, the way actors perceive the opportunity structure plays an important role (Oliveira & Carvalhais, 2017; Però & Solomos, 2010). If the political opportunity structure can encourage or discourage political participation, actors need to be able to understand, to perceive the obstacles and the aids that the structure provides (Oliveira & Carvalhais, 2017). Here important variables as the access to information or the degree of political education play a role. In other words, the political opportunity structures set up conditions for political participation of

immigrants but immigrants, themselves, have to be aware of these conditions (Martiniello, 2005). Secondly, methodological nationalism (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002) has also marked the development of the concept of political opportunity structure (Però & Solomos, 2010). This concept has been essentially thought within the boundaries of the nation-state; however, it is also relevant to consider elements from, for example, other levels of power within a state or from the home-society which can influence the political opportunity structure (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2006).

In the end, for the purpose of this work, the concept of political opportunity structure will be used as one of the explicative factors of political participation. The main criticism developed by Boussetta (2000) or by Però & Solomos (2010) is, here, strongly endorsed: institutionalist explication of the political participation matters but institutionalist determination is a mistake. In this sense, taking the political opportunity structure as the mono-causal factor of political participation must be avoided. Moreover, emphasis will be put on the discursive dimension of the political opportunity structure and on the way actors perceive discourses formulated by other political actors. Due to the geographical scope of the research, the place of that discourse takes in the formation of the political opportunity structure is highly important and will be emphasized and explained in the fifth section (Franco-Guillén & Zapata-Barrero, 2014). As political opportunity structure is not the only factor that drives political participation, the next step is to envisage other influences. Among them, approaches from the meso-level are relevant in order to analyze the empirical material collected.

3.2.2. MESOLEVEL: SOCIAL CAPITAL, COMMUNITIES AND INDIVIDUALS

Analysis of the migratory phenomenon through the meso-level is one of the recent developments in migration studies. Two strands of the literature use this level: the immigration strand and the incorporation strand (Faist, 2010). Regarding the latter, and more specifically the political integration, the meso-level deals mainly with the concept of social capital, originally developed by Bourdieu, Coleman or Putnam (Faist, 2010; Fennema & Tillie, 1999). Authors who studied political participation of immigrants through the prism of social capital have been inspired by the first thoughts of de Tocqueville when he was studying the American society (Jacobs & Tillie, 2004): according to him, civil associations were one of the factors

explaining the quality of the American democracy (de Tocqueville, 1840, in Fennema & Tillie, 1999).

Transposed in the field of political participation of immigrants, this analysis asks the question of whether or not associations, or being involved in associations, can promote higher levels of political participation among immigrants' communities. Different scholars have studied this question and they have provided answers through two perspectives. The first looks at the relation between networks of associations and political participation of immigrants (Fennema & Tillie, 1999). The second investigates the relation between the mere membership in an association and political participation (Tillie, 2004). Both are the two sides of a same coin rather than opposite views on a same topic: actually, social capital is a concept related to both group and to individuals (Jacobs & Tillie, 2004; Morales & Giugni, 2011). The following sections envisaged successively the two perspectives, based on the seminal works of Fennema & Tillie (1999, 2001).

3.2.2.1. Social Capital: Group Perspective

Drawing upon the work of Putnam, Fennema & Tillie (1999, 2001) explained the political participation of immigrants through the concept of civic community, defined as "voluntary associations that are set up to pursue a common goal or a common interest" (2001, p. 29). In the work of both authors, these associations are assumed to create social trust among members of associations. As, according to them, social trust is one of the facets of social capital, then, civic communities produce social capital, which represents the "resources embedded in a social structure which are accessed and/or mobilized in purposive actions" (Lin, 1999, in Fennema & Tillie, 2001, p. 29). Therefore, it allows individuals to undertake actions they would not be able to undertake without the mobilization of this resource (Fennema & Tillie, 2001). In the end, social capital and social trust create political trust and enhance political participation (Jacobs & Tillie, 2004). In this sense, civic community is seen as the basis of political participation of immigrants because it creates civic engagement and civic competences leading to political participation (Putnam, 1993, in Fennema and Tillie, 1999).

This argument is based on their study about the political participation of immigrants in Amsterdam (Fennema & Tillie, 1999). In this study, Fennema and Tillie found a correlation between the networks of ethnic associations of ethnic communities and the political participation of these communities (p. 722). This

study needs to be underlined as the way they measured social capital has implications to understand the way they defined it. In their work, networks of associations are used as the measure of social capital at the group level (Morales & Giugni, 2011). So, social capital is, within this framework, related to the numbers of ethnic associations, the density of the network of associations, and the variety in activities of the associations (Tillie, 2004). Concretely, they found that the more ethnic associations there are; the denser are the relations between these associations; and the more diverse are the activities of ethnic associations, the more immigrants participate politically.

This way of analyzing political participation through social capital is resolutely operating at the level of groups. Fennema & Tillie (1999, 2001) explained that social trust is mainly created between ethnic associations through what is called “interlocking directorates” (p. 713), members of associations meeting each other, sharing information and coordinating actions of associations. So, what Fennema and Tillie discovered with their analysis is that networks of associations enhance political participation of immigrants’ communities. However, less is said about the role of individuals, or about the individual dimension of social capital (Jacobs & Tillie, 2004; Morales & Giugni, 2011). Even if Fennema & Tillie (2001) stated that “membership in voluntary associations breeds capacities that citizens need to (...) engage in a process of political mobilization (p. 31), they did not investigate the way social capital developed in communities is translated to individuals or the way the type of membership in associations, which can be ethnic or cross cultural, influence the political participation of immigrants (Jacobs & Tillie, 2004).

3.2.2.2. Social Capital: Individual Perspective

Coming from the group perspective, the question is now about to understand whether the mere participation in associational life enhances political participation (Jacobs & Tillie, 2004): lenses are displaced from the networks of association to the memberships of immigrants in associations. This question has been tackled by various scholars and one of the main contributions is a special issue of the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* in which Tillie (2004), himself, brings some improvement to his theoretical framework previously developed in collaboration with Fennema. He investigated the question by testing the hypotheses according to which membership in voluntary associations increases social capital and social

trust, enhancing in turn political participation (Tillie, 2004). The results show an interplay between individuals and groups' social capital: individuals who are members of an association have an overall higher rate of participation than those who are not; and members of associations in relation with other associations have a higher political participation rate than members of isolated associations (p. 540).

This hypothesis has been tested by other scholars with same results (Eggert & Giugni, 2010; Long, 2016; Morales & Ramiro, 2011). For the present research, it means that social capital can also be approached through the perspective of the individual participation of immigrants in associations. The last question that remains regarding the link between social capital and political participation of immigrants concerns the types of social capital: ethnic (bonding) *vs.* cross cultural (bridging). Here, the answer brought by scholars is more ambiguous: certain found a negative relation between ethnic social capital and political participation (Morales & Giugni, 2011), others found no relation between the two elements (Jacobs, Phalet, & Swyngedouw, 2004; Tillie, 2004), or even a slightly positive or positive relation (Fennema & Tillie, 1999; Long, 2016). The difference between the types of social capital will be taken into account in order to look at the type of networks, of associations in which politically active in the Catalan nationalist movement immigrants are involved.

What is clear from this overview of the impact of social capital on political participation of immigrants is that social capital is a variable that matters in the analysis of political participation. However, as different authors pointed, social capital does not explain political participation on its own (Morales & Giugni, 2011). Its effect can be questioned depending on the context (Jacobs et al., 2004) and, therefore, depending on the political opportunity structure (Bloemraad, 2005). Moreover, as it has been presented, there is a relation between individuals and groups' social capital. So, individual characteristics that influence, *inter alia*, the creation of individual networks have to be reviewed (Tillie, 2004).

3.2.3. MICROLEVEL: INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS

Coming from the American literature, the study of the influence of individual characteristics on political participation is nowadays well established (Morales & Giugni, 2011). Combining the individual characteristics perspective with the social capital and the political opportunity structure perspectives allows drawing a more complete picture of the political participation of immigrants. For the purpose of this

work, four main approaches from the micro-level will be reviewed: (I) the rational choice approach and the role of motivations, (II) the influence of socio-demographic and economic characteristics, (III) the effect of the early political socialization through the source country effect, (IV) the role of identity. The aim here is not to write an extensive review of all the personal characteristics that can favor or constrain the political participation of immigrants, but rather to pinpoint the relevant personal characteristics regarding the empirical material collected.

3.2.3.1. Rational Choice and Motivations

Rational choice theories in migration studies have been heavily criticized for their oversimplifying character, but, nevertheless, they still retain a certain explanatory power (Carling & Schewel, 2017). Concerning participation in general, and so political participation, one of the well-known attempts to explain why people participate comes from Olson (1965) who provided an economic lecture of political participation through the social movements approach. Olson (1965) placed the individual at the center of his theory. More precisely, it is the rational actor who is at the center of the logic (Neveu, 2011). Through costs and benefits calculations, individuals are supposed to choose participation if the benefits exceed the costs (Olson, 1965). With this approach it is the self-interest that is brought to the fore: people participate only if a personal benefit emerge from their implication (Whiteley, 1995). Following the path opened by Olson, one of the less costly and most beneficial strategies is the free-rider one which consists in looking at the others participating: it means avoiding risks of mobilization and collecting benefits from the mobilization by others (Olson, 1965). If this theory has been thought to explain participation in general, it can surely be used to analyze the participation of specific groups such as immigrants; that is what Bloemraad (2006) did for the case of the United States.

Different types of criticism have been formulated against rational choice theories. Among them, the ones from Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, (1995) or from Neveu, (2011) must be taken into account. According to the rational choice theory, few people should participate as the costs of participation are often higher than the benefits; however, generally, the number of people who participate is not as small as one could expect regarding to rational choice theories (Verba et al., 1995). Moreover, rational choice theories are insufficient to explain who participate (Verba et al., 1995): they do not refer to socioeconomic factors that influence political

participation beyond the costs-benefits calculation. Nevertheless, as Neveu (2011) stated, these criticisms should not overshadow the fact that rational choice can explain, for a part, participation. Costs-benefits calculations, or, in other terms, individual motivation, are one of the elements that need to be considered at the individual level to understand the political participation of immigrants in the contemporary Catalan nationalist movement.

From a different perspective, Vogel & Triandafyllidou (2005) insisted in their paper on the role of individual motivation in the political participation. If both authors are far away from stating that motivation is only built on rational choices, they acknowledge the role of motivation in general in the social phenomenon studied. If costs-benefits calculations are set aside, motivation can be very diverse and difficult to identify (Vogel & Triandafyllidou, 2005). However, as the present work is built upon a qualitative research, it is an opportunity to look more closely at this type of variable. Simard & Pagé (2009) described in their article about immigrants' political participation in Québec individual motivation that push immigrants to participate: they discovered that one of the main motivation for immigrants to participate is the democratic engagement that certain cannot have in their home-country as the democracy standards are not as high as in Québec. Similar patterns have been discovered in Barcelona and will be presented in the fifth section.

3.2.3.2. Socio-Economic & Socio-Demographic Characteristics

On another side, theories about socio-economic status identified other individual characteristics that influence political participation. Very different variables have been tested and very different variables can influence political participation; some of them are reviewed here. One of the most cited socio-economic variables that explain political participation is the level of education: immigrants with a higher level of education have higher levels of political participation in the host country than those who have a lower level of education (Morales & Giugni, 2011). It fits with the model of Verba et al. (1995), which posits that having a higher level of education gives more resources to individuals who want to participate.

Another variable that predicts political participation is the occupational attainment: those who are higher in the occupational hierarchy participate more than those who have a lower position (Morales & Guigni, 2011). Again, following the model of Verba et al. (1995), higher occupational attainment gives more resources

to those who want to participate. A competing explanation of the influence of these two variables could also be that they influence the network immigrants have (Tillie, 2004). Actually, members of social networks differ from the others according to both education and occupational attainment: generally, depending on the level of education or of occupational attainment, they do not frequent the same people. This latter explanation could be particularly important regarding the information collected during the fieldwork.

From a socio-demographic point of view, other authors stressed the importance of the length of stay in the host country (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Ramakrishnan & Espenshade, 2001). Different authors supported that the length of stay in host country enhances political participation: in their study, Ramakrishnan & Espenshade (2001) found that among first generation immigrants, long-term Latino residents had twice more chance to participate in politics than medium-term Latino residents. Portes & Rumbaut (2006) approved this finding as well, but they introduced another dimension: the possibility of return. These two authors stated that sojourners have less chance to participate in politics than political refugees, mainly due to the impossible return that political refugees have often to deal with. Therefore, following the findings of these two pairs of researchers, the length of stay needs to be considered as well as the expected length of stay depending on one's migration history.

Still from the same point of view, language is a variable particularly important in the case presented in this work, the case of Catalonia. Language is a variable whose impact on political participation is widely admitted (Jacobs et al., 2004; Morales & Giugni, 2011; Ramakrishnan & Espenshade, 2001; Zapata-Barrero & Gropas, 2011). About this variable, Morales and Guigni (2011) stated:

the most important [factor] is certainly the capability one has to understand, read and speak the language of the country of residence. As for the level of education, language proficiency is an important skill insofar as it allows one to grasp what is going on in the social and political environment. This, in turn, increases the chances that migrants will become involved in politics. (p.265)

Generally, the importance of language on political participation has been demonstrated in different studies (Jacobs et al., 2004). Regarding the scope of this work, language is all the more important as it is one of the defining feature of

Catalan nationalism (Zapata-Barrero, 2013). This last point will be investigated further.

Lastly, gender also determines partially political participation: Tillie (2004) found that, in Amsterdam, women participated less in politics than men; the same is true for Brussels (Jacobs et al., 2004). Gender affects different dimensions related to political participation: for example, women may feel less capable to understand politics, or they may be less inclined to vote but they may participate more in protests (Morales & Giugni, 2011). As the influence of gender varies following ethnic groups, religious belonging or even places, the influence of gender in this case will be investigated in order to figure out if immigrants' women participate more or less in the Catalan nationalist movement.

3.2.3.3. Source Country Effect

A less examined effect is the effect of the source country. When designing their framework to explain political participation of immigrants, Zapata-Barrero et al. (2013) pointed the importance of looking at the origin, or source, country. They mentioned the work of Bueker Simpson (2006) who looked specifically at this topic. The author focused on the conventional form of political participation, namely, voting. Nevertheless, her argument is surely applicable to less conventional forms of political participation, such as the one that is at the core of this work. Bueker Simpson (2006) argued that previous political experiences could be translated from source country to host country and that this experience from source country could explain political participation in host country, at least voting. This source country effect differs from transnationalism, which is the object of another section, as it refers to one's socialization in the home country rather than to activities or ties maintained between host and home countries.

If Bueker Simpson's (2006) work is based on different hypotheses, the one which is relevant for this case is the translation, or transferability, hypothesis: migrants from different parts of the world use their political knowledge from the home country to participate in politics in the host country (Bueker Simpson, 2006; Zapata-Barrero et al., 2013). Following her example, migrants who came to the United States should vote more if they come from democratic societies, such as the United Kingdom or Germany, than if they come from societies where there is a lack of democratic tradition, such as the former Soviet Union or China (Bueker Simpson, 2006). The translation of political knowledge from source country to host

country was tested in her study and findings have confirmed the validity of this dimension of the source country effect.

Regarding the scope of this study, it means that attention must be paid to the past experience of immigrants who are involved in associations supporting independence. Do these immigrants use their past experience to participate? Do these immigrants refer to political knowledge from the home country to justify their engagement in associations supporting independence? These are some of the questions that are raised by the source country effect of Bueker Simpson (2006) and more particularly by the translation hypothesis. In other words, taking a closer look to the way immigrants use resources or imaginaries from their home country to understand politics in the host country, to justify their position about it, and to participate in could be an interesting perspective to use.

3.2.3.4. Belongings and Political Participation in Host Country

Still concerning the relation with host country, according to Martiniello (2005), immigrants' political participation depends on, among other factors, the sense of belonging to host or/and home country. This last element is emphasized by different authors who all share the idea that political participation is related, in a certain way, to a certain feeling of belonging, to a certain attachment to the host or to the origin community (Lenard, 2006; Zapata-Barrero et al., 2013). Even if the link between identity and political participation remains unclear (Martiniello, 2005); literature provides certain cues about its role in the phenomenon studied. The aim here is to look at the potential effect of self-identification upon immigrants' political participation. Put it sharply, do immigrants who participate in the Catalan nationalist movement identify themselves in terms of host-national identity, in terms of ethnicity, or in terms of both?

Two competing strands of the literature deal with this question (Schlenker, 2016): on one hand, certain authors support that having an exclusive identity promote a better integration and therefore higher political participation and that bearing multiple identities undermine integration and therefore political participation (see Huntington, 2004); on the other hand, certain scholars support that having multiple identities, that entertaining ties with two or more countries does not undermine integration in the host country and, so, do not decrease political participation (Chaudary, 2016; Kastoryano & Schader, 2014; Lafleur, 2005; Vertovec, 2001).

Regarding the first strand of literature, different authors have studied, mainly in the US, the role of immigrants' identification to host country in relation to their political participation. Schildkraut (2005), in a study about the political participation of Latinos in the US, found that immigrants who identify themselves as American have higher rates of participation than immigrants who identify themselves as Latinos or as their nationality of origin. These findings are in line with a classical approach of integration such as the approach of Gordon, (1964): immigrants should lose their ties with home country and identify more and more with the host country as the time goes by. Therefore, being politically integrated, and participating in politics in the host country, suppose to identify with the host country (Gordon, 1964). Lenard (2006) argued in the same direction when stating that political participation of immigrants relies on: "feelings of civil participation, belonging, and social cohesion" (p.13). Moreover, from this perspective, individuals who participate in politics should have one identity, should feel that they belong to one particular political community because multiple belongings are supposed to undermine political participation (Schlenker, 2016). For the present case, it means that immigrants who take part to the Catalan nationalist movement should identify themselves as Catalan.

Other scholars strongly disagreed with this explanation of political participation as driven by a unique belonging to a particular political community. Vertovec (2001) is one of them; he argued that in a globalized world where connections between host and home country become more and more banal, identities and belongings also become shared between home and host country. So, immigrants who move from one to another country do not necessarily experience a linear shift in their belongings but, rather, have multiple belongings to different political communities (Boccagni, Lafleur, & Levitt, 2016). Empirically, does it mean that holding multiple belongings decrease political participation in host country? The answer to this question, although it remains debated in the scholarship, is that multiple belongings do not necessarily decrease political participation of immigrants in host country (Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2015).

These two competing explanations ask the question of whether or not self-identification matters when immigrants become involved in the Catalan nationalist movement. Do they consider themselves as Catalan? Or are their identities not as important? Asking these two questions ends up to transpose the scholarship debate to the particular case tackled by this master's thesis. The answer for this case will

be proposed in the fifth section; however, before looking at the empirical evidence, the last theoretical section delves deeper in the quickly mentioned notion of transnationalism. As stated before, Vertovec (2005) considers that identities can be transnational, even if the usual scope of transnationalism refers to practices more than identities. The following section will take a closer look to these practices and to what is called political transnationalism and its influence on political participation of immigrants in the host country.

3.2.4. POLITICAL TRANSNATIONALISM AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN HOST COUNTRY

Until now, transnationalism as a topic has only been touched upon: the question of what Vertovec (2005, p. 14) called “transnational identities” has been presented without looking at the concept of transnationalism itself. The aim of this section is to define what transnationalism is and what political transnationalism is, as well as to consider the impact of transnational practices on political integration, and so participation, in host country. Thus, we move from the question of multiple identities and allegiances to the question of the political practices of immigrants. The seminal definition of transnationalism was written by Basch, Glick Schiller, & Blanc-Szanton, (1994):

the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographical, cultural, and political borders. (p.7)

According to Martiniello & Lafleur (2008) this definition emphasizes three main points: (I) links between individuals and nation states are not unique but multiple, that is what was seen in the precedent section regarding the ties between immigrants and political community; (II) the space where migrants act cannot be divided between host and home country; (III) transnationalism can concern all aspects of immigrants’ life, including the political dimension. However, the purpose here is not to review all the dimensions of transnationalism, it would be the concern of a whole master’s thesis; Therefore, the focus will be brought on one dimension of transnationalism, the political one. Different definitions of the terms political transnationalism have been constructed by scholars, however, as in the book of Lafleur (2005), this work will retain the definition of Østergaard-Nielsen (2006) who

explained that political transnational practices take “various forms of direct cross-border participation in the politics of their country of origin by both migrants and refugees (...), as well as their indirect participation via the political institutions of the host country (...)” (p. 8).

In order to go further in the definition of political transnationalism, Østergaard-Nielsen (2003) identified three political fields in which immigrants can be active. First, the field of “homeland politics” (p. 5) that encompasses the activities oriented towards the home country and that concern only the home country. Secondly, the field of “immigrants politics” (p. 4) that refers to activities in the host country designed to improve the situation of immigrants themselves. Finally, the field of “translocal politics” (p. 4) that concerns activities led at the local level, between host and home country, by immigrants. These three types of activities deal with political demands of immigrants associated with claims directly linked to immigrants, they do not deal with political demands associated with the host country and its population. To be clear, there is no place in the typology of Østergaard-Nielsen for activities led by immigrants which tackle the same issues than issues that are on the mainstream political agenda of the host country.

Therefore, the question which is raised here is about the potential distraction that political activities oriented towards home country could constitute (Morales & Morariu, 2011). If political transnational activities are conceived as oriented towards home country, they could be undertaken at the expense of political participation in the host country. Different authors have written about this topic, and, even if it remains a hot topic in migration studies, certain findings point that transnational activities do not prevent political integration in the host country (Morales & Morariu, 2011). Given the specificities of the case presented in this work, it could be interesting to verify if the immigrants involved in the Catalan nationalist movement maintain political transnational activities even if they participate in a nationalist movement in the host country.

3.2.5. *A MULTIDIMENSIONAL APPROACH*

The purpose of the different parts of this third section was to present the different dimensions of the conceptual framework on which this master’s thesis relies. As Morales & Guigni (2011) support, analyzing the political participation of immigrants in the host country is only possible through a multidimensional approach intertwining the macro-, meso-, and micro levels. What has often been

done in social sciences is focusing on one or another level of analysis: neo-institutionalist scholars focused on structure via the concept of political opportunity structure; tenants of the social capital theory focused on networks; supporters of the micro- level of analysis looked at socio-economic and socio-demographic characteristics. Here, we argue that understanding political participation without looking at one of these dimensions means taking the risk to overlook one important factor of participation. Moreover, the transnationalist perspective has rarely been applied in conjunction with the traditional literature to study political participation (for an exception, see Zapata et al. 2013).

It is with the three dimensions, macro-, meso-, and micro-, and with the contribution of theories about political transnationalism that the empirical material will be analyzed and that the question of what explains political participation of immigrants in the contemporary Catalan nationalist movement will be answered. In this thesis, it is argued that these different elements are closely intertwined, as Martiniello (2008) argued. The political opportunity structure provides conditions that are favorable or not to the political participation of immigrants, whether these immigrants use these opportunities depends largely on individual characteristics, the density of their network, and the work of associations.

As Morales & Guigni (2011) reminded, the different dimensions interact with each other; it is therefore important to avoid emphasizing beforehand the impact of one of the dimensions. Furthermore, it would be contradictory with the methodology used in this thesis and presented in the following section. Actually, the present work relies mainly on the work of Lejeune (2014) about the Grounded Theory Method of Glazer and Strauss. By using this methodology, the analysis presented in this master will be strongly related to how the actors interviewed live and apprehend the social phenomena studied (Héas, 2015). This is why none of the dimensions presented in the section about the conceptual framework used in this thesis is *a priori* considered more important, more impacting, than another. Closing this section on this note allows presenting in details the methodology on which this work is based.

4. METHODOLOGY

The methodology that underlies this thesis is qualitative. The analysis is built on semi-structured interviews with different informants and on observations realized in demonstrations that occurred in Barcelona. The choice of conducting a

qualitative research on the political participation of immigrants in the Catalan nationalist movement results from a double observation. Firstly, very few data, if not any, are available to attest the political participation of immigrants in the Catalan nationalist movement: this is mainly due to the fact that the form of participation is unconventional, which means that official reports on that topic are inexistent. Secondly, as Franco-Guillén & Garcia (2016) noted, a non-negligible share of the research about political participation of immigrants is more quantitative than qualitative. On the basis of these two observations, the choice of a qualitative methodology was decided. Furthermore, there was a willingness in this work to start the analysis by using the point of view of the actors rather than by adopting a point of view that exclude the actors' understanding of the social world. According to Zapata-Barrero (2018), the qualitative method is likely to meet this goal.

Concerning the other main characteristics of the research design, in addition to its qualitative characteristic, this work follows the grounded theory method as presented by Lejeune (2014) in his book *Manuel d'analyse qualitative*. Before explaining more in details the method used, it is worth noting that the organization of this research is *in parallel* by opposition with a *sequential* organization of the research: problematisation, data collection, and analysis were operated simultaneously. This way of organizing the research allows avoiding that the previous knowledge of the researcher stops the apparition of new information by overemphasizing explicative factors already known. It leads to the other main feature of this research design: organizing the research in a parallel design allows using an abductive type of reasoning through which hypotheses formulated after contact with the informants are empirically tested and theoretically validated.

Concerning the spatial and temporal scope of the fieldwork, interviews and observations were realized between January and April 2018; mainly in Barcelona, but also in neighboring cities, namely Terrassa, Badalona, and L'hospitalet de Llobregat. Interviews were conducted with a guarantee of anonymity for the informants (names used in this paper were changed by the author). Indeed, it is important to note that informants were very attentive to this feature of the interviews: most of them feared potential reprisals of the Spanish State which is in charge of delivering residence permits or granting citizenship. This fear has been the major impediment for meeting informants: some of them would not talk about

their involvement in the Catalan nationalist movement, even if the purpose of the interviews was clearly stated.

4.1. INTERVIEWS

As stated in the precedent section, for the purpose of this master's thesis, different interviews have been realized. First an exploratory interview was realized with a key informant, member of an association of immigrants, supporting the Catalan nationalist movement. This interview permitted to identify first key features of political participation of immigrants in the Catalan nationalist movement based on which an interview guide for the following semi-structured interviews was built. Moreover, this first step permitted to enter in contact with other informants who were presented by the person met in the exploratory interview. Of course, some information had been gathered before meeting the first informant, but as the demarche of this work follows the grounded theory methodology, this interview has been conducted in a rather free way.

In a second step ten in depth-semi structured interviews were conducted with contacts whose main socio-demographic characteristics and information are summarized in the table 1 (see appendix 1.). Informants originated from different countries and all migrated to Spain and Catalonia between 10 and 20 years ago. As interesting patterns of participation have been discovered among certain ethnic communities (see section 5.), notably Argentinean and Senegalese (Casamancian), focus has been brought on these communities. Interviews lasted around 45 minutes each and were realized in places that informants had chosen beforehand: it permitted that interviews took place in environment where informants were at their ease. Interviews were conducted in French, English, or Spanish, depending on the language proficiency of the informants; this constitutes also one of the limits of the present work (section 4.4.).

On the basis of the first exploratory interview, an interview guide was created. This guide is presented in the appendix of this thesis (see appendix 2.). Broadly speaking, the first part of the interview was designated to know the informants through few socio-demographic questions and through their emigration-immigration story. The second part of the interviews aimed to understand in depth what the factors that influence the political participation of the informants in the Catalan nationalist movement are. This is in this part that, based on the first exploratory interview and based on first readings, information directly related to

their political participation was gathered. In the third and last part, the interviewer summarized briefly the content of the interview in order to stimulate reactions from the informants about what had been said, to stimulate the emergence of new information.

4.2. OBSERVATIONS

Some observations were also realized. If they are not the cores of the empirical material used in the following sections, they have nevertheless been useful to gather some informal information and also to meet other informants. Actually, flyers, manifestos and other resources have been gathered at these occasions. Concretely, at three times observations were done:

- 1) 16/02/2018, Barcelona, Plaça Sant Jaume. Invitation from an Immigrant Association.
- 2) 11/03/2018, Barcelona, Drassanes. Invitation from an informant.
- 3) 15/04/2018, Barcelona, Plaça Espanya. Invitation from an Immigrant Association.

All of these observations were realized during demonstrations. The first demonstration was organized to support the members of Catalan organizations imprisoned; the second was organized to claim the effectiveness of a Catalan Republic; the last also aimed to support the members of Catalan organizations imprisoned.

4.3. GROUNDED THEORY METHODOLOGY

The grounded theory methodology was used to organize the research and to analyze the empirical material. The question of research's organization has already been tackled in the introductory part of this section. Concerning the analysis of the empirical material, the different steps of analysis prescribed by Lejeune (2014) were realized. Departing from the empirical material, theoretical sampling was realized through theoretical coding: this first step implied identifying categories that emerged from the empirical material as potential explanations of the political participation of immigrants.

After this first step, two other types of coding were taken: axial coding and selective coding. The axial coding was about articulating categories identified through the theoretical coding in order to assess if they vary together. The other

type of coding, the selective coding, was the final step of the analysis as it consisted in articulating the different categories in a single system which permits to understand the social phenomenon studied.

Much more could be said about the Grounded theory methodology; entire chapters of books or even books are dedicated to this particular way of researching. However, the rationale of this section is to present briefly to the readers how this particular work has been methodologically organized. This is why this section is not an in-depth presentation of the methodology used but rather an overview of how the research was conducted and how the findings of the fifth section were produced. Through these succinct explanations the methodological basis of the work has been presented in order to show its validity, despite some limitations described in the following and last methodological section.

4.4. LIMITATIONS

Regarding the methodology, three main limitations must be acknowledged, they concern: (I) the language, (II) the number of interviews, and (III) the public met. Regarding the first limitation, interviews were conducted, as described above, in French, English, and Spanish. The language proficiency of the interviewer in French and English is largely sufficient to conduct interviews; however the proficiency in Spanish is limited. Therefore, for the interviews conducted in the latter language, communication between the interviewer and the informant was limited but nevertheless sufficient to obtain and analyze the information researched.

Secondly, the number of interviews, ten in addition to the first exploratory interview, may seem limited. Actually, with ten interviews, it is difficult to claim that the findings are generalizable. About this critique, it should be noted that the methodology employed here is qualitative and, therefore, there is no pretention of representativeness. The main criterion used to end the process of research of empirical information was the criteria of theoretical saturation. As explained by Lejeune (2014), the criteria of theoretical saturation is satisfied when the information given by informants are repeated and when no more new information is discovered. Keeping this criterion in mind, if the goal of generalization is not reached, this research has nevertheless the potential to understand in-depth the phenomena studied.

Finally, as explained before, access to informants was difficult due to the fear they have of potential reprisals from the Spanish State. It means that a part of the public studied is invisible to this study. This is mainly the case of women: only two women accepted to answer the questions. This is the major limit of this work: we can hypothesize that the share of the targeted public that is in more precarious conditions is not taken into account in the present study. More time spent on the field could have permitted to find other ways to meet this public.

5. FIELDWORK: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF IMMIGRANTS IN THE CONTEMPORARY CATALAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

This fifth section is dedicated to the analysis of the material that was collected during the interviews conducted following the methodology presented in the precedent paragraphs. Before presenting the analysis as such, the first point of this section contextualizes the fieldwork through a brief history of immigration in Catalonia. After that, the focus is brought on the role of Catalan nationalism in terms of integration and political participation. Here, the first pieces of interviews are used. After this second part, the other findings of this study are presented: the role of social networks, of socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics, of language, of motivation, of identity, of political socialization and of political transnationalism are reviewed regarding the political participation of immigrants in the contemporary Catalan nationalist movement.

5.1. CONTEXTUALIZATION: IMMIGRATION IN CATALONIA

Given the topic tackled in this work, presenting a brief overview of the history of immigration in Catalonia seems particularly relevant. The aim here is to present some essential data about the development of immigration flows in Catalonia in order to shed the light on the main trends of immigration flows before looking at the role of minority nationalism and the political opportunity structure. What is important to note is that Catalonia has been a territory of immigration for a long time: already in the third decade of the 20th century, the population of this Autonomous Community of Spain was composed of around 25% of people born outside of Catalonia (Arrighi de Casanova, 2012). At this time, this immigration was largely made up of Spaniards from other territories of Spain who came to Catalonia following the economic development of the region (Climent-Ferrando, 2013). This situation of internal migration lasted until the end of the eighties:

during this period, migrants who came to Catalonia were mainly from rural territories of the rest of Spain (Franco-Guillén, 2011). At this time, these immigrants coming from other parts of Spain were called “the other Catalans” (Climent-Ferrando, 2013, p. 12); this shows that despite their common Spanish nationality, Spanish immigrants were considered as foreigners when they arrived in Catalonia, though in their country (Arrighi de Casanova, 2012; Climent-Ferrando, 2013).

It is at the turn of the new century that a change took place in the structure and in the type of immigration in Catalonia. After having experienced internal migrations, the Autonomous Community began to be the object of external migration from other parts of the world. In the 2000s, Catalonia encountered two major shifts in its immigration: intensification and diversification (Climent-Ferrando, 2013). Concerning the first aspect, from a 2,9% share of the population, immigration increases to a 15% share of the population (p. 13). For the second one, moving from internal to external migration, Catalonia attracted immigrants from a very diverse range of countries encompassing EU countries, South-American countries but also African countries (p. 17). In spite of a downturn and even some return migration after the financial crisis (Lafleur & Stanek, 2017), Catalonia remains nowadays a territory of immigration where the share of foreign population is about 13,78%, a 1,78% augmentation from 2016 to 2017 (IDESCAT, 2018).

The majority of these immigrants come from Europe and mainly from EU-28 countries whose immigration represents 26% of the total foreign population of Catalonia. EU-28 countries are followed by countries from North-Africa that represent 20% of the total foreign population and countries of South-America with nearly 18% (IDESCAT, 2018). As Arrighi de Casanova (2012) mentioned, these immigrants recently arrived are no more called “the other Catalans” but they are called “the new Catalans” (p. 367). This language shift can be questioned regarding the relationship that minority nationalism and immigration maintain (Arrighi de Casanova, 2012). Actually, as Adam (2013) noted, immigration is often considered by minority nationalist movements as a challenge which calls for different answers following the minority nationalism studied. The following section aims to present the first findings concerning the political participation of immigrants in the contemporary Catalan nationalist movement regarding to minority nationalist discourse.

5.2. CATALAN NATIONALISM: FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Indeed, Catalan nationalism is considered as an example of minority nationalism by several authors (Adam, 2013; E. Hepburn & Zapata-Barrero, 2014; Kymlicka, 2001). What essentially differs from the traditional definition of nationalism introduced earlier in this work is the level of power where minority nationalism operate: at the regional level rather than at the level of the state (Eve Hepburn, 2009). Thus, *minority nationalism* is a set of terms that refers to those communities, those groups, who consider themselves as distinct nations in wider nation-states (Kymlicka, 2001). As the definition of who belongs to the community and who does not, the question of integration of immigrants is particularly important in the case of minority nationalism (Adam, 2013). The next section envisages the link between minority nationalism and immigration through a closer look at the relation between these two social phenomena.

5.2.1. MINORITY NATIONALISM AND IMMIGRATION

This link was the object of a large part of a book edited by Zapata-Barrero and Hepburn, “*The politics of immigration in multi-level states*” (2014). The authors argued that immigration could be perceived by minority nationalist movements as both a threat and a resource depending on the perception of the movement. In this book, three main dimensions of the relation between minority nationalism and immigration are pointed. First, immigration is linked to the definition of national identity, notably through the question of language: immigrants can be seen as a threat as they may not be inclined to speak the language of the minority nation or they may be seen as an opportunity to increase the number of people speaking the minority language (Hepburn, 2014). This is especially important in the context of this work as one of the main features of the Catalan nationalism is the Catalan language which is used as a marker of distinction from the rest of Spain (Arrighi de Casanova, 2012).

The other dimensions related to the question tackled here are (I) the demographic dimension and (II) the economic dimension. Concerning the first, immigration can be perceived by minority nationalist movements as a danger; the danger that immigration overwhelms the native population and, so, decreases the nationalist fervor (Hepburn, 2014). From another point of view, immigration can be seen positively as it can increase the demographic pressure against the central

state (Hepburn, 2014). Concerning the third dimension, immigration can be addressed as a factor of economic growth or can be addressed as a problem which could lead to natives' jobs loss (Hepburn, 2014). Through these two paragraphs, it is possible to understand how contextual the relation between immigration and minority nationalism is: one cannot state that the relation between minority nationalism and immigration is intrinsically conflictive or consensual.

This last position is at least the position of Kymlicka (2001) who argued in this direction. According to him, minority nationalisms cannot be classified *a priori* as inclusive or as exclusive regarding to immigration (p. 16). He went a step further by explaining that minority nationalisms are not all neither ethnic nor civic (p. 17). It means that all minority nationalisms do not lie on a basis that excludes newcomers to integrate the political community: this is typically the case of the Catalan nationalism that is often depicted as a form of a more civic minority nationalism (Kymlicka, 2001). Thus, the next section investigates the perception that immigrants have of the Catalan –minority- nationalism and more precisely whether or not they feel entitled to participation politically in the Catalan nationalist movement regarding the discourse developed at this structural level.

5.2.2. CATALAN MINORITY NATIONALISM AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF IMMIGRANTS

One of the first questions asked during the interviews was about the overall nationalist discourse; about the perception interviewees have of this discourse. Basically, the questions asked were as follows:

- Could you tell me if you feel entitled to participate in the Catalan nationalist movement?
- Are there any problems related to your engagement in this movement? Do you think that the general discourse favour your participation?
- Do you feel this discourse is open to diversity or restrictive regarding the origin of participants?

The aim of this type of questions was to take a closer look at the political opportunity structure, mainly by focusing on the Catalan nationalist discourse. As presented in the previous sections, political opportunity structure is widely acknowledged as an element playing a major role in the political participation of immigrants in general (Bauböck, 2006). Beyond the classical approach, Koopmans

(2004) stated that political discourse is an important element that is part of the political opportunity structure. Moreover, the perception of this discourse by actors is equally important (Oliveira & Carvalhais, 2017). The questions presented in this paragraph were designed to gather information about this first type of explanation of political participation.

Regularly, interviewees pointed a favorable climate for political participation. They explained that, overall, they feel allowed to participate in the Catalan nationalist movement. More precisely, when participating in demonstrations, they feel their presence welcomed by the other participants. About this, Adeline pointed that she feels very welcome when she goes to demonstrations with her group of friends from Casamance (Senegal):

S.¹ And...When you say that you have come many times to demonstrations with the association of Casamancian, altogether with the native population... Is it always ok? What others said to me is that Catalonia is very inclusive and opened to foreigners, even at the political level, and even more in the nationalist movement. Do you confirm that?

A. I do, I do, yes. I came here 12 years ago, and I have been living here since this time. Maybe once or twice someone bothers you. Bah... I say it is his problem if he doesn't bear me. He has to, because I will not leave. He has to bear me. I don't have any problem with this type of people. But it is not frequent, I always feel accepted.

S. And so, is it the same for the nationalist discourse?

A. Yes, yes, Catalunya, Catalonia, it is a very, very welcoming country! Since my first day here, I've always felt accepted, accepted with open arms. When I go to demonstrations in the streets of Barcelona, it is with the open arms from most of people, as well. The door is really open to us and our presence in demonstrations is accepted.²

With these words, Adeline expressed her feeling of being entitled to participate in the Catalan nationalist movement or at least to participate in demonstrations, even if she goes to these demonstrations with an association made of members from outside Catalonia, of members from Casamance (Senegal). This element is interesting as it points in the direction that Kymlicka (2001) argued: minority nationalism is not necessarily ethnic; certain may be civic. With Adeline's

¹ "S." represents the interviewer

² Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.1.

statement, which explained that she went to demonstrations as a Casamancian supporter of the Catalan nationalist project, it seems that the Catalan nationalism is inclusive and civic rather than exclusive and ethnic. This, of course, favours political participation as immigrants can more easily integrate the political community. Mario confirmed this point of view:

S. Hum... You talk about citizenship; do you think that with the nationalist project, citizenship could be more inclusive than now? Is there a difference between the conception of citizenship at the level of Spain and at the level of Catalonia? Is one of them more inclusive than the other? Are there different philosophies between Madrid and Barcelona? Does it play a role regarding participation?

Mo. I would say that pre-existing conditions are more favorable in Catalonia than in Spain and in other parts of Spain. Proposals, here in Catalonia, are more favorable to the inclusion of diversity. Yet, it is difficult to say exactly. But...Yes, there is a certain trend of being organized to welcome and to include people in the Catalan society, in the Catalan political sphere, that doesn't exist elsewhere. It's an element of differentiation.³

These words of Mario bring to the fore another element: the difference that the interviewed immigrants made between Catalonia and Spain regarding their feeling of being accepted. The nationalist project in Catalonia seems to convince the interviewed immigrants that they can be part of the Catalan society more easily than they can in the Spanish society. This view is widespread, and certain informants go further in the distinction: certain stated that Catalan nationalist political parties have a more favorable discourse about immigration and integration than Catalan unionist parties:

S. So, do you see differences between the discourse on immigration of political parties that are nationalist and political parties that are unionist? Is that what you said?

Wilson (W.) Hum. Well... Yeah, I consider that political parties for the independence have a discourse about immigration that is more constructed, more reflected. Even if there are differences between parties! ERC, CUP and PdeCAT don't really have the same discourse about immigration and about the role of immigrants but generally their discourses are really more positive than the one from Ciudadanos or from the

³ Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.2.

PP. At least that's what I understand. When you look at ERC or CUP they try to activate immigrants in their project of independence!⁴

In the end, the informant underlined what he thinks to be one of the main features of the contemporary Catalan nationalist movement:

W. The Catalan nationalist discourse concerns everybody, the old Catalans and the new ones. Parties and, also, associations have managed to mobilize people in an indiscriminate way. There was a shift of the nationalist discourse from the upper classes to all the classes in an indiscriminate way, even if the nationalist movement has never been the exclusiveness of the bourgeoisie, of course.⁵

What needs to be noted from these lines is the feeling immigrants have of being accepted in the political community that constitutes the Catalan nationalist movement. From the discourse developed at the level of the movement, they perceive that the other members of the movement accept their participation.

All these elements need to be analyzed regarding the theoretical framework presented in the third section. The political opportunity structure constrains or enables political participation of immigrants (Bauböck et al., 2006) in the Catalan nationalist movement. Through the discursive dimension of the political opportunity structure, defined by Koopmans (2004, p. 451) as the "established notions of who and what are considered reasonable, sensible, and legitimate", immigrants perceive their participation in the movement as legitimate. Actually, immigrants stated in the interviews that they feel entitled to participate as the discourse developed in the nationalist movement consider reasonable, sensible, and legitimate that they (the "who" of Koopmans) participate politically (the "what" of Koopmans). From this structural perspective, the explanation of the participation of immigrants in the Catalan nationalist movement is that the structure of the movement, *per se*, allows them to voice. Nevertheless, delving deeper in the social structure that surrounds the political participation of immigrants remains necessary in order to avoid using an institutionalist and too rigid perspective. Looking at associations and social capital is a way to better understand the social phenomenon studied.

⁴Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.3.

⁵Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.4.

5.3. ASSOCIATIONS AND NETWORKS

“*How do associations and networks influence the political participation of immigrants in the contemporary Catalan nationalist movement?*” was the main interrogation investigated in this section. In order to study this type of explanation, the theoretical basis used are the one provided by Fennema & Tillie (1999, 2001) and by Jacobs & Tillie (2004) or Tillie (2004). To collect information about this topic, the following questions were asked to the informants:

- How has your family, your personal network reacted to your engagement in this process?
- Especially, did some people react in a negative way?
- Are you involved in associations that support the independence?
 - o If yes, could you say more about it (particular aim of the association, history of the group, how many members, etc.)?
 - o If not, how do you organize yourself when you go out, in the street? Do you have a Whatsapp group? How do you coordinate?

Through these questions, the aim was to collect the necessary information to understand the role of membership in associations (section 5.3.1., see Tillie, 2004) and the role of networks of associations (section 5.3.2., see Fennema & Tillie, 2001) regarding political participation.

Throughout the interviews, one of the repetitive comments concerning the role of associations was about the long tradition of associationism in Catalonia:

Fernando (F.) I don't know if you have already heard about that but, here, in Catalonia, there are a lot of associations: associations for school, for learning, of neighbours... Catalan people do a lot of associations. This is something that is repeated at our level: there are a lot of immigrants associations, at the level of the different communities but also at higher levels. In a certain sense we are encouraged to do that because this is something usual here, the associations.⁶

This feature of the Catalan society has been described in diverse books and articles (Hargreaves, 2000; Latorre, 2014; Planas, 2013): it seems that there is a trend in Catalonia to set up associations and to have dense networks of associations which is more acute than elsewhere. As reminded earlier, de Tocqueville considered, in his

⁶Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.5.

study of America, that civic associations are one of the basements of the democratic and participative North-American society (de Tocqueville in Morales & Giugni, 2011). Coming back to the case of this work, it is possible to hypothesize that associations could play a role in the political participation of immigrants.

5.3.1. MEMBERSHIP IN ASSOCIATIONS AND PERSONAL NETWORK

As Tillie (2004) and Jacobs & Tillie (2004) argued, membership in associations creates individual social capital that enhances political participation. When asked about the role of the personal network, of the membership in associations, one of the members of the Casamancian community talked about the explicative role that associations endorse:

S. I come back to the role of association; of your circle of friends...Are there people that don't support the Catalan nationalist movement, the independence? Or who avoid supporting it? Is it something widespread in your friends' circle or is everybody for the independence of Catalonia?

Omar (O.) Here, all my family is for the independence and me as well. That's why we all struggle for the independence. Well... for the rest of the Casamancians, it is more difficult because, until now, they have been afraid of being imprisoned or that their papers would be withdrawn. We are powerless... Here Catalan politicians are in jail, but there is a solidarity fund that helps them: everybody gives something. For us, it doesn't exist. It is dangerous. If you support the independence you take risks. So, everybody does not want to show his or her support. But the association tries to explain, tries to set up debates to point the positive side of the independence. We try to gather, to explain. But, you know, by doing that I lost friends who really don't want to talk with me about that... And I also won others, yes.⁷

Several elements of this extract shed the light on patterns that were expressed by different informants. It is important to note that the association Omar talked about is an association made of Casamancian people whose aim is to promote the resolution of the conflict in Casamance. Therefore, the main activities of this association are directed towards home country and are supported only by Casamancian people. Beyond the transnational characteristics of these political activities, what is interesting is the type of social capital that associations of this type construct. By linking people from a same community with the aim of promoting a cause from the home country, the social capital produced is clearly

⁷Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.6.

from the bonding type (Putnam, 2001; Tillie, 2004). If certain authors argued that bonding social capital decreases integration and political participation; with the information collected, it seems that the outcome of bonding social capital in the context of the social phenomenon studied is different: membership in associations made up of immigrants from the same nationality does not impede political participation in the Catalan nationalist movement.

Actually, Omar explained that the Casamancian association argues in favour of the independence: the association promotes the independence through the explicative actions it endorsed. It means that, by being member of this association, people receive information in favour of the independence and of the Catalan nationalist project, and, therefore, are more likely to be in favour as well. The role of being informed is emphasized by Jacobs & Tillie (2004), and the findings here confirm their ones: being member of association increases the chances of being informed and, in the end, increases the chances of being politically active. The importance of the associations in providing information is also stressed by other informants such as Mouad who explained that certain ethnic communities seem less informed than others and that the role of associations is, in this case, even more important:

Md. So, we met a Moroccan public and they don't really know what happened [about the nationalist movement], they don't have information. Those who have information are generally in favour. We need to explain.⁸

Another point raised by Omar is relevant here: he explained that by endorsing a role of active member in the association and by promoting the cause of the independence, he lost a part of his social network hostile to this debate and won other relations in favor of the Catalan nationalist project. In this case there is a kind of closure of his social network; he ends up living in relation with other people who have the same opinion than himself due to his political engagement in favour of the independence. The same is true for the different interviewees: they all point the fact that their personal network is made up of people who support the nationalist project.

Further than the role of associations in informing immigrants about the Catalan nationalist project and the trend that informants experienced of closure of

⁸Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.7.

their social networks, the mere fact of being member of association is a factor of political participation:

Diego (D.) When I arrived in the association, I wasn't very interested in politics... It was a friend of mine that said to me: "come, we discuss, we talk about how to improve our situation..." And I didn't know... But in the end being member of the association enables you to understand what is happening and to express what you think.⁹

This last extract summarized well what has been discovered in all the interviews: membership in associations, mainly ethnic associations creating a bonding type of social capital, helps immigrants to participate politically through informing them about the Catalan nationalist project, through putting them in relation with other people defending the Catalan nationalist project, and through giving them a space to express their political opinions. In this sense, membership in association is one of the explicative elements of the political participation of immigrants in the Catalan nationalist movement. However, at an upper level, social capital is also created through the network of associations rather than through membership in associations.

5.3.2. NETWORKS OF ASSOCIATIONS AND COORDINATION

Actually, in their study about the link between social capital and political participation of immigrants in Amsterdam, Fennema & Tillie (2001) found a relation between the number of associations, the density of the associative networks, the relations between associations and political participation. Through the interviews realized here, informants acknowledged the importance of creating links between associations. This is even the aim of some associations that work expressly at bridging the different associations. Using a top down perspective, certain associations invite other associations from different immigrants' communities to roundtables or debates about the nationalist project, about the independence:

S. Could you tell me a bit more about your association? About the aims, the actions that you initiate, etc.

Mo. Yeah... There are two dimensions, to say it this way... First there is a kind of internal dimension, we are there to debate, and we elaborate political proposals. Second, there is a kind of external dimension that is the relation with other

⁹Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.8.

associations. We work, we organize roundtables, debates, presentations, information sessions... Usually we work with collectives, with associations from different communities: associations of immigrants, associations of defense of the human rights. We try to coordinate them, to make them meet. We work at building the independence, a republic, and a new country where there are rights for all.¹⁰

Thus, one of the main preoccupations of Mario and of his association is organizing, coordinating the different associations that operate at the level of the different communities. Indeed, what has been observed from the fieldwork is that associations are mainly related to specific ethnic communities, such as associations oriented towards the Casamancian community or associations oriented towards the Argentinean community. It seems less frequent to find associations that tackled transversal topics to all immigrants' communities:

Mo. Most of the associations focus on a specific community. When we talk about independence or about Catalan politics, it concerns everybody, not one or another community. So, we really try to bring everybody together... When we have different associations around a table it is easier to talk about independence, they feel more comfortable...¹¹

Therefore, as Mario explained, certain associations endorsed the role of coordination, of link between the associations. These meetings concern heads of associations. It reminds how Fennema & Tillie (2001) used the concept of interlocking directorate to explain how social trust is created through contacts between the directorates of associations.

In the present case, almost all informants acknowledged the importance of these meetings between directorates:

S. About that, I saw, I think that you're member of an association. Could you tell me a bit more about that?

Seny (Sy). Yes, of course, listen, well... My association was founded by members of the former political party *Convergencia I unio* and... Yes, I supported this party, which was pro independence and center-right. It has always been a very transversal association, which discussed thematic very different. So, what we did is a big job, super important job of uniting the associative network which is in charge of

¹⁰Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.9.

¹¹Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.10.

immigration, of the people who come to Catalonia, we call them “new Catalans”. The aim was facilitating the meeting of associations, notably concerning the thematic of citizenship and of citizenship in a new Catalan state. It is really important to have these associations altogether around a table to give them the opportunity to present their position about that topic.

S. And who comes to these meetings? Members of the associations? Those who manage the associations?

Sy. Those who manage. It’s important they come, because... Because after they spread what they learnt!¹²

So, the different informants emphasized the importance of bringing together the different associations that operate usually in contexts that do not bring them in contact. Following the different interviews from members of different associations, it appears that all the associations whose members were informants in this study are linked to another association whose role is to coordinate the different associations at the level below. As Omar pointed, this is through this mechanism of coordination that relations between associations are created, usually each association maintains its activities in a narrow scope limited to the ethnic community: “We don’t really talk with others... I try to convince people from my own community, and... you know, it takes time, and I don’t really meet other people to talk with them about the independence.”¹³

What needs to be underlined here is the importance of these relations between associations, between heads of associations. Two elements appear in the interviews and follow the logic of Fennema & Tillie (2001). Firstly, Mario noted that when there are different associations around a table, people are more likely to talk about the Catalan nationalist project. He explained that they feel more comfortable. As Fennema & Tillie (2001) argued, the social trust created through these organized meetings plays a role in enabling people to feel politically competent and, in the end, spills over on political trust and political participation. In a same way, Seny reminded that when heads of associations come to the meeting they, in the aftermath, spread what they learnt. Here, again, this element can be analyzed through what Fennema & Tillie (2001) wrote: the social trust created at the level of the directorates of associations is transferred to the rest of the association.

¹²Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.11.

¹³Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.12.

In the end, the role of associations appears clearly through the information collected during the fieldwork. Both at the individual and the group level, associations are an explanation of the political participation of immigrants in the contemporary Catalan nationalist movement. At the individual level, they provide the immigrants the essential information to understand the topic; they provide a space of expression where immigrants, as individuals, can voice their political opinion; they increase and modify the personal network of immigrants. At the group level, through the coordination of associations from a top-down perspective, social trust is created at the level of associations' directorates, they feel more comfortable to discuss the topic of independence; this social trust generates political trust, according to Fennema & Tillie (2001), which spills over the other members of the associations involved.

5.4. SOCIO-ECONOMIC & SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS: SHAPING THE OPINION

Following the theoretical background introduced in the section 3.2.3, and more particularly by keeping in mind the resource model of participation of Verba et al. (1995), basic socio-demographic and socio-economic questions have been asked during the interviews. The aim was to collect traditional explicative variables such as age, gender, job, education, and nationality. As the methodology used is not quantitative, and therefore the sampling is not a representative one, it is not possible to draw general conclusions from these data as such. However, they were used throughout interviews in order to better understand how they influence political participation and what their roles in constraining or facilitating political participation are. Here, three explicative factors that emerged from the interviews are reviewed: education and socio-economic status, gender, and the question of papers.

5.4.1. EDUCATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

What is striking when looking at the table describing the basic socio-economic and socio-demographic characteristics of informants is that they almost all share the same characteristics at the level of education and socio-economic status. Actually, nine out of ten received an education, at least until the end of high school, and seven out of the nine have a master degree or a bachelor degree. Moreover, all the informants are employed. From these first elements, it is noticeable that data fit with the model of Verba et al. (1995): being educated

provides the necessary resources to participate politically. Actually, in spite of the efforts to find informants with lower education level or without a job, immigrants participating in the Catalan nationalist movement were only found among employed and, generally, educated individuals.

Different interviewees pointed the importance of having a job in order to be able to participate. Seny is one of them, his statement is similar to those from other interviewees:

Sy. Having a job? Yeah... It is important because going to debates, going on the streets, is not that cheap! And, you know, if you already have personal problems, you're not interested in other things.¹⁴

Here Seny pointed a challenge to political participation that is well known from scholars: personal financial resources (Morales & Guigni, 2011). Without this type of resources, political participation is constrained and is less likely to occur. The other information introduced in this statement is that, according to the interviewees, having a job decreases the importance of personal problems linked to financial resources, which allowed informants to become interested in topics that are beyond the topics directly related to them. This is the case regarding the Catalan nationalist project: it seems that having a job increases the chances to become interested in this topic that is beyond a personal scope.

Still concerning education and socio-economic status, Ysma, another informant, woman from Syria, raised a competing explanation about why these characteristics influence the political participation of immigrants in the contemporary Catalan nationalist movement:

Y. I think that the job you occupy partly determines if you're in favour or against the nationalist discourse... In fact when you are in a lower job, you are often with people from Andalusia who came here to work in the eighties... And they, they are not in favour of the nationalist project. For them, Spain is one and indivisible. So, if you are the whole day with this type of people, of course you won't be not in favour of the independence. It depends on your job...¹⁵

Ysma was the only one to express this view. Nevertheless, regarding to the history of migration in Catalonia it could make sense: Climent-Ferrando (2013), in his

¹⁴Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.13.

¹⁵Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.14.

article about the history of immigration in Catalonia, recognized that migration in the eighties and nineties was mainly composed of Spaniards from other regions seeking low-skilled jobs in Catalonia during the economic boom. This argument needs to be considered in relation to the argument developed by Tillie (2004): personal characteristics influence the composition of one's personal social network leading to more or less political participation.

Therefore, about education and socio-economic status, two main elements have to be kept in mind: (I) political participation seems to be the preserve of educated and employed immigrants, (II) political participation in favour of the Catalan nationalist movement could be determined by the type of job (high-skilled *vs.* low-skilled) in relation to personal networks. This last element needs to be taken cautiously: a deeper analysis would be necessary to confirm it, notably through quantitative methods. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to take into account the opinion of Ysma according to which job influences the political option chosen by immigrants.

5.4.2. GENDER

Ysma is one of the two women interviewed with Adeline. On a total of ten interviews they represent a minority of the sample used in this study. One of the original parameters of this study was to interview as many women as men in order to figure out patterns of political participation by taking gender into account. Despite this original methodological parameter, only two women were found and interviewed. Both Ysma and Adeline gave clues about why less immigrant women than immigrant men are active in the Catalan nationalist movement. It is worth noting that the fact that less immigrant women than immigrant men participate in the Catalan nationalist movement is not only visible through the number of female interviewees or through Adeline's and Ysma's confirmation; during the three observations realized in Barcelona, almost no immigrant women were participating in the demonstrations.

Both Adeline and Ysma explained that women have little time to dedicate to politics:

Y. I don't have children... And, I came here alone, so I have plenty of time to give, to go into the streets or to debates... I know that for my friends who have children, who

have parents they take care of, it's more difficult. They don't want. They don't have enough time!¹⁶

A. My Husband doesn't work. So, for the children it's easy, one time he goes, another I go. We share the task and I can go there.¹⁷

From these two extracts, it seems that domestic tasks, such as taking care of children or of a parent, are factors that diminish the overall political participation of women. This is coherent with the findings of Jacobs et al. (2004) who found the same results in Brussels, Belgium. However, the peculiarity of the context allows going a step further; what Ysma did when she stated:

Y. I also think that we feel more responsible than men... Did you see what happened with certain politicians? They are in jail! A lot of women don't want to risk to go to jail, what about their family? Their children?

S. When you say "we", you mean as women?

Y. Yes, exactly.¹⁸

This last piece of interview from Ysma shows that beyond an overall participation, which decreases due to domestic tasks and time consumption, the particular participation in the Catalan nationalist movement seems even lower due to the fear that women have of being jailed. Actually, Ysma explained that women are particularly sensible to what happened to Catalan politicians who are now in jail: she pointed that, often, women feel more responsible of the care of the family than men. This element is really important for this category of the population studied.

5.4.3. *THE QUESTION OF PAPERS*

The last element of this section concerns the question of paper. Immigrants interviewed had all either the Spanish nationality or a proper residence permit. Often, when the question was asked about why other immigrants are not active in the Catalan nationalist movement the answer provided tackled this question of papers, the question of the irregular presence on the Spanish territory. This extract of interview from Omar illustrates exactly what informants usually say about this topic:

¹⁶Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.15.

¹⁷Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.16.

¹⁸Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.17.

S. And you are in other associations that are mobilized for the independence. Are you a lot?

O. There are associations, yes, but African associations that are mobilized around this question, there are not a lot, because people are afraid. Why? Certain are afraid of being repatriated because they don't have papers; others have a residence permit and are afraid that it won't be renewed...¹⁹

As it was already introduced in the methodology section, with another purpose, this fear of being deported or of not having a renewal for a residence permit is, according to informants, widespread about immigrants' communities. Immigrants interviewed explained that most of their relations perceive the participation in the Catalan nationalist movement as a risk of being deported by the Spanish State. Actually, Spanish government has the competence over immigration flows and immigration control. As they would position themselves against the Spanish State by participating in the Catalan nationalist movement, which claims independence, immigrants are afraid of reprisals which could lead to deportation, as explained above.

Therefore, this perception is one of the major impediments to the participation of immigrants in the Catalan nationalist movement: those who are not in a secured position to stay in Spain will not participate due to the risk. This explanation reminds the rational choice theory coming from theories of social movements (Olson, 1965; Bloemraad, 2006). At the core of the reasoning there is a kind of costs-benefits calculation as, in the end, immigrants avoid the risk of reprisals linked to their participation in the Catalan nationalist movement. Regarding the benefits they may withdraw from their participation, possible costs are considered as too high to participate.

5.5. LANGUAGE: ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Still at the individual level, speaking Catalan is one of the elements that influence positively the political participation of immigrants in the Catalan nationalist movement. Actually speaking Catalan has an effect at two levels: (I) the symbolical level and (II) the practical level. Concerning the first one, Catalan is one of the main markers of the Catalan nationalism (Zapata-Barrero, 2013). Coming from the interviews, it appears that immigrants consider that speaking Catalan

¹⁹Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.18.

allows them to participate: they feel accepted when they speak the language. Pedro emphasized the importance of speaking Catalan:

Pedro (P.) When I arrived I just was able to spoke Castellán... It was hard! You, know, coming from Argentina, I didn't really speak Castellán but it was really much closer from Castellán than from Catalan! And, if you want to really be part of the society here, you need to understand or to speak Catalan... That's something super important for locals. If you don't speak Catalan you're not really part of them, I think. If you want to support the Catalan project, and you don't speak Catalan it makes no sense.²⁰

As the extract above shows, speaking Catalan allows immigrants to be integrated in the Catalan society and, more particularly, in the Catalan nationalist movement. Looking at language from the perspective introduced in the interview of Pedro means looking at speaking Catalan as a social boundary that allows or not people to be part of the Catalan nationalist movement. This way of looking at language is related to the theory of ethnic boundaries of Barth (1998). Actually, Barth argued that identities result from interactions through which identities are imputed and auto-imputed. Thus, boundaries that delimit identities are created through these interactions. Speaking Catalan can be, for the scope of this work, considered as an element that permits immigrants to feel part of the Catalan nationalist movement and to be considered as a part of the Catalan nationalist movement. This is due to the fact that by using Catalan as language, immigrants overcome one of the symbolic elements that constitute the boundary.

At the second level, the practical one, understanding Catalan is considered by informants as necessary to be part of the Catalan nationalist movement. Indeed, information that are provided by associations, by groups, that support the Catalan nationalist project is mainly written in Catalan. Therefore, understanding is a necessity for immigrants to be in contact with these associations. All the informants who we met understood and spoke Catalan fluently. They all agree on the importance of this language to be informed:

S. So, is it very important to speak Catalan?

D. For me, yes, it is much recommended to live here. If you don't speak sometimes they don't even talk to you. So, if you want to work, if you want to go out, if you really want to live here, it is even nearly mandatory. And, there are a lot of

²⁰Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.19.

associations where it's only in Catalan. If you want to understand what is happening... You need to understand Catalan. And even more in all what is "Catalanist"!²¹

So, being informed about what is happening in Catalonia requires speaking Catalan, according to Diego. What the informant said is in line with the findings of different authors such as Jacobs et al. (2004) or Morales & Giugni (2011): being able to understand the language spoken in the host country is an important element of immigrants' general integration and even more for immigrants' political integration which requires from individual to be well informed of what is happening in the political sphere. Diego also acknowledges this: when the informant referred to what is "Catalanist", he refers to the Catalan nationalist movement. Thus, immigrants interviewed underline the particular importance of speaking the local language. This importance of language to be informed and to be politically active (Jacobs et al., 2004) in addition to the particular place, as symbolical marker, of Catalan for the Catalan nationalism (Zapata-Barrero, 2013) explain the influential role that speaking Catalan has regarding to the political participation of immigrants.

5.6. MOTIVATION: EXPECTATIONS AND INTEGRATION

According to Vogel & Triandafyllidou (2005), individual immigrants' motivation is as important to understand political participation as the other factors reviewed in the earlier sections. During the interviews, informants put two recurrent motivations to the fore. The first deals with the question of democracy and of being authorized to express a political opinion. This first motivations corresponds to the findings of Simard & Pagé (2009) when they analyzed political participation of immigrants in Québec: immigrants express their willingness of political participation as it was not always possible in their home countries where democratic standards are not respected. In the case of Catalonia, interviewees coming from countries where expressing a political opinion contrary to the opinion defended by the central government is difficult or not allowed expressed this motivation as well:

A. Right now? If I struggle it's also for my freedom, to have a better world.

S. Your freedom? A better world? Can you explain a bit?

²¹Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.20.

A. Freedom? I just want to express my ideas. I come from a region [*Casamance*] where it wasn't possible. Here, I want to vote, I want to say what I think. And for me, the movement for the independence represents this freedom of voting. I want to be free, to feel free! ²²

This category, motivation linked to the desire to express an opinion, expression that was not possible in the home country, has been repeatedly mentioned in interviews. Another regularly mentioned motivation for participating in the Catalan nationalist movement is linked to the desire of integration into the Catalan society. This finding is related to the perception that immigrants have of what they need to do to integrate the society. The extract from Fernando's interview illustrates this point:

F. So, if I claim a place in this society, it means that I also should be implicated totally in the Catalan process. So... I also need to integrate the political debate. I need to be integrated clearly, because I'm not just here to look for a job to improve my personal conditions or the living conditions of my family, no. If I want to be part of the people who live here I need to participate in this process.²³

What is obvious from this extract, and what is also repetitive in the different interviews, is that immigrants considered that being integrated in Catalonia means being politically active in what is often referred as the "*Catalan process*", the nationalist project. Thus, one of the elements that enhance political participation in the Catalan nationalist movement is the motivation of being integrated in the Catalan society or, more precisely, of feeling integrated in the Catalan society. Another element that encourages this form of political participation is the desire to voice politically while it was not possible in the home country: this possibility to have a political voice in Catalonia push immigrants to participate in the Catalan nationalist movement.

5.7. IDENTITIES AND BELONGINGS

As introduced in the section about the conceptual framework, identities and belongings are considered as factors that affect political participation of immigrants (Martiniello, 2005; Zapata-Barrero et al., 2013). Do immigrants that participate in the Catalan nationalist movement define themselves as Catalan or do they define

²²Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.21.

²³Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.22.

themselves in other terms? This question is at the core of this section and was asked to informants in various ways:

- Now, if you had to define yourself or explain who you are, what would you say?
- To which groups of friends or institutions do you most identify with (which are the most important)
- Do you feel an opposition between being X and being Catalan?
- Would you say that feeling Catalan or feeling X is important regarding your involvement in the Catalan independence process?

The patterns figured out in the interviews through informants' answers are always similar: informants do not define themselves only as Catalan. All the interviewees share this common point. Certain define themselves in terms of nationalities, Mouad, who originates from Morocco, answered about his double national feeling:

S. As a last question, personally, do you feel Catalan, do you identify with Catalonia? How do you define yourself?

Md. Oh, that's funny, often that's the first question that is asked in an interview! But here it is the last one, and I love that! So, yes, I feel Catalan, because, sure, I'm in this culture because I'm living here. So a part of me is Catalan as well. I was born in Morocco so, I also have a Moroccan part, but another part of me is Catalan.²⁴

So, as this extract shows, identities of immigrants who participate in the Catalan nationalist movement are plural. Among theories about ethnic identities, several relate that identities depend on interactions (Barth, 1998) and on the context (Martiniello, 2013). In line with these theories, certain authors argued that immigrants can choose between ethnic identities according to circumstances (see Gans of Waters in Martiniello, 2013). Thus when participating in the protests or in assemblies related the Catalan nationalist movement, identifications of immigrants could change. The question was asked to different informants during a day of observation. Their answers were categorical: they do not feel particularly Catalan when they protest, at least no more than when they do not: their identities seem stable and not influenced by the context of these demonstrations. This is what Adeline stated:

²⁴Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.23.

S. And do you feel Catalan when you protest?

A. Not particularly, during a protest I feel free; I don't feel signaled. When I protest, I'm in a group where there is a diversity of cultures. In a group that welcomes me, where nobody says: "hey, you, where are you from?". So, I'm from Casamance, I'm Casamancian and when I protest I feel Casamancian but I support the political process of the region where I live. I cannot say that I don't feel Catalan, but it's a mix.²⁵

A precision often heard after asking a question about the relation between identities and the Catalan nationalist movement was about the lack of sense of such a question for the informants. Actually, they regularly stated that they did not perceive the importance of the ethnic identity dimension. If they acknowledged the salience of certain markers of identity such as language (*supra*), they do not perceive an identity dimension, identity as a whole, in the Catalan nationalist movement. Of course, it is related to the section about minority nationalism and the civic type of nationalism that Catalan nationalism is. To exemplify this point, the words of Mario are relevant:

Mo. I don't think that there is a particular discourse about identity. Identities are related to each person or to certain cultural contexts and they all are present in the Catalan society. Because, when you emigrate and you arrive in a new society, it's obvious that you bring with you your own culture, your own traditions, your own customs that shape your cultural identity, the cultural identity linked to each person. And I think that the construction of the republic, the construction of this new state is based on questions of rights rather than on questions of identities.²⁶

From these interviews, it appears that feeling Catalan or being identified as Catalan is not a factor that influences political participation. On the contrary, immigrants interviewed explained that they do not perceive the importance of the identity dimension in the Catalan nationalist movement, or, at least, they do not perceive the Catalan nationalist movement as a hermetic movement to other identities. The better proof of this openness to diverse identities from the Catalan nationalist movement and the perception immigrants have of this feature is that immigrants identify both with their home county identity and the regional identity, the Catalan one, in every situations, even when the question is asked during demonstrations.

²⁵Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.24.

²⁶Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.25.

5.8. POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION: REPRODUCTION OF HOME-COUNTRY REFERENCE FRAMEWORK

Beyond the question of identity, the influence of home country appeared as particularly relevant in the interviews. Drawing upon the transferability hypothesis on which Bueker Simpson (2006) built her source country effect presented in a previous part, this section aims to understand the role of early political socialization in the political participation of immigrants in the contemporary Catalan nationalist movement. Actually, among immigrants interviewed, those coming from two particular communities, the Casamancian one and the Argentinean one, insisted especially on the perceived parallelism between the political situation in Catalonia and the past or present political situation in their respective home countries. Following the hypothesis of Bueker Simpson (2006), immigrants could understand the Catalan nationalist movement by using referents coming from their political socialization in their home country, before they arrived in Catalonia. In order to look at this element, a first point is written to give some essential data about the two communities before analyzing, in a second point, the empirical material collected.

5.8.1. ARGENTINEAN AND CASAMANCIAN COMMUNITIES IN CATALONIA

Both Argentinean and Senegalese communities are numerically important immigrants' communities in Catalonia. The first counted 15.520 individuals in 2016 and was the fifth more important immigrants' community from South America, the second counted, also in 2016, 19.243 individuals and was the second biggest immigrants' community from Africa behind Moroccan (IDESCAT, 2018). As Casamance is one of the regions that are part of the Senegalese State, there is no official numbers that describes the particular population coming from this part of the Senegal. Nevertheless, scholars pointed that due to the conflict between the Senegalese government and this particular region of the country; emigration flows from Casamance exist and have Spain, *inter alia*, as a destination (Robin, 2006).

Actually, Casamance has been experiencing a conflict with the Senegalese State for a long time, already in 1947 (Raeymaekers, 2013). Inhabitants of this region considered themselves as a distinct nation within the Senegal State and seek autonomy through a longstanding conflict evolving into an armed conflict (Robin, 2006). Still today, the situation in Casamance is not resolved and the conflict between regional political forces claiming the Casamancian independence and the

central Senegalese State lasts. Concerning Argentina, the case is totally different; the colonial ties with Spain have here to be reminded. Indeed, Argentina was a Spanish colony between the 16th century and 1810, date of the Argentinean independence.

The aim here is not to give an extensive history of the Casamancian conflict or of the colonial history of Argentina, but rather to remind the peculiar histories of these two territories as they play a role in the political participation of immigrants from these two communities. Indeed, these histories are important as often mentioned by immigrants from these communities. As, it is visible in the interviews, the conflict between Casamance and Senegal or the colonial history of Argentina related to Spain are justifications that are used by informants to explain why they participate in the Catalan nationalist movement, why they support the nationalist project of independence, or, at least, of more autonomy. The next section is dedicated to present these justifications and to show how immigrants involved in the Catalan nationalist movement use as referent the political history of their home country.

5.8.2. THE ROLE OF HOME COUNTRY REFERENCE FRAMEWORK IN THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Informants tend to link their initial interest and their initial participation in the Catalan nationalist movement to a question of identification about what they experienced in their home country. Adeline, who comes from Casamance, explained that she supported the Catalan cause because she found similarities with the cause she defended in Casamance, with the political situation in Casamance:

S. So, ok... ok.... And when you arrived here in Catalonia, what happened? Did you feel welcome? How did you feel?

A. When I arrived here, I saw the movement, here, for the independence... Interesting for me. I identified somewhat with that movement, because I'm from Casamance and because I can say that I'm victim from the struggle for the independence of Casamance, in a way, because my dad was jailed for one year and a half, or for one year. I don't really remember, I was so small... And...Yes, when you see what is

happening here with politicians in jail, I feel even more close to the project here in Catalonia. I understand that... Because of my history in Casamance.²⁷

Omar and Seny confirm Adeline's comment. Moreover, Omar goes a step further by arguing that the political history, the political situation which immigrants were socialized in play a role both in enhancing and constraining political participation. Actually, what is true for Casamancian informants, that they identified to the Catalan nationalism as they find a parallelism between the case of Catalonia and the case of Casamance, is also true for the immigrants in the opposite position, who do not participate in the Catalan nationalist movement:

S. And are you in several associations that support the nationalist project?

O. There are associations, yes, but African associations preoccupied by this question, not a lot. Because people are afraid! Afraid of being repatriated, because they don't have papers, others have just a residence permit, they are afraid that their permit will be withdrawn... And others are against because they have the same situation [*than between Spain and Catalonia*]. For example, Senegal and Casamance. So you will never find a Senegalese who supports Catalan independence.²⁸

According to Seny, Senegalese, who were socialized in a country that tries to avoid the independence of one of its regions, tend to less support and to less participate in the Catalan nationalist movement, as it is contrary to what is happening in their home country.

The same is true when investigating the same topic but in the Argentinean community. Informants, Diego, Mario, and Fernando, stated that the history of Argentina influences the participation of Argentineans in the Catalan nationalist movement:

F. I see the same situation between Spain and Catalonia than between Spain and Argentina years ago. You know, Argentina is an old colony of Spain... That's a bit the same for Catalonia... In Catalonia we claim the right to decide for ourselves. When I arrived in Spain, I thought that it was the "madre patria", just one country... But in fact I found in Catalonia a type of struggle that is part of my history as Argentinean, and so I feel close to that movement for more autonomy.²⁹

²⁷Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.26.

²⁸Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.27.

²⁹Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.28.

The concept of *madre patria* was often mentioned in interviews. According to the informants, it refers to the idea of Spain as the mother of the other Hispanic countries. In this way, Spain is, at the level of imaginaries, reputed as being one indivisible country. It means that certain immigrants are also influenced by this idea of Spain as *madre patria*, and, therefore, are less prone to support Catalan nationalism. Pedro summarized this point during his interview:

P. In Latin America, there is a common imaginary with Spain, a strong relation with Spain that is considered as the “madre patria”... I don’t know if you already heard about it?

S. Yes, yes, I heard about it... Others explained me that, with Latin America, there is a kind of special relation.

P. Yes, exactly. There’s certain continuity in thinking that Catalonia is a part of Spain and that’s it. Understanding the independence project is not really natural for those who came from Latin America because a lot of those who came from Latin America didn’t know this difference between Spain and Catalonia. And when they learn about this difference, they began to know our proposal for a new country, they needed to migrate a second time: from Spain to Catalonia, to the local, that’s something they hadn’t planned when they arrived.³⁰

What is interesting here is how Pedro justified why some immigrants from Latin America are more influenced by the conception of Spain as *madre patria* than by the colonial history. As stated in the interviews, if they use one or another referent from their home country, immigrants can more or less participate in the Catalan nationalist movement. According to Pedro, immigrants who use the *madre patria* as referent to understand the Catalan nationalist movement need to “migrate a second time” to the local in order to change their perception of the political situation. Diego confirms this argument:

S. How do you explain that some draw a correlation between Catalonia and the colonial history and others a same correlation but with this idea of madre patria?

D. Hum... In the end I think that we all arrive without knowing that much about the Catalan project. We all have this idea of madre patria, some less than others due to the personal history. But still! No... The thing is that time is important... If you arrive in Catalonia and you stay here, you will see parallelism between Catalonia and the

³⁰Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.29.

Spanish colonialism. If you arrive in Madrid and then you move to Catalonia, you will keep the idea of *madre patria*.³¹

Thus, depending on the migration history of each immigrant, the referent they use from the home country to understand the political situation in Catalonia can vary. The idea of second migration to the local is here important: if immigrants arrive directly in Catalonia, they will be less prone to perceive, as time goes by and as they integrate the Catalan society, Catalonia as part of Spain and to use the concept of *madre patria* to justify their absence of participation in the Catalan nationalist movement.

With the different empirical information presented in this section, it is possible to state that immigrants use their knowledge from their home country to understand the political situation in Catalonia. Moreover, they use specific pieces of the history of their home country to define their position for or against the Catalan nationalist movement. This is in line with the theory of Bueker Simpson (2006) about the transferability hypothesis: immigrants transfer their political knowledge from their home country to judge a political situation in their host country. The case of Casamancian and Argentinean communities in Catalonia is clear: they both refer to the political history of Casamance or Argentina to justify their participation in the Catalan nationalist movement. Thus, the early political socialization of immigrants shapes, partially, their political participation in the host country.

5.9. POLITICAL ACTIVITIES FROM ABROAD: ENHANCING POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN HOST COUNTRY

The last category that was regularly mentioned in the interviews concerns transnational political practices. The precedent section dealt with the role of the political socialization of immigrants that serves as referent to analyze the current political situation in Catalonia and to take a position about the Catalan nationalist project. This section was about the role of home, or source, country regarding the past of immigrants, the history of the home country. With transnational political activities, the scope of the time is displaced from past to present: transnational political activities about which this section is about are contemporary and simultaneous to the development of the Catalan nationalist movement.

³¹Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.30.

As reminded in the theoretical section, different arguments about the effect of political transnational practices on political participation in the host country compete: some authors argue that these practices diminish political participation in their host country, others argue that there is no effect or even a positive effect (Morales & Giugni, 2011; Morales & Morariu, 2011). Here the focus is brought on transnational political activities oriented towards home country, or “homeland politics” (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2006, p. 5). Do these activities constitute a distraction to participation in the Catalan nationalist movement or not? To answer this question, interviews from immigrants of the Casamancian community and from Ysma, who came to Catalonia from Syria, are used, as these immigrants are involved in transnational political activities of the homeland politics type, through their associations.

In interviews, immigrants explained that they do not perceive a contradiction between their engagement towards their home country and their engagement in the Catalan nationalist movement:

O. The creation of our association was quite spontaneous, as we are sons of Casamance. As the situation is what it is in Casamance, our parents have been slaughtered by the Senegalese power. And once in exile, we wanted the entire world to know what was happening in Casamance. And this doesn't prevent our support for the process here... on the contrary! It's important, it's important to be present in both spaces. We can explain what is happening in Casamance to Catalan as they have a situation quite similar.³²

As explained clearly by Omar, there is no contradiction in having political activities both in Catalonia and in Casamance. Moreover, Omar argue that there is even a gain for him and his community in explaining the conflict in Casamance to Catalan. In this sense, it appears that transnational political activities do not constrain political participation in the Catalan nationalist movement. It could even enhance this participation; Adeline confirms this:

A. Because with our movement from Casamance, which is here, we have participated in protests in Catalonia. With drums, with tam-tams, with joy! We did it because other Catalans support our movement for Catalonia as well. We all feel bounded together.³³

³²Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.31.

³³Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.32.

In this sense, maintaining political activities oriented towards Casamance has helped Adeline to integrate and to participate in the Catalan nationalist movement: it is because she was implicated in transnational activities that she became implicated in the Catalan nationalist movement. Ysma described well this link between transnational political activities oriented towards homeland and political activities of immigrants in Catalonia:

Y. How did I become involved in the Catalan process? Well... I was known here because I had developed activities about Syria. I had tried to raise fund, to organize debates... And in the end I had met people who were from Catalonia and they had explained me what their project for Catalonia was. And I had been seduced!³⁴

As Ysma stated, this is through her transnational political activities oriented towards her home country that she began to participate in the Catalan nationalist movement. It confirms the findings of, for example, Morales & Morariu (2011) for whom “home is not a distraction” (p. 140) from political participation in the host country.

Given the information collected, three main points need to be underlined. Firstly, all immigrants interviewed do not maintain transnational political activities oriented towards their home country: only the Casamancian community and the Syrian informant do. Secondly, among informants that maintain such a type of activities, there is no contradiction between these activities and their political participation in the Catalan nationalist movement: they are politically active in both political spaces. Thirdly, transnational political activities oriented towards their home country can even be considered as one of the front doors to the Catalan nationalist movement: actually, informants explained that it is through their political activities oriented towards their home countries that they became politically active in the Catalan nationalist movement. Coming from this third point, it seems that being involved in political activities towards their home country give the opportunity to immigrants to meet political actors from the host country. Therefore, in this case, transnational political activities do not constrain political participation in host country: or the contrary, they enhance political participation of immigrants in the Catalan nationalist movement.

³⁴Own translation; see the original interview in Appendix 3.33.

6. CONCLUSION

The aim of this master's thesis, as stated in the introduction, was to study the political participation of immigrants in the contemporary Catalan nationalist movement. More precisely, the aim was to answer the question "*how to explain the political participation of immigrants in the contemporary Catalan nationalist movement*" through a qualitative study of ten interviews with key actors. Political participation of immigrants in host country is a multifaceted social phenomenon that was studied by scholars using each a particular perspective, without a huge dialogue between the different strands of the literature. If efforts have been made these last few years (Martiniello, 2005; Morales & Giugni, 2011; Zapata-Barrero et al., 2013), papers about political participation continue to rely too often on one or another particular analytical concept. This work endorsed a multidimensional approach of the multifaceted social phenomenon that was under scrutiny through those paragraphs.

Ten different elements have been identified during the fieldwork as explanations of the political participation of immigrants in the Catalan nationalist movement: political opportunity structure, social capital, socio-economic status, gender, administrative situation, language, identity, motivation, political socialization and transnational political activities. All these ten elements play a role in enhancing or constraining political participation. Removing one of them from the picture drawn in this study means preventing the researcher from understanding political participation in all its facets. This is one of the key elements that have been developed throughout this work: factors that influence political participation are found at different levels of analysis, macro, meso, and micro. And all these levels matter when trying to understand political participation from a sociological perspective.

Coming back to the explanations presented in the last thirty pages; the first introduced was the political opportunity structure. Political opportunity structure has often been used to explain political participation, however, as Bousetta (2000) noted, this explanation used in a mono-causal way is misleading as it forgets the influence of other factors. Here, this criticism is invalid as different factors from different levels are considered. Findings of this study show that political opportunity structure matters, especially at the discursive level, the opportunity structure of the Catalan nationalist movement makes that immigrants feel their

participation welcomed. Moreover, it confirms that all minority nationalisms are not necessarily ethnic but ethnic or civic, as in this case where Catalan nationalism welcomes newcomers in its movement.

Going down from the macro to the meso-level, the role of associations and networks of associations need to be underlined. At the group level, networks of associations, interlocking directorates, and coordination of associations enable immigrants to be politically active by creating trust and social capital. Membership in association, *per se*, matters as well: all informants acknowledged that being a member of an association enhanced political participation. Being a member of association and being politically active in the Catalan nationalist movement is also partly determined by individual characteristics such as gender, socio-economic status, and administrative situation. Regarding the information collected, being a woman diminishes political participation, and particularly political participation in the Catalan nationalist movement, as women feel responsible for their family and perceive a risk in participating in this movement due to the sanction imposed by the Spanish government to some supporters of independence. In a same way, being in an irregular situation or only having a residence permit constrain participation as immigrants perceive high risks in participating in the Catalan nationalist movement, especially the risk that their papers are withdrawn by the Spanish government. Lastly, the socio economic status influence political participation: as developed in the previous section, the higher the status is, the more likely participation is.

Still at the individual level, language, motivations and identities have been investigated. Language is particularly important at two levels, the practical and the symbolical. Speaking Catalan is useful to understand information emitted in the Catalan nationalist movement and Catalan is a symbolical element that constitutes the boundary of the Catalan nationalist movement: speaking Catalan allows immigrant to be part of the group. Motivations are a source of participation: immigrants have personal motivation that push them to participate or not, such as being better integrated in the Catalan society. Identity appears as being less important than the other factors: feeling Catalan or feeling from another nationality does not influence the participation of immigrants, notably because of the civic feature of Catalan nationalism.

The last two elements covered by this study were the role of early political socialization and of transnational political activities. The latter element, transnational political activities oriented towards home country, enhances political participation as it brings in contact immigrants and members of the Catalan nationalist movement through political activities. Early political socialization is particularly interesting, as it appears from the empirical material collected that immigrants understand the political situation in Catalonia by using referents from their home country. More precisely, immigrants shape their opinions about the Catalan nationalist movement and their choice to participate in or not in reference to the political history of their home country. This last element is especially challenging as it was only little investigated in the scientific literature about political participation or political integration.

As a conclusion, after having reviewed the different elements that enhance or constrain political participation of immigrants in the contemporary Catalan nationalist movement, this study has produced findings that confirm the previous ones in a particular context, the Catalan one; it has also produced findings that allow to better know how Catalan minority nationalism is perceived by immigrants living in Catalonia in relation to their political participation; and it has produced findings that open new research questions: notably about the influence of the political socialization of immigrants in their home country on their political integration or political participation in the host country. The question of the referents used by immigrants to shape their opinion about or to judge a political situation has only been scarcely tackled by the scholarship. This could be a topic for further research in order to deepen the understanding of an important social phenomenon: political participation of immigrants in host country.

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8. APPENDIX**8.1. APPENDIX 1. BASIC INFORMATION OF INFORMANTS**

Name (anonymized)	Association (yes/no)	Orientation of association (host- country, home- country, coordination)	Gender	Age	Origin country	Years living in Catalonia	Job	Language	Education
Fernando (F)	Yes	Coordination	M	35	Argentina	14	PhD	Cat/Cast	Master
Omar (O)	Yes	Home- country	M	28	Senegal (Casamance)	10	Health agent	Cat/Cast/Fr	Bachelor
Adeline (A)	Yes	Home- country	F	29	Senegal (Casamance)	8	Shop assistant	Cat/Fr	High School
Mario (Mo)	Yes	Coordination	M	36	Argentina	15	Architect	Cat/Cast/Eng	Master

Diego (D)	Yes	Host-country	M	48	Argentina	17	Journalist	Cat/Cast	Bachelor
Seny (Sy)	Yes	Home-country	M	29	Senegal (Casamance)	9	Mechanic	Cat/Cast/Fr/Eng	None
Mouad (Md)	Yes	Coordination	M	27	Morocco	12	Designer	Cat/Cast/Fr/Eng/Ar	Master
Wilson (W)	Yes	Host-country	M	51	Congo	19	Catalan teacher	Cat/Cast/Fr	Bachelor
Ysma (Y)	Yes	Home-country	F	46	Syria	5	Economy Teacher	Cat/Cast/Ar	Master
Pedro (P)	Yes	Host-country	M	45	Bolivia	17	Shop assistant	Cat/Cast	High School

8.2. APPENDIX 2. INTERVIEW GUIDE**Political participation of immigrants in the Catalan nationalist movement**

Master's thesis in Sociology and Political Sciences (Immigration Studies)

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Project description :

This study aims to discover why immigrants (Catalan from foreign origin, New Catalans) participate in the independence process, in the independence movement (demonstrations, associations, etc.). Drawing upon political participations theories and incorporation theories, the research will analyze (grounded theory) interviews (8-10) of immigrants involved in this movement in order to better understand the processes behind their endorsement of Catalan independence claims, to better understand why they participate in.

Interviews' characteristics:

- Conducted preferably in English or in French (eventually Spanish)
- Duration 30 min/ 1 hour
- Face-to-Face or Skype
- Barcelona and Barcelona area (L'hospitalet, Badalona, Sabadell, Terrassa, etc.)
- Interview guide (below)
- Anonymous (personal data will be anonymous)

Interview Guide (English)1) *Socio demographic questions about:*

- Name Surname
- Gender
- Age
- Nationality
- Origin country
- Years of residence in Catalonia
- Languages
- Profession in the origin country
- Current profession
- Citizenship

2) *Emigration:*

- Reasons
- Date
- Emigration story
- When you arrived in Catalonia, how did you feel? Did you feel accepted? Did you feel discriminated?
- How would you describe the Catalan society: is it open to diversity, to your participation in political affairs or not?
- What are your plans for the future? Do you think you will stay here or you will move?

3) *Identity:*

- Now, if you had to define yourself or explain who you are, what would you say?
- To which groups of friends or institutions do you most identify with (which are the most important)
- Moreno's Question :
 - I consider myself only Catalan
 - I consider myself more Catalan than X
 - I consider myself as Catalan as X
 - I consider myself more X than Catalan
 - I consider myself only X
- Do you feel an opposition between being X and being Catalan?
- Would you say that feeling Catalan or feeling X is important regarding your involvement in the Catalan independence process?

4) *Engagement:*

- Could you tell me if you feel entitled to participate in the Catalan nationalist movement? Are there any problems related to your engagement in this movement? Do you think that the general discourse favours your participation? Do you feel this discourse is open to diversity or restrictive regarding the origin of participants?
- Regarding your engagement in the Catalan independence process, could you tell me a bit more about your motivations? Why did you get involved in this movement?
- How has your family, your personal network reacted to your engagement in this process?
 - o Especially, did some people react in a negative way?
- Are you involved in associations, in groups that support the independence?
 - o If yes, could you say more about it (particular aim of the association, history of the group, how many members, etc.)
 - o If not, how do you organize when you go out, in the street? Do you have a whatsapp group? How do you coordinate?

5) *Transnationalism*

- When you still were in your origin country, were you already active in associations, political parties, and civic life?
 - o If yes, what was the type of activities, what was the aim of the associations? Could you explain that?
- Are you involved in associations that develop activities towards your origin country?
- Do you find some similarities between the situation, the history of your origin country and the situation in Catalonia, especially the conflict between Catalonia and Spain?

Guía para entrevistas (castellano)1) *Preguntas demográficas sobre:*

- Nombre Apellidos
- Género
- Edad
- Nacionalidad
- País de origen
- Años de residencia en Cataluña
- Idiomas
- Profesión en el país de origen
- Profesión actual
- Ciudadanía

2) *Emigración:*

- Razones/motivos/causas
- Fecha
- Historia de la emigración, explica un poco más su historia.
- Cuando llegaste a Cataluña, ¿cómo te sentiste? ¿Te sentiste aceptado, te sentiste discriminado?
- ¿Cómo describirías la situación: está abierta a la diversidad, a tu participación en asuntos políticos o no?
- ¿Cuáles son tus planes para el futuro? ¿Crees que te quedarás aquí o vas a ir a otro sitio?

3) *Identidad:*

- Ahora, si tuvieras que definirte o explicar quién eres, ¿qué dirías?
- ¿A qué grupos de amigos o instituciones te identificas más (cuales son los más importantes)?
- Pregunta de Moreno:
 - Solo me considero catalán
 - Me considero más catalán que X
 - Me considero tan catalán como X
 - Me considero más X que catalán
 - Solo me considero X
- ¿Sientes una oposición entre ser X y ser catalán?
- ¿Dirías que sentirte catalán o sentirte X es importante con respecto a tu participación en el proceso de la independencia de Cataluña?

4) *Compromiso:*

- Con respecto a tu participación en el proceso de la independencia de Cataluña, ¿podrías decirme algo más sobre tus motivaciones? ¿Por qué participas en este movimiento?
- ¿Cómo ha reaccionado tu familia, tu círculo personal frente a tu compromiso en este proceso?
 - O ¿Algunas personas reaccionaron de manera negativa?
 - O ¿Apoyan también la independencia y te apoyan en tu acción?
- ¿Estás participando en asociaciones, en grupos que apoyan la independencia?
 - o En caso afirmativo, ¿podrías decir más sobre esto (objetivo particular de la asociación, historial del grupo, número de socios, etc.)
 - o Si no, ¿cómo te organizas cuando salgas, en la calle? ¿Tienes un grupo de whatsapp? ¿Cómo os organizáis?

5) *Transnacionalismo*

- Cuando todavía estabas en tu país de origen, ¿ya estabas activo en asociaciones, partidos políticos, vida cívica?
 - o En caso afirmativo, ¿cuál era el tipo de actividades, ¿cuál era el objetivo de las asociaciones? ¿Podrías explicar eso en general?
- ¿Estás involucrado en asociaciones que desarrollan actividades hacia tu país de origen?
- ¿Encuentras algunas similitudes entre la situación, la historia de tu país de origen y la situación en Cataluña, especialmente el conflicto entre Cataluña y España?

8.3. APPENDIX 3. ORIGINAL INTERVIEWS

APPENDIX 3.1.

S. *Et quand tu dis, que tu, que vous êtes venus avec l'association des Casamançais pour manifester plusieurs fois, tous ensemble... Ca se passe toujours bien ? Ce qu'on m'a dit, c'est que la Catalogne est très inclusive, très ouverte à l'étranger, au niveau politique. Et ça tu confirmes ou pas ?*

A. Je confirme, je confirme, oui. Ca fait 12 ans que j'habite ici, peut-être quelques fois il y a quelqu'un qui peut te déranger. Bah... moi je dis, c'est son problème s'il ne me supporte pas. Il est obligé de le faire, car je ne vais pas quitter. C'est à lui de me supporter. Moi je n'ai aucun problème avec ces gens. Mais c'est rare, je me suis toujours sentie acceptée.

S. *Et c'est la même chose en ce qui concerne le discours indépendantiste ?*

A. Oui, oui, pour moi Catalunya, la Catalogne, c'est un pays très, très accueillant. Dès le premier jour où je suis arrivée, on m'a accueilli avec des bras grand ouverts. Quand je vais manifester dans les rues de Barcelone c'est avec les bras grand ouverts de la plupart des gens aussi ! La porte grandement ouverte pour nous et notre présence aux manifestations !

APPENDIX 3.2.

S. *...Tu parles de citoyenneté, tu pense qu'avec le projet nationaliste la citoyenneté pourrait être plus inclusive que maintenant ? Il y a, il y aurait une différence entre la citoyenneté espagnole et la citoyenneté catalane au niveau de l'inclusion de la diversité ? Il y a des philosophies différentes entre Madrid et Barcelone? Ca joue un rôle pour la participation ?*

Mo. Je dirais que les conditions préexistantes sont plus favorables en Catalogne qu'en Espagne et que dans les autres parties de l'Espagne. Les propositions ici en Catalogne sont plus favorables à l'inclusion de la diversité. Maintenant c'est difficile de dire exactement. Mais... Oui, il y a une certaine tendance à s'organiser pour accueillir et inclure les gens au sein de la société catalane, dans le monde politique catalan qui n'existe pas ailleurs. C'est un élément de différentiation.

APPENDIX 3.3.

S. *Donc tu vois des différences entre le discours sur l'immigration des partis nationalistes et le discours des partis qui sont unionistes? C'est ce que tu dis?*

W. Ben. Enfin, Oui, je crois que les partis pour l'indépendance ont un discours sur l'immigration qui est plus construit, un discours qui est plus réfléchi. Même s'il y a des différences entre les partis! ERC, la CUP or le PdeCAT n'ont pas vraiment les même discours sur l'immigration et à propos du rôle des immigrés, mais généralement leurs discours sont bien plus positifs que ceux de Ciudadanos ou du PP. En tout cas c'est ce que je comprends. Quand tu regardes ERC ou la CUP ils essaient vraiment d'activer les immigrants pour leur projet d'indépendance.

APPENDIX 3.4.

W. Le discours nationaliste catalan il concerne tout le monde, les anciens catalans et les nouveaux. Les partis et aussi les associations ont réussi à mobiliser des personnes de façon indiscriminée. Il y a eu un déplacement du discours nationaliste de la classe bourgeoise vers toutes les classes et ce de façon indiscriminée. Même si le mouvement n'a jamais été une exclusive de la bourgeoisie, bien entendu.

APPENDIX 3.5.

F. Je ne sais pas si tu as déjà entendu parler de ça mais ici, en Catalogne, il y a énormément d'associations : des associations pour les écoles, pour l'apprentissage, des associations de voisins. Les Catalans font beaucoup d'associations. Et c'est quelque chose qui se répète à notre niveau : il y a beaucoup d'associations de migrants au niveau des communautés mais aussi à des niveaux plus élevés. D'une certaine façon on est comme encouragé à faire ça parce que c'est quelque chose d'habituel ici, les associations.

APPENDIX 3.6.

S. *Je reviens sur l'association, sur ton cercle d'amis, au sein de l'association, il y a des personnes qui ne supportent pas l'indépendance ou qui évitent de la supporter ? Est-ce que c'est quelque chose qui est répandu dans ton cercle d'amis : tout le monde s'implique pour l'indépendance de la Catalogne ?*

O. Ici, toute la famille est d'accord pour l'indépendance de la Catalogne, et moi aussi. C'est pour cela qu'on lutte pour l'indépendance. Alors, pour les Casamançais, jusqu'à présent, les gens ont peur car on peut les emprisonner, leur retirer leur papier. On est sans défense. Ici les politiciens catalans sont en prison, mais bon il y a une caisse solidaire, tout le monde donne. Pour nous ça n'existe pas. Donc c'est dangereux. Parce que tu supportes l'indépendance et que tu es étranger tu prends des risques et donc tout le monde n'a pas envie de s'impliquer. Mais l'association essaie d'expliquer, de faire des débats pour montrer les points positifs de l'indépendance. On essaie avec l'association de rassembler, d'expliquer. Mais tu sais, en faisant ça je perds des amis qui ne veulent vraiment pas parler de ça avec moi... Et j'en gagne d'autres aussi, oui.

APPENDIX 3.7.

Md. Donc on rencontre un public marocain qui ne sait pas vraiment ce qui se passe, qui n'a pas l'information. Certains ont un peu plus d'information et en général sont en faveur. On doit expliquer.

APPENDIX 3.8.

D. Quand je suis arrivé dans l'association, je n'étais pas très intéressé par tous ces trucs politiques... C'est un ami qui m'a dit : « viens, on discute de tout, on parle de comment améliorer notre situation... » Et je ne savais pas... Mais à la fin être membre d'une assoc' ça te permet de comprendre ce qui se passe autour de toi et aussi d'exprimer ce que tu penses.

APPENDIX 3.9.

S. *Tu peux m'en dire un peu plus sur ton association? Vos objectifs, les actions que vous entreprenez, etc.*

Mo. Oui... Il y a deux dimensions, pour le dire de cette façon... Il y a une dimension interne à l'association, on est présent aux débats, dans l'élaboration des stratégies politiques et il y a une dimension externe qui est celle de la relation avec les autres assoc'. On travaille, on organise des tables rondes, des débats, des présentations, des séances d'informations... Habituellement, on travaille avec des collectifs, des associations de

différentes communautés : des associations d'immigrés ou des associations de défense des droits de l'homme. On essaie de coordonner tout ça, de rendre possible des rencontres. On travaille pour construire une indépendance, pour construire une république, un nouveau pays dans lequel il y a des droits pour tous.

APPENDIX 3.10.

Mo. La plupart des associations sont orientées vers une communauté spécifique. Quand on parle de l'indépendance ou de la politique d'ici en Catalogne, ça concerne tout le monde, pas une ou l'autre communauté. Donc on essaie vraiment de rassembler tout le monde. Et puis, quand on a différentes associations autour de la table c'est plus facile de parler d'indépendance, ils se sentent plus à l'aise...

APPENDIX 3.11.

S. *A ce propos, j'ai vu, il me semble que tu fais partie d'une association. Tu pourrais m'en dire un peu plus ?*

Sy. Oui, bien sur, écoute, « Nous Catalans » a été fondé par des membres de l'ancien parti *Convergencia i Unio*, et... Et je soutenais aussi ce parti politique qui est un parti pro indépendance de centre droit. Ça a toujours été une association très transversale, qui traitait de thèmes très différents. Donc, ce qu'on a fait, un gros travail, un travail super important, c'était d'unir le tissu associatif qui s'occupe du thème de l'immigration, les personnes qui arrivent en Catalogne, que l'on appelle « nouveaux Catalans ». Le but était donc de faciliter la rencontre des associations notamment autour de la question de la citoyenneté et de la citoyenneté au sein d'un nouvel état catalan. C'est vraiment important d'avoir ces associations autour de la table pour leur donner l'opportunité de parler de leur position à propos de ce sujet.

S. *Qui vient à ces meetings ? De simples membres ou ceux qui dirigent les associations*

Sy. Ceux qui dirigent. C'est important qu'ils viennent... Parce que ... Parce qu'après ils font passer l'information !

APPENDIX 3.12.

On ne parle pas vraiment à d'autres... J'essaie déjà de convaincre les personnes de ma propre communauté et... tu sais, ça prend du temps, et je n'ai pas vraiment le temps de voir d'autres personnes pour parler avec de ce sujet là.

APPENDIX 3.13.

Sy. Avoir un travail? Ouais... C'est important parce qu'aller à des débats, aller manifester, ce n'est pas si bon marché ! Et, tu sais, si tu as déjà des problèmes personnels, tu n'es pas intéressé par d'autres choses.

APPENDIX 3.14.

Y. Je pense que le travail que tu as détermine si tu es pour ou contre le discours nationaliste... En fait, si tu as un travail dans des secteurs difficiles, tu es souvent avec des personnes qui sont venues d'Andalousie pour venir travailler ici dans les années '80.... Et eux, ils ne sont pas pour le projet nationaliste. Pour eux, l'Espagne est une et indivisible. Donc si tu es toute la journée avec eux, ben tu n'es pas pour l'indépendance. Ça dépend donc de ton job.

APPENDIX 3.15.

Y. Je n'ai pas d'enfant... Et je suis venue ici seule donc j'ai vraiment plein de temps à donner, à consacrer à aller dans les rues, aller à des débats.... Je sais que mes amies qui ont des enfants, qui ont des parents dont elles doivent prendre soins, elles ont des difficultés. Elles ne veulent pas, elles n'ont pas assez de temps.

APPENDIX 3.16.

A. Mon mari ne travaille pas. Donc pour les enfants c'est facile. Une fois il sort, une autre j'y vais. On se partage les tâches et donc je peux y aller.

APPENDIX 3.17.

Y. Je pense aussi qu'on se sent plus responsable que les hommes... Tu as vu ce qu'il s'est passé avec certains politiciens ? Ils sont en prison ! Beaucoup

de femmes ne veulent pas courir ce risque, qu'est ce qu'il se passe après avec leur famille ? Leurs enfants?

S. *Quand tu dis 'on' tu veux dire en tant que femme ?*

Y. Oui bien sur !

APPENDIX 3.18.

S. *Et tu es dans plusieurs associations qui se mobilisent pour l'indépendance, vous êtes beaucoup?*

O. Il y a des associations, oui, mais des associations africaines autour de cette question il n'y en a pas beaucoup. Car les gens ont peur. Pourquoi... Il y en a qui ont peur de se faire rapatrier car ils n'ont pas de papiers, d'autres ils ont la résidence et ils ont peur qu'on leur arrache la résidence...

APPENDIX 3.19.

P. Quand je suis arrive je savais juste parler castillan... C'était difficile! Tu sais, en venant d'Argentine, je ne parlais pas vraiment castillan mais c'était beaucoup plus proche du castillan que du catalan ! Et si tu veux vraiment faire partie de la société ici, tu dois comprendre ou parler le catalan.... C'est quelque chose de super important pour ceux qui vivent ici. Si tu ne parles pas catalan, tu n'es pas vraiment l'un deux, je pense. Si tu veux supporter le projet catalan et que tu ne le parles pas, ça n'a pas de sens

APPENDIX 3.20.

S. *Très important ça, parler catalan ?*

D. Pour moi oui, ça on te le demande beaucoup ici. Si tu ne parles pas catalan, beaucoup de fois on ne te parle pas. Donc si tu veux travailler, si tu veux sortir, si tu veux vivre vraiment ici c'est obligatoire presque. Et puis il y a beaucoup dans le tissu associatif où c'est que du catalan. Si tu veux savoir ce qu'il se passe tu dois comprendre le catalan. Et encore plus pour tout ce qui est «catalaniste».

APPENDIX 3.21.

A. Maintenant? Si je lutte c'est aussi pour ma liberté, pour vivre dans un monde meilleur.

S. Ta liberté? Un monde meilleur? Tu sais un peu m'expliquer ?

A. La liberté? Je veux juste pouvoir dire ce que je pense. Je viens d'une région où ca n'est pas possible. Ici je veux voter, je veux dire ce que je pense. Et pour moi, le mouvement pour l'indépendance représente cette liberté de voter. Je veux être libre, me sentir libre.

APPENDIX 3.22.

F. Donc si je réclame ma citoyenneté catalane, ca veut dire que je dois aussi m'impliquer pleinement dans le processus catalan. Donc... Tandis que dans le débat politique je dois m'intégrer aussi! Je dois être impliqué clairement, car nous ne sommes pas là seulement pour chercher du travail pour améliorer nos conditions de vie ou les conditions de vie de notre famille, ou de nos proches. Non, si je veux faire partie de ces gens qui vivent ici je dois participer dans le processus.

APPENDIX 3.23.

S. Une dernière question, personnellement, tu te sens catalan, tu t'identifies avec la Catalogne ? Comment tu te définis ?

M. Ah ! C'est drôle, souvent c'est une question qui est souvent posée au début d'une interview. Mais ici c'est à la fin... Et j'aime ca ! Donc, oui, je me sens Catalan parce que, oui, je suis dans cette culture parce que je vis ici. Donc, une partie de moi est catalane aussi. Je suis né au Maroc et donc j'ai aussi une part du Maroc en moi. Mais une autre partie de moi est bien catalane.

APPENDIX 3.24.

S. *Et tu te sens catalane quand tu vas manifester ?*

A. Non, quand je manifeste, je me sens libre, je ne me sens pas signalée. Quand je manifeste je suis dans un groupe où il y a une diversité de cultures, de tout. Dans un groupe accueillant où on ne te dit pas « eh toi, tu

es d'où ». Donc, je suis de Casamance, je suis casamançaise et quand je manifeste je me sens casamançaise, mais je supporte le processus politique de la région où je vis. Je ne peux pas dire que je ne me sens pas catalane... Mais c'est un mélange.

APPENDIX 3.25.

Mo. Je ne crois pas qu'il y a spécialement un discours sur l'identité. Les identités sont propres à chaque personne ou à des contextes culturels spécifiques et qu'elles sont toutes présentes dans la société catalane car lorsque tu émigres et que tu viens dans une nouvelle société, c'est clair, tu amènes aussi ta propre charge culturelle, tes coutumes, tes traditions qui forment ton identité culturelle, l'identité culturelle propre à la personne. Et donc, je crois que la construction de la république, que la construction d'un nouvel état se base sur des droits et non pas sur des questions d'identité.

APPENDIX 3.26.

S. *Du coup, c'est ça, c'est ça... Et tu es arrivée ici et quoi, la Catalogne et tout ça, l'accueil, comment tu t'es sentie ?*

A. Quand je suis arrivée ici, j'ai vu le mouvement, ici, d'indépendantisme... intéressant pour moi. Je me suis comme identifiée, parce que je suis de la Casamance et je peux dire que je suis victime de l'indépendance de la Casamance, d'une certaine façon. Parce que mon papa a été condamné un an et demi, ou un an, je ne peux pas me rappeler parce que j'étais petite... Et... Ouais... Quand tu vois ce qu'il se passe ici avec les politiciens en prison et tout ça, je me sens encore plus proche du projet catalan. Je le comprends... A cause de mon histoire en Casamance.

APPENDIX 3.27.

S. *Et tu es dans plusieurs associations qui se mobilisent pour le projet nationaliste?*

O. Il y a des associations, oui, mais des associations africaines autour de cette question il n'y en a pas beaucoup. Car les gens ont peur. Pourquoi... Il y en a qui ont peur de se faire rapatrier car ils n'ont pas de papiers, d'autres ils ont la résidence et ils ont peur qu'on leur arrache la résidence... Et

d'autres sont contre car ils ont la même situation. Par exemple ici, le Sénégal avec la Casamance. Donc tu verras difficilement les Sénégalais soutenir la Catalogne

APPENDIX 3.28.

F. Je vois la même situation entre l'Espagne et la Catalogne qu'entre l'Espagne et l'Argentine il y a longtemps. Tu sais, l'Argentine, c'est une ancienne colonie de l'Espagne... C'est un peu la même chose pour la Catalogne... En Catalogne on réclame le droit de décider pour nous-mêmes. Quand je suis arrivé en Espagne je pensais à la madre patria, un seul pays... Mais en fait j'ai trouvé en Catalogne un type de lutte qui fait partie de mon histoire comme Argentin, donc je me sens proche de ce mouvement pour plus d'autonomie.

APPENDIX 3.29.

P. En Amérique Latine, il y a un imaginaire commun avec l'Espagne, une relation forte avec l'Espagne qui est considérée comme la « madre patria ». Je ne sais pas si tu en as déjà entendu parlé...

S. *Oui, oui, j'ai parlé avec d'autres personnes qui m'ont expliqué qu'avec l'Amérique Latine il y a cette relation forte avec l'Espagne.*

P. Oui, c'est ça, il y a une certaine naturalité, une certaine continuité dans le fait de penser que la Catalogne est une partie de l'Espagne et c'est tout. Comprendre l'indépendance ca n'est pas très naturel pour les personnes qui viennent d'Amérique Latine car beaucoup de ceux qui sont venus d'Amérique Latine sont venus en Espagne et ne connaissaient pas cette différence entre Espagne et Catalogne. Et quand il découvre cela, cette proposition de nouveau pays, il le découvre seulement ici et donc quelque part ça leur demande une seconde immigration. Ca leur demande de migrer vers la politique locale, vers la culture locale et c'est quelque chose qu'ils n'avaient pas prévu.

APPENDIX 3.30.

S. Comment tu expliques que certains font un lien entre la Catalogne et l'histoire coloniale et que d'autre font un même lien mais avec cette idée de madre patria

D.Euh.. A la fin je pense que quand on arrive sans connaitre beaucoup à propos du projet catalan. On a tous cette idée de madre patria, certains moins que d'autres à cause de leur histoire personnelle. Mais bon !... Non... Le truc c'est que le temps est important. Si tu arrives en Catalogne et que tu restes là, tu vas voir un parallèle entre la Catalogne et le colonialisme espagnol. Si tu arrives à Madrid et que tu bouges par après vers la Catalogne, tu vas garder cette idée de madre patria.

APPENDIX 3.31.

O. La création de l'ICL, elle a été assez spontanée puisque nous sommes fils de la Casamance. Vu la situation dans laquelle la Casamance vit, beaucoup de nos parents ont été massacrés, ont été tués, ont été assassinés par le pouvoir en place du Sénégal. Et une fois en exil on a voulu porter la voix de la Casamance pour que le monde entier sache ce qu'il s'y passe ! Ca ne nous empêche pas de soutenir le processus ici, que du contraire... C'est important, c'est important d'être présent sur les deux terrains ! On peut expliquer ce qui se passe aux Catalans comme ils ont une situation un peu similaire.

APPENDIX 3.32

A.Car avec notre mouvement casamançais qui est ici, on a participé aux manifestations pour la Catalogne. Avec des tambours, avec des tam-tams, avec de l'allégresse. On le fait parce que d'autre Catalans soutiennent aussi notre mouvement pour la Casamance. Donc on se sent tous liés.

APPENDIX 3.33.

Y. Comment je me suis impliquée dans le processus catalan ? Euh... J'étais connue ici parce que j'ai développé des activités pour la Syrie. J'ai essayé de lever des fonds, j'ai essayé d'organiser des débats... Et à la fin, j'ai rencontré des personnes qui venaient de Catalogne et qui m'ont expliqué leur projet pour la Catalogne... Et ça m'a séduit.