

Ethnicity, Social Class and Acculturation of Immigrants in Barcelona

I.

IN THIS PAPER¹ WE FOCUS UPON THE PROBLEM OF ETHNICITY in Barcelona as a function of the non-Catalan Spanish immigrant's social class and acculturation in this city. We will consider ethnicity in Barcelona in relation to the immigrants that arrive at this city lured by a large labour market in industry and services. The migratory attraction that Barcelona possesses for the foreign labour force resulted in the fact that, in 1970, of the 1, 763, 512 inhabitants, recorded in its demographic census, 51 % were individuals born outside the city. Of the total number of immigrants, 35 % spoke Castellian or, in any case, were not born in the provinces of the regions of Catalonia, Valencia and Baleares, that form the Catalan speaking area.

Immigration is, in its immediate cause and origin, a phenomenon derived from the demand for blue-collar workers and relates to their relative abundance in the Spanish agrarian structures. In addition, since in Spain the concept of historic region is equivalent to an ethnic definition, and the idea of regionality is equivalent to the formation of an often ethnocentrically oriented ego, then the concept of region usually leads to ethnic demonstrations. Once the immigrants are established in Barcelona, they tend to resort to their ethnicity to identify themselves individually, and in such cases, ethnic demonstration implies a consciousness or ego that is opposed to Catalan ethnicism. This identification usually occurs when they are asked "What are you?", the person questioned may frequently answer: "I am Andalusian", or "I am Catalan", or "I am Gallegian". Thus, it is likely that one identifies oneself more by ethnicity than by occupation, understanding, therefore, that one's personality tends to be considered as a function of one's regional ego.

In accordance with this perspective, we pose the problem of ethnicity in Barcelona as an individual ascription that is developed in the course of inter-ethnic contrasts and whose sustenance or continuity derives from the constant flux of immigrants who, on arriving at Barcelona, tend to confirm their ethnicity while simultaneously changing their mode of living.

Let us put aside for now the discussion and analysis of Barcelona's political structure, in this case, constituted as a function of the Spanish political structure. In this way, the problem consists of determining what role ethnicity plays, once

1. In this paper are included some aspects already dealt with in other articles (Esteva 1973) that form a part of a larger piece of research that began in 1968. Two of the articles are in press. The data refer mostly to immigrants of peasant origin observed in their specific behaviours, particularly in the context of ethnicity and social class within the process of acculturation. The information we are using consists of the results attained after the elaboration of 743 questionnaires presented in the form of controlled reports by students of our department of Cultural Anthropology. To these reports can be added our own efforts that, in this case, have been the result of participant observation, that is a fundamentally anthropological approach. We stress the fact that we have alternated the personal fieldwork approach with an impersonal one, characteristic of the questionnaire.

given the immigration in Barcelona of a non-Catalan ethnic population and, likewise, what role immigrants' social class plays in this context, but, in addition, in the context of the acculturation process and therefore of the urbanization process.

We will try to emphasize the relative importance that we assign to three variables, ethnicity, social class and acculturation that constitute the framework for this article.

WE POSTULATE, 1) that ethnicity is more than a function of the degree of conscious affirmation that the individual makes of his ethnic identity, and is an ideology related to the degree of specific political consciousness that he has of his own region, understood as the subject of his affirmative activity; 2) that, depending upon the social class, the acculturation that affects the immigrants in Barcelona will be greater or lesser; and 3) that while social class will be as a function of the economic distribution of the individuals within the social structure, ethnicity will be as a function of the consciousness that they have of historical and cultural differences and of the degree in which these differences may be recognized among individuals that live within the same social system, who are designated as members of an ethnic group, differentiated from others by their ethnic ascription.

As the general characteristics of the ethnic problem in Barcelona become evident, we can point out another aspect: the fact that ethnicity can be manifested at two levels of experience.

1. At the level of an individual affirmation that, while it may be politically oriented, it is however not projected from a collectively organized means. That is, in this individual level, ethnicity is expressed as a latent political state. In this context the individual attempts, in a conscious manner, to affirm his cultural ego when confronted with the idea that his ideological integrity may be threatened. This assertion has a militant character because it is conscious, but he is limited to confirming himself and in relation to others without modifying the institutionalized organization of State-Region relationships, so that this affirmation only affects interethnic relationships in their interpersonal version.

Even though such attitudes may have political implications inasmuch as they are adopted from the particularity of a militant ethnic conscience and in as much as they express, to a certain extent, an ethnocentric orientation, nevertheless, they are concerned with a defensive situation of the individual cultural ego, and within the social context they are interpreted more as a peculiarity of the Catalan ethnic character. It is said, for instance, "they are very self-centered" or very intra-ethnic, as a characteristically political example. An immigrant's indulgent observation to this respect may be: "Well, everybody knows, as the (Catalans) are in their homeland", or the Catalan may say: "They come (the immigrants) to eat our bread and they are not even grateful".

In each of these cases is expressed a generalized attitude but it basically concerns feelings of differences that usually justify themselves as characteristic of cultural

distinctive modes of being. But, at the same time, they are recognized as sources of conflict to the extent to which contrasts describe resistance and opposition, or simply exhibit separations and social unsolidarities. In this extreme case it is sufficient to recognize that ethnicity takes refuge in the idea of developing the ethnic conscience as part of the social action of the individual who professes it. Within the context of publicly oriented action, this ethnicity may be conflictive whenever it stimulates the affirmation of other ethnicity in interpersonal relationships.

2. The second level is that of the collective affirmation, that is, that it results from the association of individuals and groups in a concerted and directed action. Ethnicity here assumes a distinct character: it is politically oriented and it is revealed as a system of organization that not only defines the cultural being characteristic of its member but is also projected in the form of objectives or of actions that lead to modification, by political means, of the *status quo* of a particular ethnic group in relation to that of others and also because it originates from the State which can likewise be defined as an ethnic group. This is a class of ethnicity that we are not going to examine here, if we keep in mind that immigration in Barcelona does not have for the immigrant, when individually considered, a political goal but rather derives from a basic economic necessity. The fact that the immigrants manifest ethnic attitudes and confirmations can be attributed rather to a defensive reaction or protection of the ego, than to an organization of politically oriented responses. For this reason, if some answers are, on the part of the immigrant, *ethnicist*², they can be considered as an informal aspect of their relations with Catalans. That is, the answer can be interpreted in relation to the function of the Catalan ethnicism in this case, and as a development of the Catalan differentiating cultural conscience on the other hand, but, at the same time, it can be considered as a Catalan, in the sense that it is considered alienating in relation to the direction and control of its own destiny as an ethnic group.

In such case, the level of Catalan reaction adopts a certain aggressive character, not always political conscious when manifested in the form of individual relationships. However, the ethnic affirmation, in such cases, is *ethnicist* because, in addition to resorting to a conscious difference of identity, the latter is openly expressed. It is concerned with feelings of separation or exclusion that presuppose inter-ethnic rebuffs and, likewise, ideological support.

IN THE CASE OF BARCELONA the ethnic ascription follows the affirmation made by the individual himself, but, likewise, it follows the identification that other individuals make of him. This ethnicity has, in addition, a clearly external sign of identification, that of the Catalan language, on the one hand, and that of the different nuances with which Castelian is spoken by the immigrants.

2. We use the suffix *ist(s)* as to form a derivative of ethnic group with the meaning of "followers of", "supporters of".

Between the ethnic affirmation and identification of ethnicity that other have made of someone, exists a difference of expression. While the former requires a self-ascription of affirmation of oneself, in the latter recognition comes from what could be called an *exo-ascription*. In each case, ethnicity will be, nevertheless, a differentiated function, as much translated into feelings of regionality or of nationality by the historical-cultural conscience, as being a function of different consciousness of the way of life.

For purposes of identification, the language will constitute a sign of fundamental integration.

When the ethnic conscience has a militant character, in the sense of opposing another ethnicity, or simply manifesting itself as an orientation in which the individual regionality or nationality are assumed as an ideology, then ethnicity has a political meaning. When, in contrast, the ethnic conscience is limited to the self-recognition of a different historical cultural mode of being or is limited to being recognized by others as a distinct ethnic group from that which defines the said identification, then ethnicity is purely a mode social identity free from political connotations. The differences we are pointing out are important because the character that may express ethnicity may be either socially irrelevant or socially conflictive. In Barcelona the latter character is very frequent, although due to the political institutional structure it remains, often, socially covert or is manifested in the form of sublimated inter-ethnic confrontation or opposition that is characterized by the displacement of the political activity to other function, not directly political, such as the exalted passions over the triumphs and losses of the Barcelona Football Club when confronted with opposing ideas of other clubs, specially those of Madrid, or religious ideas symbolized by the public love for the Virgin of Montserrat.

Ethnicity is presented, thus, constituted as a configuration of the cultural personality of the individual and is affirmed by means of an ethnocentrically oriented social activity. In Barcelona this formulation of ethnicity assumes, for the same reason, the existence of some kind of inter-ethnic contrast; it presupposes the co-existence of various ethnic groups in the heart of the same social structure. The problem that has to be elucidated is to what extent ethnicity is a phenomenon independent of the existence of social classes and of the same acculturation of the immigrants that establish themselves within the urban structure of Barcelona. The problem consists of knowing to what point ethnicity in Barcelona is a process that we ought to examine at the margin of the internal social stratification of the said city, or if, on the contrary, is a question that — while it impinges on the form of the said stratification, in the sense that, in some way, the immigrants are distributed within certain positions of role-status — at the same time, the latter is one aspect of the system of internal oppositions that, as in the Spanish case, develop when several ethnic groups are gathered within the same structural scope and affirm themselves, each one separately, in a particular effort directed, more or less openly, toward the purpose of continuously re-establishing

the equilibrium of their respective ethnic integrity, in this case, supposedly threatened by the affirmation of another ethnic group.

This would be a kind of opposition that involves the existence of a state political system. In such a case, and since every State tends to be unifying in its ends, and tends to endow its members with a personal or unique ethnic ascription (Spanish, Italian, French, etc.), the union in one social structure of different ethnic groups, each of which is affirmed as distinct from the others, assumes the development of ethnic contra-affirmations among themselves. These contra-affirmations present an apparently confused process when in the heart of a regionality, in this case, the Catalan of Barcelona, and simultaneously develop inter-ethnic oppositions that can be interpreted as much as forms of regional revalry, as expressions of the internal contradiction that results from the fact of situating ethnic groups whose members are cognizant of the fact that all forms of ethnic identity are a specific mode of integrity of the individual ego, within the same social space and within the same economic process.

If this defence of ethnicity is an act of defence of the cultural ego, and consequently an act against its apparent disorganization, it is also certain that each intent in the latter sense becomes a type of resistance that is certainly the expression of a regional or national character tending to enhance the singular value that is adjudicated to the ethnic identity.

The fact that individuals from different ethnic groups participate within the same socio-economic framework, is a way of considering immigration as a phenomenon whose character is not only equivalent to the structures of productive relationships and the relative degree of economic development from one region with respect to the others, but rather is also equivalent to political contradictions that result from framing different ethnic groups in a similar social process. Hence, it is equivalent to the relative degree to which other relationships are affirmed: those that make reference to ethnicity within a state organization that tries to unite them in a final ethnic unit: the characteristically Spanish.

The fact that this kind of final ethnic unit may be more or less achieved in the political concept of the state as a homogeneous institution, is a question that appears problematic when we consider it within the context of those social relationships in which the individual, independently of his social class, affirms himself as ethnically differentiated. This is the case for Barcelona, and this is a kind of problem that makes it evident that the ethnic differentiation tends to be conflictive in the system of the first generations to have immigrated, above all to the extent that, in our case, the Catalan ethnic group assumes the role of an ethnicity that is shown as a competitor of the State with regard to the effort of assimilating other ethnic groups.

II.

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROPOSED PREMISES, Catalans' and immigrant' ethnic affirmations, and the relative stability of their reactions, is closely related to certain other aspects, such as, a) the character of the social associations that form

both in terms of ethnic groups and the degree of isolation or interchange that they maintain among themselves; b) the character of the social class, in the sense of making them more or less dependent with regard to the identification of the individual ego with the cultural configuration of prestige.

With regard to the personal associations or social groups' participations, Catalans and immigrants usually give credence to certain tendencies in the course of the social life that makes reference to the development and events of their city, and keep, likewise, their historical traditions and have a relative but certain historical consciousness of their past, and at the same time, are interested to a certain extent in their literature and folklore, and maintain a deep concern for the destiny of their institutions. The immigrants do not develop these identifications until they have lived a long time and become acculturated to Barcelona.

But, in addition, if the ethnicist Catalans usually include in their elective attitudes the expectation of participating in a Church ran by Catalans and expressed in Catalan and if they produce an emotional identification with the Virgin of Montserrat and with the "Barcelona Football Club", and with those public entities that, by being Catalan assume somehow the Catalan individuality³, the immigrants, instead, do not consider as their own this kind of integration. Furthermore, Catalans are much more interested in the activities of their town hall and in the people who run it in Barcelona, and what happens in the rest of Catalonia, than in what happens in the totality of the Spanish life, if we exclude a relative preoccupation for general Spanish politics and for its leaders when the decisions made by the latter directly affect Barcelona and Catalonia. It is more likely that a Barcelona would know the name of the mayor of Barcelona than of a minister of the government of Madrid. And it is more likely that he would ally himself with a local personage considered in the context of an ethnocentric actuation, than viewed in the context of a national actuation or as a minister of state, for instance, if we exclude the head of state.

These tendencies usually are not supported by the immigrants during the greater part of their life in Barcelona, from which results the fact that their social expectations or identifications are kept separated, to a great extent, from those of the Catalans. In this context, the immigrants develop "the Catalan" interests, which development is also favoured by the fact that their labour groups are formed, frequently, by immigrants, by and large in the levels of blue-collar workers. The same usually occurs with the groups of residence, so called wards of immigrants.

When we consider the latter conditions, that is, ethnically homogenous groups, or at least constituted by immigrants, there appears a certain ethnic isolation and it is protected by the life in the immigrants city wards. This has an influence to the extent that it contributes to maintaining the respective ethnicities longer; it favours, likewise, the development of social adaptations and the maintenance of the regional cultural ego, as manifested in the use of Catalan language and

3. An introductory description of the informal Catalan institutions has been written by Pi-Sunyer, 1971. 125ss.)

Castellian. But it is also expressed by means of ethnic solidarities that, in the best case assumes the aspect of sporting oppositions, folkloric preferences and formation of individual groups, of play and friendship, as much as of inhibitions in subject matters that, on the other hand, arouse emotion in the Catalan, such as his history, his city and its surroundings, and his native personages.

This consideration about the way in which Catalans and immigrants assume their respective ethnicities also implies adaptive distinctions among them. One of these distinctions refers to the relative frequency of mixed marriages between Catalans and immigrants. About 30 % of the marriages in Barcelona display this inter-ethnic character and in the great majority of cases, the ethnic affirmation of their descent is Catalan. We have not been able as yet to establish in our own data the degree of ethnicity of this descent, however, it seems that there is a manifestation of an affirmation of ethnicity in the direction indicated. According to this, about 82 % (cf. Badia 1969, 257—59) of the offsprings of mixed marriages usually speak Catalan as their native language and most of them affirm their Catalan ethnicity and have interest in this character, specially when they associate with and live with Catalans.

When we consider the problem relative to social relationships between Catalans and immigrants, the first thing that seems to come to stand out is that, in the majority of cases, the Catalan maintains a position of superior status with regard to the immigrants, and, therefore, the social relationships between them assume the character of class relationships. This position, however, is not so much permanent as occasional inasmuch as the system of status characteristic of the social structure of Barcelona is not controlled by differences of economic activity ascribed to the concept of the Catalan and the immigrant, but is fundamentally ascribed to the relative quality of the professional qualification of each individual and to the demands of the labour market, independently of their ethnic affiliation. For the same reason, the class relationships do not follow a principle of designation based upon the ethnic affiliations, but rather upon the differences of status that result from the distribution of professions within the economic system.

The fact that, given the immigrants' peasant origin as manual labourers and day-labourers, a great number of immigrants occupy the lower positions of the social stratification, is not due to an ethnified structuration of the said stratification, but is rather the result of an economic system that, because of the lack of native blue-collar workers, is obliged to recruit them outside their own ethnic borders, by which the immigration becomes a permanent phenomenon. Thus the social selection follows the principle of professional qualification. It is as a function of this factor, that about 60.3 % of the immigrants are employed in occupations of low status or of "humble" class, according to an inquiry carried out by Pinilla de las Heras (cf. 1973, 47).

However, it can be admitted that all else being equal, Catalan employers are more inclined to help the Catalan than the immigrant since the former adapts more quickly than the latter to the way of life of Barcelona. Thus social selection

or promotion follows the laws of the labour market based on professional efficiency more than on ethnic affiliation. Yet, in the cases which produce professional equality with ethnic difference the employer tends to prefer, as we have noted, the Catalan because of his greater degree of identification with his cultural system.

In accordance with such cases, it is also significant that, given the low professional qualification of the immigrant, the relationships between Catalans and immigrants are frequently defined as class relationships, on the grounds that both groups occupy different status within the social structure.

This is frequently evident, but it does not occur as a general phenomenon, if we understand that the principles that govern the employment structure of Barcelona are not of caste, but of the economic functional qualification of the individual within the system. In such a case, if the class relationships assume a different compared individual status and are brought to consciousness from a specific situation within the system, in the case of Barcelona, this consciousness is equally divided between the Catalan workers. However, many of them usually add a consciousness of ethnicity to this consciousness of class.

This means that as a function of the different ethnic and cultural consciences, the social relationships between Catalan and immigrants tend to be characteristic of two or more populations whose members participate in the same social and economic structure, but that are united or differentiated within the framework of their historical and cultural different individualities. These relationships when considered from the viewpoint of the first adult generations are defined, therefore, as relationships between different ethnic groups. Inter-ethnic cooperation is, in any case, a function of economic organization, rather than a function of cultural organization.

On the other hand, if the cultural prestige of the Catalan way of life as compared with that of the immigrants' regional origin, determines in the latter a more or less conscious identification with the former, then it is also true that such prestige is larger the greater the empirical verification of material advantages and of personality for the immigrant. In this way, the lower the immigrant's social class, the greater is his admiration for the Catalan way of life precisely because the personal benefits that this identification entails are also greater. That is to say, if the immigrant was of peasant origin and if he is a labourer in Barcelona, or if he is employed in a low prestige job, he views the prestige of urban culture not only through experience and observation, but also through social contact that he maintains with Catalans, all of which signifies that, in this sense, through association of prestige, the immigrants' social class most susceptible to adopting Catalan ethnicity, is the working class. This is so not only because the working class depends, more than anything else, in terms of urban realization of its member, on the degree of cultural approximation to the modes of living of the upper classes, but also because this mode of living is commonly identified with that of Catalan populations. In such case, the changes of ethnicity in this direction, in

equal conditions or opportunities, occur more frequently among lower class than among middle or upper class immigrants.

III.

CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS that one might have in the course of the productive relationships is, therefore, relatively separate from the ethnicist consciousness. The first type of consciousness predominates in the relations of production and unites the salaried workers independently of their ethnic group. And the same happens with the employers. However, within the social relationships between members of the same labour group, by virtue of the same social class, ethnicism may be a militant constant that confronts individuals of different ethnic groups, in this case Catalans and immigrants, whenever the problem refers more to the historical cultural ego than the socio-economic ego.

The feeling of ethnicity is thus a phenomenon that develops at the same time with the degree of intensity with which the regional consciousness is maintained. This is much stronger in the immigrants who arrive in Barcelona as adults than in those who arrive as children, and it is likewise stronger in those who are politically oriented, than in those who do not develop a political ideology, and it is also much stronger in those who are of Castellian, Andalusian, Basque and Gallician regional origin than in those who belong to other ethnic groups. But fundamentally the development of ethnicity in the immigrants in Barcelona is usually largely a response to Catalan ethnicity.

In this way, the relative class consciousness that the immigrant may express is a function different from ethnic consciousness. The first is defined by the social stratification and by the relative stability of the individual within the status system, while the second is defined not only by the consciousness of regionality and by the individuals' ascription to it, but also by the ascription within which these are classified by people of other ethnic groups.

We can thus examine two contexts, ethnicity and social class, each of which acts in a specific manner, although within a unique social system, that of the Barcelonian.

From this point of view, the social system of Barcelona has a stratification that mixes Catalans and immigrants independently of their ethnic group. Thus, when we refer to its stratification and when we consider it economically determined, we find that each class stratum is represented by different ethnic groups, and we find that, in addition, the lower strata contain a greater number of immigrants than natives, and that consequently the demographic intake of the social structure is also done through the immigration of workers who because of being insufficiently qualified, are employed in the lowest strata of the employment structure. This makes it evident that when the economic structure increases its demand for labour beyond what its own demographic structure can cope with, then if the

immigration has a peasant character, the process of acculturation takes on an extraordinary signification.

This acculturation or cultural change is characteristic of an adaptive process that is given as a function of several basic factors: a) the immigrant's original occupation and b) the social class that is recognized and in which he is situated on his arrival. But, there are also other elements to consider, such as the fact that part of this urbanization is related to a progressive loss of cultural identity, that is, the immigrant loses his peasant character and acquires an urban one, but at the same time he loses his regional culture of origin and acquires regional culture on arrival, in this case the Catalan culture. They are two simultaneous, but discontinuous processes, one related to a change of economic activity and other to the mode of life.

The social environment of Barcelona is not only going to be different because it is urban; but also because is Catalan. Here is where the process of acculturation appears as an experience in urbanization that has its peculiarities, since it assumes changes of occupation and changes of social character but also assumes, paradoxically, changes of ethnicity from a regional affirmation of relative ethnicity. Urbanization and ethnicity are two phenomena that we find related, in this case, to the problem of social class. We are confronted, thus, with the important fact that the intensity of cultural change is a social experience conditioned by the social class to which the individual is ascribed. That is the lower his social status, the immigrant's urbanization is less precisely because the degree of urban experience is a function of the ruling classes, inasmuch as of the receptivity with the immigrant may maintain himself in relation to the system of urban way of life. Here we note that if one is a member of a low social class, then he will be relatively more distant from the ruling class, and therefore he will be less urbanized. Acculturation in cities is equivalent to identifying oneself with the mode of living of the ruling group, that is it presupposes "integrating oneself" into their programs of action — general politics, public administration, legislation and law, productive organization, systems of communication, and mass influence, formal education, Churches, political parties, what is in fashion, leisure time, social consumption, imitation of behaviour, social character and other forms of producing what is called urban reality, programs that, for the same reason are destined to organize the social life in conformity with a model that is a function of the necessities of the ruling class.

According to these expectations, the urban ruling class usually makes decisions that affect the social system in various ways, a) establishing, by means of capital investments, technology and productive organization, b) determining how to organize production, c) constituting the kind of legislative that will protect the *status quo* or that will modify it in the direction desired by the ruling group, d) promoting, by means of mass communication (journals, publications, radio, movies, television and other forms of suggestion), in people those social requirements that adapt to their programs, e) characterizing these wishes through social

consumption that might be the exponent of the social character⁴ necessary to goals intellectualized by the ruling class.

Thus, these are the characteristic goals of the ruling group and to the extent that the wish of attaining them becomes a desire of all social classes, so in proportion to the latter adapt themselves to the program of the ruling classes. This program is equivalent, first, to a decision that takes into account as its point of departure the social interests of the ruling class, and, second, as a way of realizing them, adapt themselves to them in relation to the other classes. The success of the programs lies in constructing attractive models for the other classes. The consumption model, in our time, is one of those, but in order to be effectively pursued by the society in general, it is essential that the individuals who serve the model, the several social classes, have a sufficient social dream to allow them to comply with at least part of this social dream.

THE PRINCIPLE OF SOCIAL MOBILITY and economic remuneration capable of absorbing social attention in this ideal of consumption, are conditions necessary to the social character that the ruling classes need to produce. The lower the social class of the status individual, and the greater the success of the ruling class in making him identify with their programs, the greater the degree of frustration with the social dream; nevertheless the limits of all frustration will be relative to the objectives that individuals had been trying to attain, but the objectives will also be a function of the relative degree in which the ruling classes might be capable of maintaining the consumption level and the remunerations in constant equilibrium.

Thus, when we say that the immigrant's acculturation signifies a relative approximation to the way of life of the urban ruling classes, we are not asserting that the immigrants live more or less like them but rather we are making evident that the immigrant's way of life is a product of the ruling group's mode of living, that is, once the immigrant integrates himself in Barcelona, he lives in terms of the immigrant ideals that the ruling group has programmed for its particular society. Consequently, we are emphasizing that the process of immigrants' acculturation is equivalent to an identification, not always conscious, with the social character implemented by the ruling groups, though there may not necessarily exist a correlation between this social character which implies serving the interests of the ruling group and the political militance or conscience of each class. The last point is a problem of the specific situation of the individual and it is manifested as an affirmation (ruling class) or as a reaction (dominated class). If these become antagonistic they constitute a dynamic or dialectic aspect of social change.

But, in every case, and as we said elsewhere (cf. Esteva 1973-a, 105-106): "The ethics of orientation of an individual or a socio-economically depended group will be one in which are projected the states of subordination of the indi-

4. The formulation and discussion of this concept within the framework of its possibilities in Cultural Anthropology, cf. Esteva 1973 -a, 49ss.

vidual and of the group with respect to other individuals and groups of the society".

For these reasons, social class and acculturation come to be realizations that in Barcelona are relative to the degree in which one approaches the urban mode of living in this specific class development, but also in his specific development of the Catalan character. In such an extreme case, this social character is competitive and is emphasized through the struggle for status and through external demonstrations of prestige based on the consumption of material and spiritual goods, and if the degree of individual realization is defined by the position one occupies in the social structure, and if the groups which exhibit economic political and social power are representative of the maximum realization of the social ego, then immigrant acculturation will be a process of relative domination of the adaptive techniques that are required of the individual to integrate himself in the process of urban social production, so that, in the same way, this integration will constitute an individual achievement indirectly attributable to the capacity for conviction and suggestion exhibited by the ruling class.

This achievement in Barcelona is as much an adaptation of the immigrant to the urban social character of its native social classes, as it is an adaptation to the social role that he can realize within the said structure. Nevertheless, this role supports another adaptive quality: that which results from Barcelona being, in addition to an urban society, a Catalan culture. Inasmuch as this is so, the adaptive degrees of the immigrant are presented as simultaneous processes of integration in two phases, one culturally urban, the other, culturally Catalan.

These are basic mechanisms of identification. Ethnicity gains more or less strength as a function of these mechanisms. And if the force of the said ethnicity has to do with the role that the social classes in the heart of Barcelonian society perform, we also see that while its ruling classes are, above all, models of urban culture as a universal, the middle classes are, likewise, models of Catalan in its maximum urban expression. While in the greatest part the members of the ruling classes exhibit a strong adaptive plasticity and economic powers and their cultural ego frequently shares and introduces new urban modes suggested by their more frequent contact with the international world, on the other hand, the middle classes are converted into depositories of a mode of integration culturally more Catalan than that characteristic of the classes found at its extremes, and in such a case, the middle classes can be considered the most rigid in ethnic material. The fact is that while the upper classes perform as ruling groups, and for the same reason are a function of central political powers, in addition they create ethnic vacancies among their members, and in this case, the said vacancies can be filled by minority Catalan groups of the same class with economic alliance that, established outside the central political power, allow them to maintain a certain independent form of manoeuvre in their own society, whilst being at the same time converted into a political reserve group of their same class. The latter is a minority within the political and economic power of Barcelona, and to the extent to which it practises a certain cultural autonomy, its cultural ego is also

more ethnicist. This group develops its ethnicism in the form of narrow tacit alliances with the middle classes. But in any case, the majority of the members of the Catalan merchant, industrial upper classes usually maintain a weak sentiment of Catalan ethnicity, precisely because one condition for power lies in the ambiguity of its ethnicism and in its capacity to manoeuvre more flexibly than which would be pragmatically given if they were to focus upon its social and political power within the ethnicist's premises. As an example of its weak exercise of ethnicity, we have the fact that it is within the upper class that we get the higher indexes of the shift from the Catalan to the Castilian language in addressing the children⁵.

It is precisely because the Catalan urban middle class lacks these opportunities of political compromise with the central power, that the consciousness of their ethnicity is more integrated and is more inclined to resist the historical tendencies that, in conjunctural form, disorganize or weaken the defence of this ethnicity. Certainly the Catalan urban middle class is more protected in its ethnic identity than the other classes because it less frequently expresses the social conditions that lead to ethnic mixtures or to a decrease of consciousness of ethnicity. Thus, while the Catalan urban upper and lower classes frequently make inter-ethnic alliances, the middle classes remain more isolated and protect more firmly their ethnicity.

In this way, while the native merchant and industrial middle class of Barcelona society, by being nearer to the upper classes than to the lower, are urban, nevertheless they possess a cultural ego more Catalan than that of the other urban classes of Barcelona, precisely because the said ego has a continuity by itself more protected than that experienced by the extreme classes; and while the upper class exercises its position of power in direct alliance with central power for the same reason this decreases its degree of ethnic affirmation, whilst the lower class is constantly renewed or nourished by the addition of new contingents that, in their great majority, are immigrants and contribute, for the same reason, to weaken their Catalan ethnicity, especially during the course of the first generation. Hence the middle class, especially the owners of small businesses and those who exercise roles that require a university education, are the more ethnicist, and therefore they are those who develop the political functions of ethnicism and of Catalan culture in its bellicose expression. They express more definitely the Catalan cultural ego in Barcelona.

IV.

IN PRESENTING THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONDITIONS in which ethnicity and social class behave in terms of the relative acculturation process of Barcelona immigrants, we make it clear that the said process of acculturation does not refer

5. Thus, in upper class districts, such as the IIIrd and the IVth, where a great majority of Catalan people are concentrated, it can be noticed that about 5% of the people habitually address their children in Castilian. Cf. Badia 1969, pp. 256 and 268—68.

to a process of mental urbanization but rather refers to a personal pragmatic adaption achieved by the immigrant within a social context different from that of his origin, but established within a national culture of his own.

What seems more significant to us in the study of acculturation is the fact that while the origin and social environment of the great majority of immigrants, likewise the economic interests developed by the latter in the said environment, was basically peasant or rural, here in Barcelona the said environment and their interests are urban. However, these differences of situation and of socio-economic structure do not always presuppose discrepant individual differences of ego, in the sense that the immigrants' culture and urban social classes' culture in which the immigrant integrates himself or in which he gets engaged, are different.

We are pointing this out because, in fact, the migration to Barcelona is a phenomenon that we can consider as associated with the urban-industrial economy, and, therefore, is a phenomenon that we recognize as a given function of urban society, rather than of peasant or rural society. In this manner, migration is realized by individuals who have an urban orientation through their relations with persons who live in cities and through the urban attraction that mass media carry out on the rural environment. In any case, migration is part of the economic requirement of an urban labour market with a rural economic structure, which tends to bring about the paradox that while the urban labour market is wide and offers many opportunities, the rural market is reduced and offers to the individual few possibilities of social realization.

Then, to the extent that mass media are urban and social relationships between the rural world and industrial society increase, to the same extent the peasants develop an appetite for employment and residence in the urban centres. And at the same time, while the urban influence is greater on rural life, the peasants' ideology is also more urban. In this sense, the difference between urbanitas' urban ideology and the peasants' urban ideology is of degree and praxis, but is not qualitative, since peasants' aspirations and values are, in Spain, basically similar to those of the same urbanitas. In accordance with this postulate, the difference between them consists of the fact that they have the same expectations, but they realize them in a different degree. In this way, there exists a unique urban general culture, that is national, and another that is specific or ethnically regional. The acculturation to which we are referring would then be one that creates simultaneous adaptative processes to the national urban culture and to the Catalan urban culture in particular. Then, this immigrants' process of acculturation will consist of differences of praxis achieved through the same aspirations and values. Thus, it will consist of a gradation of realization of frustrations relative to aspirations, so that the individual achievements will be a function of the degree of domination of new social techniques, as also of new professions and employments, but the expectations of this change and their cultural signification will not be different.

It is necessary to consider the problem of acculturation more within the context of a process of loans from one culture to another, than as an individual process or change realized within the same global culture.

Once this process is realized in Barcelona, it refers to the relative realization of a social economic urban aspiration and presupposes, in such case, the integration of the individual to a variable of the national society. In this way, the individual adapts himself within the same national cultural system, so that the national or global society considered as an impersonal or supraorganic entity does not experience change. But to the extent in which regional cultures exist, such as the Catalan culture, if the individual is of a different regional group, either the immigrant's national or regional culture of origin, then he experiences a process of acculturation. This signifies that the immigrant does not undergo the process of acculturation as an urbanita but as a member of an other regional culture contrasting with the Catalan.

In effect, what the immigrant does is to adapt himself to a new urban social environment, that he already knew intellectually, but had no personal praxis of it. But, likewise, the significance of this acculturation in Barcelona is that, in addition to being an aspect of the national urban cultural praxis, in terms of the different ethnicity of the specific urban environment, it is an aspect of the praxis of another culture, the Catalan. It is in this sense that we formulated the problem of acculturation. And thus: to what extent, how and which are the qualitative features of change produced by a greater intensity of urbanization as praxis of the same social character and acculturation as praxis of a new experience, that of the Catalan culture?

We presented previously (cf. Esteva 1973, 162ss) some of the phenomena of change that immigrants experience in Barcelona. In general terms, the said changes occur as functions of triple character: 1. on the one hand they imply ecological adaptations, including a different form of residence and employment; 2. they develop patterns of behaviour in order to make new acquaintances, associations and interests and, likewise, they provoke changes in family relationship; and 3. they stimulate the adaptive crisis of the regional cultures of origin, and contrariwise encourage the assimilation of patterns of Catalan culture. The two first groups of phenomena are basically social inasmuch as they are representative of changes in social relationships and constitute individual realization, at urban levels, of the same national culture: hence they are part of the national ego. The third group is clearly distinct from the process of cultural change, since it is constituted not only as a modification of the immigrants' social adaptations to one of the structural variables, but is also established as a modification of the immigrant's national and regional culture of origin.

We consider the last aspect as characteristic of how the process of acculturation is understood by Cultural Anthropology.

It is only when we understand as acculturation in Barcelona the experience of another culture by the immigrant, that we concern ourselves with the reality of

the process of acculturation. Thus, for instance, to change from living in a Castilian, or Basque, or Gallegian, or Andalusian way of life, to a Catalan, which involves a change of language, is to experience another kind of cultural ego, a process of acculturation. Becoming urbanized may be, instead, a distinct from of behaviour within the same culture in one of its variables. For a modern peasant to live in a city of his own ethnic group or nation is equivalent to being more urban, that is, is equivalent to realizing the social praxis of urbanism in his own sources, but within the same values and cultural functions. By contrast, for this peasant to live in a city of a different nation, in this case, of a different ethnic group with a distinct language and historical-culture conscience is equivalent to being acculturated and being the object of a process of formation of an other cultural ego. This is the case of Barcelona with the non-Catalan immigrants or from other regions situated outside the area of Catalan tradition.

WHAT DO WE CONSIDER then as the immigrants' characteristic praxis of intensive urbanization? Fundamentally, to live in a cosmopolitan city. The two more important causes of adaptation to the urban praxis are the change of employment and the change of residence. In the first case, the majority of immigrants change from peasant occupations to industrial occupations. The majority, however, remain as low social status wage-earners. That is, their production relationship continue as those of employer-employee, but the peasant who previously were autonomous owners also become salaried workers as a rule in Barcelona. The latter are, therefore, those who, in exchange for economic benefits or a larger income, change from the category of independent workers to that of dependent workers.

According to this readjustment, the majority of immigrants are salaried-workers. What can change is the type of job expectation, but the less qualified he was in his occupation of origin, the more likely it is that his employment now in Barcelona, at least in the first phase, may be classified as that of a blue-collar worker. Independently of this occupational classification, his employment in Barcelona will mean a better income and a greater economic stability, even when the form of labour contracts may have a temporal character.

With regard to the residence, the change can be notoriously significant, in the sense that the organization in immigrants' districts and their internal organization represent a kind of ecology certainly distinct from that they previously knew as peasants. However, it is important to recognize a fact that seems to us symptomatic: the fact that a great number of these immigrants usually were economically migratory, that is their jobs had an eventual character, and for this reason they are used to dealing with individuals indifferent places.

This fact would be manifested as a result of their instability in the employments and of their frequent change of residence. Once in Barcelona, the immigrants tend to repeat, by means of eventual employments, too, the migratory character of their labour adaptations and tend to pass through an initial period of housing occupation considered inadequate from an urban viewpoint, and hav-

ing insufficient space to give to each member of the family adequate privacy according to the standards of consanguinity for individuals of the opposite sex, and the space distribution as a function of different services like living-room, dining-room, bed-rooms and other culturally institutionalized rooms; in addition, their housing frequently lacks running water, electricity and plumbing.

On the other hand, the residence in immigrants' districts tend to be based on the principle of the social differences of class, a principle that takes into account, in addition to occupation and income and exhibiting consumption, the relative education-scholastic, technical, university or other, including behaviour and etiquette-exhibited by the individual. The most important initial difference between his original environment and his current environment in Barcelona, will be that while the former is adapted to peasant functions, and therefore is rural and more stable, the latter is adapted to urban-industrial functions, and therefore is susceptible of a greater instability. If the previous ecologic environment has a relatively simple social and economic structure, the latter has a more complex. In addition, it is obvious that social concentrations in the urban suburbs are closer than in peasants' villages, and in the case of the immigrants tend to be ethnically and occupationally more diversified.

Employment and district of residence are closely related. Thus, those who obtain relatively well paid jobs will be able to choose relatively well equipped houses. But in most cases, the immigrants' occupations are usually of low professional and economic qualification, and for the same reason their residence districts are badly equipped within the concepts of contemporary urbanism. With regard to such conditions, the initial life of the great majority of immigrants in Barcelona is spent in districts of refuge.

These districts of refuge constitute, however, forms of social continuity relative to the cultures of origin (cf. Esteva 1973, 165), in the sense that since the relative number of Catalans that live there is low, the direct acculturation effect that the latter exert on the immigrants is also low. To a certain extent, social adaptation to these immigrants districts is easier because in them the regional origins are repeated in terms of modes of living.

The general aspirations of the immigrants, however, in terms of values of realization, are urban, but from a situational viewpoint represent a level of development poorer because of urbanism, so that to a certain extent, the said level might be designated as infra-urban.

It is certain, however, that this mode of living is manifested in a similar way, for instance in Barcelona, Madrid, Bilbao and other metropolitan populations perceptive of demographic waves, precisely because, as we have pointed out elsewhere (cf. Esteva 1973-b, 187ss), this is a general phenomenon of urbanism confronted with the problem of accelerated industrialization, a phenomenon characterized by the excessive demand for services that coincides with the conjuncture of the cities' incapacity to satisfy both simultaneously.

APART FROM THIS FIRST SITUATION referred to the immigrants' urban praxis, it is also evident that other forms of social behaviour are derived in particular from the new conditions imposed by the economic system and by the development of the ideologic structure that is characteristic of the urban social character of a metropolis. For instance, the working hours of the members of the domestic group do not always coincide, and therefore the former opportunities for and frequency of meeting together decrease. Employment in factories or in enterprises situated far away from their residences obliges them to reduce the time spent at home (cf. Esteva 1973, 165ss). This fact has repercussions on the control of authority within the family, greatly decreasing the father's role, and increasing the mother's role.

These are questions of social structure in which the formal values have to be adapted to personal relationships that are specific to ecological conditions — distance between domicile and employment — and that give rise to deep modifications in the individual behaviour, so that the domestic group's system of role-status performs a frequent readjustment to these conditions. The same can be said of the position of the children in respect to the parents. While in the rural life the former are socially more united to the latter, and are economically more unified, now in Barcelona the children usually have a longer academic career, which means that they are dependent on their parents far longer than before. The effect of the ecologic dispersion of parents and offspring decreases the social influence of the family atmosphere and increases that of the modern atmosphere. Frequently, this means the appearance of intra-family conflicts as a consequence of the greater of filial behaviour individualization. But, likewise, while the said conflicts have their origin in the affirmative intents of the filial ego, the children, due to longer economic dependency, find themselves in contradiction with themselves as they have not yet confirmed their social autonomy.

These are problems of a structural character to which other are added, such as the size of the domestic group, the number of children, the occupational discontinuity between parents and children, the use of leisure time, the relative application of the income to consumption, and, in addition, aesthetic developments in dress, fashion, and the furnishing of the household. The latter are aspects that (see Esteva 1973, 171ss) may be observed as immediate and visible changes in the immigrant, if they can well be considered specific to one same culture, that which is common or general and is informed by the same systems of communication and values. The contents specific to the occupations (rural versus industrial, merchant versus administrative) and the social relationships specific to production relationships (industrial bourgeoisie, merchant and financier versus labourers, employees and technicians) would be of a different makeup. And certainly, as we have already indicated, the respective praxis of each structure would be different, since each of them (rural and urban-industrial), being economic functions of the same cultural system, correspond, nevertheless, through the traditional system, to different behaviours. However, just as the land and cattle production become more and more a function of the urban market and

are practically dependent upon this economic organization, so the said behaviour responds to similar values and aspirations. Therefore, they form, part of the same social character.

If we admit, in addition, that social or individual circulation is parallel to the relative mobility of the labour market, then we deal with variables or specialization of the same culture that appear to be each time more mixed within a same process, when we think, in this case, of the increasing industrialization and commercialization of the countryside, including its environmental urbanization, when we think of the reorganization of the rural space through the adaptation of the urban system models, and of the equalization of the aesthetic form of behaviour.

In this way, if the form behaviour are equivalent to the content and situation in which social relationships are entailed, and if the employment has specific aspects that differentiate one individual from others, conditioning their personal adaptations, then cultural differences will refer to the occupational system and to the specific environment that derives from the space organization with productive goals. Thus the questions considered, the immigrants in Barcelona of peasant origin modify their social behaviour through a praxis that refers, adaptively to a culture that has been communicated to them by systems of personal information (familiar, friends, tourists, traders, agents of government, such as administrators, politicians, soldiers, educationalist, etc.) and impersonal information such as mass media.

Praxis consists of the different social relationships and of the experience of the more complex socio-economic structure of the part of culture that corresponds to the urban environment. For the immigrant presuppose adaptive changes that, as we have pointed out, modify his experience of the common global culture.

From these facts the immigrant manifests as characteristic or specific of his cultural form or *ethos*, characteristics that are relative to his regional culture and that, once in Barcelona, may remain as folkloric patterns of song and dance, popular medicine formulae, oral traditions, beliefs and special devotions, parties, typical dishes, linguistic nuances if not different languages, on one hand, and as ethnicity, on the other. Epi-phenomena related to the form of ethnicity are affirmed as characters of the first generation of immigrant and do not dissolve. Immigrants also acquire Catalan vocabularies and participate in the Catalan's way of life, are acculturated and change their ethos or cultural ego.

SOMETIMES THE SAID CHANGE is misunderstood and is taken as the universal characteristic of urban or bourgeois-industrial character, covering, for example, punctuality seriousness, individuality, savings and other features of personality whose description is outside the scope of this article. In fact, then, the change to which we refer is a kind of acculturation that mixes the urban and industrial adaptive categories, understood as universal, that transcend, therefore, the characteristically regional or ethnic categories for the characteristically Catalan regional or ethnic cultural categories. This acculturation begins in work-centers,

but more through the acquisition of Catalan vocabularies relating to the jobs than through the contents of urbanism. These vocabularies, particularly in the construction and industry branches, are very expressive and correspond, in many cases, to the regional tradition.

The most important thing is that the reception of this linguistic input into the immigrant's economic concepts is deeper the more recent the experience in relation to the occupation and association with Catalans.

This acculturation is, above all, linguistic and is produced easily in groups that do not belong to the Castellian regionality and also in the lower social classes more than in the upper classes, precisely because while the former lacked and industrial language or were specifically urban in their praxis, in contrast, the immigrants of higher classes arrive with a language, Castellian, already adapted to the urban-industrial occupations in which they are going to be employed in Barcelona. In any case, industrial progress and the fact that the translations of the new vocabularies are done in Castellian, influences the higher social classes to keep their language and to be acculturated more slowly than the lower social classes of peasant origin. In addition, the fact that the former classes are more rigid with regard to their ethnic conscience, makes them consciously resist longer the fact of being acculturated and of being less assimilated than non-Castellian speaking people.

The specific receptivity to this acculturation is, besides, relative to the immigrants' age on arrival and also relative to the number and demographic weight of the Catalans in the context of the social environment. It is also particularly relative to the degree of relationship or dependent interchange at which they stand with respect to Catalans. All these factors or variables of a process of acculturation begin just as a process of pragmatization or of individual realization of the urban expectations and end as a process of acculturation in the sense of catalanizing the cultural ego, after a period of disassociation of the cultural ethos of origin correlative with the loss of regional ethnicity. In such a case, ethnicity and social class would be discontinuous elements from the relative simultaneity of their manifestation viewpoint and the same will happen with the process of acculturation if we take into account the fact that each process will be specific to the conditions (occupation, social class, regionality, place of residence, age, number of fellow countrymen) in which each immigrant realizes his social adaptation in Barcelona.

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