

Doctoral Dissertation Research: The Implications of Economic and Social Mobility for Transnational West African Migrants in Spain

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Project Summary

This project applies the framework of segmented assimilation which analyzes different patterns of immigrant integration to understand variations in transnational activities among West African immigrants in Barcelona, Spain. It examines the role of immigrant integration in determining the types of cross-border activities immigrants pursue and their level of engagement in these activities. Given the monetary and legal resources needed to facilitate certain transnational activities, this project proposes that immigrants with greater social and economic mobility in the host country will demonstrate a wider range and an increased frequency of transnational behaviors. For instance, West African immigrants having legal immigration status and occupational mobility will demonstrate greater transnational behaviors than those illegally residing in Spain and employed in low-wage menial jobs.

Broader Impacts. The proposed project broadens the understanding of the relationship between immigrant integration and transnational behavior by studying populations that have been under-represented in transnational migration research in a country where mass immigration is a recent phenomenon. International migration research concerning Africans has centered mostly on the forced migration of refugees and labor movements. Examining how Spain's migration policies and the social context of reception affect the integration of sub-Saharan Africans, and indirectly their transnational activities, also has applied implications.

Research Problem Statement

The proposed project examines how the social and economic integration of sub-Saharan West African immigrants in Barcelona, Spain affect their participation in transnational activities, or behaviors that enable them to maintain social ties in their countries of origin. With the emergence of transnational migration studies, the focus of international migration research has largely shifted from examining immigrant integration in receiving nations to exploring their transnational behaviors. However, the relationship between immigrant integration in the receiving country and the types of transnational activities immigrants pursue, as well as the degree of their involvement in these activities has not been directly studied. Some migration scholars have suggested that transnationalism is, in part, an adaptive strategy, a reaction to the hostile reception and downward mobility that nonwhite immigrants face in post-industrial nations (Basch et al. 1994; Portes 1997, 1999; Waters 1999; Faist 2000). Given the monetary and legal resources needed to facilitate certain transnational activities, downward mobility in the receiving society appears to limit the capacity of immigrants to engage in these behaviors. The critical question of how immigrant integration affects transnational behavior remains unanswered. The proposed project addresses this issue by exploring how participation in transnational behaviors varies across the different patterns of immigrant adaptation as outlined by the framework of segmented assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997). Segmented assimilation explains the individual and contextual factors that account for the different patterns of immigrant integration (Zhou 1997). If the extent to which immigrants participate in transnational behaviors depends on the resources available to them (Portes 1999; Levitt 2000; Kivisto 2001), then the transnational activities of immigrants with increasing social and economic mobility in the host country will be greater in range and frequency. Conversely, the transnational activities of immigrants with declining mobility will be more constricted. This project anticipates that West African immigrants having legal immigration status and occupational mobility will demonstrate greater transnational behaviors than those illegally residing in Spain and employed in seasonal low-wage employment.

Background: Recent Migration to Spain

The burgeoning of Spain's registered foreign population from 360,655 to 1,109,060 during the decade of 1991 – 2001 marks the country's transformation from a country of emigration to one of immigration (INE 1998; INE 2003a, 2003b). While the immigration of Latin Americans and people from former Spanish colonies and protectorates is expected, the growing immigration of Africans from sub-Saharan countries with no historical or colonial ties to Spain is a recent phenomenon. Since the mid-1990s, West African immigrant communities have mushroomed in Spain. Between 1996 and 2001, the number of documented Senegalese more than tripled from 3,575 to 11,532, while the number of Gambians almost doubled from 4,401 to 8,473 (INE 1998; INE 2003a, 2003c). Because much of African immigration to Spain is illegal, official census figures do not capture the actual number of Africans living in the country.

Of the structural factors accounting for Spain's present popularity as a destination for sub-Saharan Africans—entry into the European Community, geographical proximity to Africa, and a porous coastline—labor demand in low productivity sectors largely explains current immigration (King et al. 1997; King and Rodríguez-Melguizo 1999; Baldwin-Edwards 1999; Veiga 1999). The demand for immigrant labor at a time when Spain is experiencing high unemployment supports the principles of dual labor market theory (Piore 1979; King et al. 1997; Mendoza 1997; Viega 1999). According to the theory, the labor market is segmented into primary and secondary sectors (Piore 1979). The latter, also known as the informal or low productivity sector, is characterized by low wages, instability, and menial status. Consequently, the secondary sector does not attract nationals and must depend on the flexible and casual labor that immigrants supply (Piore 1979; Massey et al. 1993; King and Rodríguez-Melguizo 1999; Baldwin-Edwards 1999). The main jobs immigrants occupy in the secondary sector are unskilled construction, agricultural, and service jobs. The service jobs immigrants perform include domestic work

and menial jobs in restaurants, hotels, and hospitals (King et al. 1997; Mendoza 1997; King and Rodríguez-Melguizo 1999; Baldwin-Edwards 1999; Veiga 1999).

Immigrants are geographically concentrated in areas where greater job opportunities in the secondary sector exists, primarily the provinces of Madrid and Catalonia (King and Rodríguez-Melguizo 1999). Of the total number of Africans residing legally in Spain, including Moroccan and Equatorial Guineans who both have historical ties to Spain, 36 percent live in the province of Catalonia and of that portion, 66 percent live in Barcelona, the provincial capital (INE 2003d). Major cities such as Madrid and Barcelona epitomize what Sassen (1998) identifies as global cities, where immigrants, mainly women, service the “strategic” sectors, the professional class.

In addition to labor market demands, social networks account for increasing immigration to Spain (Massey et al. 1993). The high concentration of people of the same ethnicity and nationality in the same occupations and geographic area reveal the fundamental role of social networks in facilitating migration (Veiga 1999; King and Rodríguez-Melguizo 1999). Social networks further sustain migration by mutually connecting migrants and nonmigrants in relationships through which information and assistance are transmitted (Boyd 1989; Massey et al. 1993).

The economic incorporation of West African immigrants in Spain’s secondary sector, however, does not translate into social integration. Variations exist in the acceptability of different ethnic groups by the Spanish. Latin Americans having few linguistic or cultural differences are socially more accepted than Africans, whom Spaniards associate with the underground economy (King and Rodríguez-Melguizo 1999). The preference for Latin Americans over African immigrants is evident in the bilateral labor agreements Spain has with several Latin American countries. However, it has no such agreements with any sub-Saharan African country, not even its former colony Equatorial Guinea.

As the least accepted immigrant group, the integration of African immigrants into Spanish society conforms to the differential exclusion model. In this model, immigrants are incorporated as ethnic minorities marginalized by both their ethnicity and immigrant status (Castles 1995; King and Rodríguez-Melguizo 1999). African immigrants are incorporated into specific sectors, such as the labor market, but are denied access to social services. The social exclusion of immigrants occurs at the national level through legislative measures that deny them civil rights, and at the individual level through acts of racism and discrimination (King and Rodríguez-Melguizo 1999).

Literature Review: Connecting Transnationalism and Integration

Basch et al. (1994) define transnationalism as the practices that enable immigrants to maintain multiple social relations across national boundaries, binding immigrants in countries of settlement and nonmigrants in countries of origin. These social relations range from individual to collective ties including familial, economic, organizational, political and religious connections (Basch et al. 1994). With regards to the relationship between transnationalism and immigrant integration, some researchers of migration studies have interpreted the transnational activities of recent nonwhite immigrants as partly a response to the negative reception—dead-end jobs and marginal status—faced in the United States (Portes 1997, 1999; Portes et al. 1999; Waters 1999; Faist 2000). Waters (1999) observes that for West Indian immigrants in New York City assimilation means becoming black American, a “stigmatized” minority; whereas a transnational identity, one that transcends nation-states, enables them to circumvent the racial categorization of the United States. However, while transnationalism may be partially a response to downward mobility or negative reception in the host society, income from low-wage menial jobs does not provide the monetary resources needed to facilitate certain transnational activities. Moreover, discriminatory immigration policies deny targeted groups the necessary legal rights to cross national borders.

Offering a different interpretation to the relationship between transnational behavior and immigrant integration, Kivisto (2001) defines transnationalism as a form of assimilation on the basis that immigrants maintain social ties in their countries of origin while engaging in processes of acculturation in the host society. Moreover, Kivisto (2001) argues that contrary to the transnational view of immigrants

simultaneously living in two countries, at any given moment immigrants are located in one, and the immediate concerns of the receiving country take precedence over the more distant concerns of the sending community (Kivisto 2001). However, defining transnationalism as a form of assimilation or adaptation does not take into account the variation of transnational behaviors among immigrants with comparable familial and social ties in their countries of origin. Why do some immigrants travel back and forth while others simply send remittances? I propose that the social and economic integration of immigrants in the host society accounts for much of the variance in transnational behavior. Missing in current interpretations of transnationalism is the capacity of immigrants to access technologies that condense space and time and to possess legal rights that facilitate the crossing of national borders, both of which are measures of social and economic integration in the host country.

The theory of segmented assimilation offers a framework for understanding the relationship between transnational behavior and immigrant integration. Segmented assimilation attempts to explain the individual and contextual factors that determine into which segments of the host society second-generation immigrants become incorporated (Zhou 1997). Three distinct outcomes of immigrant adaptation are possible: 1) upward mobility through conventional acculturation and economic integration into the middle class; 2) upward mobility as a result of economic integration into the middle class while retaining the immigrant group's values and affiliation; 3) downward mobility due to acculturation and economic integration into the underclass (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997). Segmented assimilation differs from classical assimilation and multicultural paradigms in its consideration of downward mobility (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997).

Although segmented assimilation has been used to describe the possible outcomes of second-generation adaptation (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997), with modifications, these outcomes are applicable to the first generation. For example, first-generation immigrants can suffer downward mobility as a result of their economic incorporation into low-wage employment while experiencing minimal acculturation. Portes and Zhou (1993) identify three features of the receiving environment that contribute to downward mobility: discrimination, residence in impoverished areas, and restricted economic opportunities. The environment in which many African immigrants find themselves in Spain presents all of these features. The limited acceptability of African immigrants in Spanish society, their economic incorporation into the secondary sector, and the clandestine nature of their migration set conditions for the creation of an immigrant underclass. At the same time, since 1985, the year before Spain joined the European Union, African immigrants have had opportunities to regularize their immigration status through periodic amnesty programs (King and Rodríguez-Melguizo 1999), which opens economic opportunities for them. An alternative to less desirable work in the secondary sector is the ethnic labor market. Portes and Zhou (1992) observe that Dominican, Cuban, and Chinese immigrants, who remain within the ethnic economy, particularly entrepreneurs, do better than those who are not part of an ethnic economy. Resources made available through ethnic networks and niches enable immigrants to avoid downward mobility (Portes and Zhou 1992, 1993). With the possible trajectories of immigrant adaptation—mainstream, underclass, and ethnic enclave—the question of how transnational behavior varies across the different patterns of adaptation becomes critical.

Research Design and Methodology

Hypothesis. From the central question of this study, how does the social and economic integration of sub-Saharan West African immigrants in Barcelona affect the types of transnational activities they pursue and the degree of their involvement in these activities, the following hypothesis emerges: *Immigrants with greater social and economic integration in the host country will demonstrate a wider range and an increased frequency of transnational behaviors.* This hypothesis contains four variables to be measured: a) the level of incorporation of West African immigrants in Spain's economy; b) the level of their social adaptation; c) the types of transnational activities they practice; and d) the frequency of engagement in these activities. These variables are defined and operationalized below in subsequent sections.

Field Site. The proposed study will take place over a 12-month period in Barcelona. As the capital of the Autonomous Community of Catalonia, Barcelona's diversified economy offers opportunities in both the primary and secondary sectors for immigrants. An underground economy involving traffic in drugs, sex and stolen goods, in which African immigrants are allegedly engaged (King and Rodríguez-Melguizo 1999), coexists with the legitimate economic sectors. With the availability of these opportunities, it is not surprising that Barcelona has one of the largest numbers of documented immigrants in Spain (INE 2003d). Barcelona's high concentration of West African immigrants makes the city an appropriate field site for this project.

Exploratory Data Collection

Participant Observation. Participant observation will be the primary method used to collect and analyze data during fieldwork in Barcelona. Studies of groups who live on the margins of society, such as undocumented immigrants, or who are involved in activities outside of the law show that participant observation is more suited than quantitative methods for documenting their life experiences (Bourgois 1995; MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga 2000). Participant observation will enhance the quality of data collection (Dewalt et al. 1998), by providing essential information needed to develop interview questions and to evaluate data collected from the other methods (Pelto and Pelto 1978).

Participant observation involves not only observing people and their activities in different social situations, but also interacting with people and engaging in their activities (Spradley 1980). While the continuum of participation ranges from nonparticipation, no involvement with people or activities, to complete participation, becoming a member of the group being studied, my level of participation in the daily activities of the West African immigrants will be moderate, a balance between participation and observation, or outsider and insider (Patton 2002; Dewalt et al. 1998; Spradley 1980).

- a) To facilitate my entry into the community and build rapport with immigrants living in the vicinity, I will establish residency in either the Ciutat Vella or Nou Barris district. Both of these districts have the heaviest concentrations of West African immigrants (Dept. d'Estadística 2003). By building rapport, I hope to form a comfortable relationship that encourages informants to talk as they normally do and to eventually confide in me (Bogdan and Biklen 1998). Only through relationships based on trust can I ask provocative personal questions and expect serious answers (Bourgois 1995).
- b) Where legally and ethically permissible—a number of immigrants are involved in the underground economy—I will engage in their activities to gain an understanding of their daily life experiences in Barcelona (Dewalt et al. 1998). When possible, I will accompany my informants to work whether at the home of a Spanish employer or on the streets selling wares. I will frequent ethnic business and social establishments of West African immigrants, as well as agencies that deliver services to the immigrant community.
- c) I will use various techniques to record my observations. In addition to carefully documenting observations, conversations and informal interviews on a daily basis, I will tape record interviews and events with the permission of informants to supplement my field notes (Dewalt et al. 1998). Because field notes are simultaneously recorded observations and a product constructed by the researcher (Dewalt et al. 1998), I will maintain detailed records of both my objective observations and my subjective feelings in my field notes (Spradley 1980).

Defining Transnational Behaviors. Recent critiques highlighting the ambiguity of transnationalism (Kivisto 2001) and the need for a methodological framework for transnational studies (Portes et al. 1999) make defining transnational practices imperative. Kivisto (2001) attributes much of the ambiguity to competing definitions. He identifies three versions of transnationalism: anthropological, middle-range, and social spatial perspectives. Vertovec's (1999) grouping of the different transnational themes found in

recent literature also illustrates the diverse levels of analysis: social morphology, type of consciousness, mode of cultural reproduction, avenue of capital, site of political engagement, and reconstruction of locality.

For the purpose of this study, transnational practices refer to the activities and behaviors in which immigrants engage to sustain diverse social ties in their countries of origin (Basch et al. 1994; Itzigsohn et al. 1999; Levitt 2001). Surveying the literature we find transnational behaviors that range from the familial to the national level: sending remittances and goods, investing in land and housing, traveling, sponsoring family members through reunification programs, marrying a spouse from the home village, investing in entrepreneurial ventures, belonging to hometown associations, and participating in the electoral process in the country of origin (Basch et al. 1994; Portes 1996; Itzigsohn et al. 1999; Levitt 2001). This study refines the continuum developed by Itzigsohn et al. (1999), which measures the intensity of engagement in transnational activities from broad to narrow, to a likert-type scale ranging from low to high respectively. The refined scale will retain the dimensions of Itzigsohn et al.'s continuum: the degree of institutionalization of activities, involvement in activities and movement across territorial borders.

The transnational behaviors of sub-Saharan African immigrants in Spain will be determined using the following methods:

- a) **Free Listing.** In the exploratory stage of fieldwork, I will collect free lists from 30 West African immigrants residing in Barcelona to determine the different activities in which they participate to maintain relationships with people in the country of origin. Free listing is a technique for eliciting a list of items in a cultural domain, a set of related concepts about a topic, using an open-ended question (Weller 1998; Weller and Romney 1988). Twenty to 30 informants are a sufficient sample size for eliciting a free list (Weller and Romney 1988). To exhaust the list of items, I will slightly change the question after the initial elicitation from informants (Weller 1998). I will use Anthropac software (Borgatti 1996) to analyze the free-lists items. Anthropac will ascertain the most salient items—behaviors mentioned in the beginning and found on a significant proportion of the free lists (Pelto and Pelto 1979; Weller and Romney 1988)—that will provide the background data for constructing questionnaires that later will be used for semistructured and structured interviews (Weller 1998).
- b) **Rank Order Tests.** With the most salient transnational activities listed on the free lists, I will design a rank order test using AnthroPac (Borgatti 1996). The rank order test will be randomized to eliminate response bias, which can confound the data (Weller 1998; Weller and Romney 1988). The ranking of activities can be done orally, making it appropriate for literate and illiterate informants (Weller and Romney 1988; Weller 1998).

Before administering both the free lists and the rank order tests, I will conduct pretests on five informants to uncover any ambiguities with the wording of instructions and questions. For the free lists, I will pretest the question generating the list of behaviors to ensure its suitability. I will provide all informants with practice lists of the transnational activities to familiarize them with the procedure before administering the actual triad test for this study (Weller and Romney 1988; Weller 1998).

- c) **Semistructured Interviews.** The data obtained from these two techniques will also be supplemented with interpretive data. To gain a general understanding of the activities mentioned on the free lists and the rank ordered tests, I will carry out semistructured interviews with respondents. After informants are done with listing and selecting, I will ask them why they made the choices they made (Weller and Romney 1988). The open-ended design of semistructured interviews allow for minimum control of informants' responses, yet because the same questions are asked, comparison across informants are possible (Bernard 2002). All the interviews will be tape recorded with the permission of each

informant. The interview guide will also solicit demographic and socioeconomic data, including employment history, previous migration experience, and reasons for migrating to Spain.

Data Collection

Survey. The survey will contain two scales, one to measure transnational behavior and the other integration. The questions will be both open- and close-ended. To ensure proper wording of the survey questions, I will have the questions back translated (Pelto and Pelto 1978; Bernard 2002). I will assist a native speaker in translating the survey questions into Spanish and Catalan. A third person will then translate the survey back to English from the Spanish and Catalan translations. I will pretest the survey on a pilot sample to eliminate any problems with the wording and questions (Pelto and Pelto 1978). In addition, French and English translations of the survey will be available for Francophone and Anglophone respondents who may have limited Spanish and Catalan proficiency.

a) **Survey Sample.** The large number of West Africans residing illegally in Spain prohibits a systematic random sample. While snowball sampling is a common method for building a sampling frame for small populations that are difficult to find such as undocumented immigrants (Johnson 1990; Bernard 2002), selecting respondents through snowball sampling will compromise the analysis of personal networks, which will be used as a measurement acculturation (McCarty 2002). Efforts will be made to recruit respondents independently of one another. Informants will be selected using quota and purposive sampling to ensure theoretical representation and heterogeneity (Bernard 2002; Johnson 1998; Pelto and Pelto 1979). Interviews will be solicited from individuals who are at different stages of settlement—from illegal residence to naturalization—and in different occupations. Attempts will be made to secure an even distribution of female and male respondents. All respondents will be first-generation immigrants. Respondents will be recruited through diverse social settings: self-help organizations, ethnic associations, churches, and neighborhood venues. Previous research of an immigrant group having high incidences of undocumented status showed that particular social settings, such as churches and ethnic associations, facilitated recruitment in the study (St. Jacques 2001).

The sample will be comprised of 50 members from a Francophone—Senegalese—and an Anglophone—Nigerian or Ghanaian—group. The actual selection will depend on circumstances in the field. For comparative purposes, Equatorial Guineans will also be included in the sample. Although the country is a former colony of Spain, Equatorial Guineans are subject to the same restrictive immigration policies as other African nationals. However, Spanish colonial traditions may inform their social integration in Spain, which provides an opportunity for contrasting their adaptation with that of the other West African groups. The total number of respondents for the survey will be 150.

b) **Measurement of Transnational Behavior.** Data from the free lists and rank order tests will be used to create likert-type scales to measure the level of engagement in different transnational activities. There will be five-point responses from always to never. The summative score will be the score for transnational behavior.

c) **Measurement of Integration.** The variables listed below will be used to measure the social, economic and cultural integration of the West African immigrants in Barcelona. They are not fixed and may change depending on data collected in the exploratory phase of fieldwork.

1. **Occupational status in Spain.** Because dual labor market theory (Piore 1979) has been the foremost perspective for understanding the economic incorporation of immigrants in industrial countries, employment in the primary and secondary sectors will be indicators of integration with the former having more weight than the latter. Self-employment, described as an alternative to less desirable

work in the secondary sector (Portes and Zhou 1992), will have a higher score than work in the secondary sector, but will be less than employment in the primary sector since entrepreneurship is usually within the ethnic enclave. I will also measure the prestige of employment using Treiman's Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale (1977). Occupation has been shown to be the best single predictor of social status and educational attainment and income are correlated with occupation (Miller and Salkind 2002). The Treiman's scale has prestige scores for 509 occupations and an average intercountry correlation of .97 based on seven countries (Miller and Salkind 2002).

- 2. Immigration status.** Legal status is an essential variable in the process of integration (Massey et al. 1987). Legal status offers economic and social welfare opportunities unavailable to undocumented immigrants that encourage integration. Powers et al. (1998) found that Mexican migrants in the United States experienced upward mobility from the first jobs they held after legalizing their status. Moreover, residency and naturalization confer rights that facilitate particular transnational behaviors. For example, the legalization of status in the host country permits movement between sending and receiving countries without punitive consequences, which may increase travel between the two countries. Because African immigration to Spain is largely clandestine, many Africans have legalized their immigration status through regularization campaigns. Several campaigns have been held since the 1990s. In consideration of the different immigration statuses and the different rights each confer, I will construct a five-point immigration scale ranging from undocumented, application being processed, work permit, resident, to citizen.
- 3. Social Network Analysis.** Based on the assumption that the interaction between immigrants and different populations in the host country is a key element in acquiring new attitudes and behaviors, McCarty (2002) proposes the use of egocentric, or personal, networks as a dimension to the study of social integration. Most analyses of egocentric network data summarize the composition of the network as a set of variables that become attributes of the respondent (Fischer 1982; Schweizer et al. 1998). Questions asked of respondents about themselves will include standard demographic questions as well as an appropriate acculturation scale for the particular language group and geographic context. The analysis of egocentric networks involves eliciting a list of a respondent's network members, also known as alters. Respondents are asked 1) to provide information about each alter, such as age, gender, and race; 2) to indicate how they know each alter, for example as family members, friends, or co-workers; and 3) to rank the strength of their relationship with each alter, for instance on a scale from one to five (Campbell and Lee 1991; McCarty et al. 1997). Other data to be collected about alters include the primary language spoken with alter; alter's country of residence; and the types of social support the alter provides.

The analysis of egocentric networks is part of a larger project directed by Chris McCarty, University of Florida, and José Luis Molina, Autonomous University of Barcelona. Respondents will be paid \$40 dollars for their participation. Egonet software, developed by Chris McCarty (2002), will be used to collect data on personal networks. Previous experiences with Egonet show that with an elicited network of approximately 50 people, respondents can complete the interview within two to three hours. The software will be installed on laptops that can be taken to respondents' homes, or any location convenient and comfortable for respondents.

- d) Selection and Training of Assistant.** Two assistants will be hired to help administer the survey. Preference will be given to anthropology students attending the Autonomous University of Barcelona, where a member of my dissertation committee is a faculty member. My affiliation with the Department of Anthropology at the Autonomous University will facilitate the hiring and training of the assistants. Training will consist of methods for cognitive and systematic data collection. Assistants will also be chosen based on the particular characteristics of the sub-Saharan West African population. For example, to permit communication and interaction with Francophone West African

immigrants who do not speak Spanish or Catalan, one of the assistants will be required to speak French. In addition, I will hire one male and one female assistant in consideration of cultural and religious norms prohibiting interaction between men and women.

Life Histories. Life histories will be collected from a small sub-sample of the informants from the survey. Because life histories permit the study of changes occurring over time (Marshall and Rossman 1995), the goal of collecting them is to document the different stages of the migration process, from the decision making process to migrate to eventual settlement in the host country. For the objectives of this study, the life stories of the individual respondents will capture the changes in transnational behavior that have occurred alongside the integration process. Because the study examines how transnational behavior varies with greater social and economic integration, the sub-sample will be selected based on the longevity of their residence in Spain. The life stories will be tape recorded with the permission of the informants.

Data Analysis

Correlation Analysis. Pearson's correlation will be used to determine the relationship between immigrants' level of integration and their degree of involvement in transnational activities. The correlation analysis will enable me to discover if there is a relationship between integration and transnational behavior, how strong the relationship is, and whether the relationship is positive or negative (Huck 2000). The summative scores obtained from the measurements of social, economic and cultural integration and of transnational behavior will be used for examining the correlation. The correlation of the scores from the measurements will be analyzed using SPSS.

Multiple Regression Analysis. Stepwise multiple regression will be used to ascertain the degree to which the integration of West African immigrants in Barcelona explains variation in transnational behavior. The order in which variables are entered into the regression model will depend on the bivariate correlation between each variable and the dependent variable, transnational behavior (Huck 2000). The other variables that will be incorporated in the stepwise regression model are the type of social ties existing in the home country, the length of residence in Spain, and occupation demanding cross-border movements. The type of social ties immigrants have in the home country will be measured using a Likert-type scale representing a spectrum of ties, from immediate familial ties, to business-related connections, political ties, civic-based associations, and cultural linkages (Basch et al. 1994; Itzigsohn et al. 1999; Levitt 2001). Length of residence in Spain is an interval variable. Occupations requiring cross-border movements will be represented as a dichotomous variable. SPSS software will be used to perform the stepwise regression analysis.

Analysis of Life Histories. Grounded theory will be the method governing the transcription and coding of the life histories. Grounded theory method is a procedure for constructing theoretical models based on the relationship of the different themes emerging from the text (Bernard and Ryan 1998). Because the goal of collecting the life histories is to identify changes in the transnational behavior of West African immigrants over the span of their settlement in Spain, grounded theory will detect any relationship that emerges from the changes in transnational behavior occurring over the different stages of integration.

Gender Analysis Framework. On account of the different opportunities available for female and male immigrants in the gendered labor market of Spain, this study considers gender in the analysis of how social and economic integration shapes the transnational activities of West African immigrant. The demand for domestic workers mainly accounts for the feminization of recent migration to Southern Europe (Anthias and Lazaridis 2000). Gender analysis explores the relationships of men and women in society and the inequalities in those relationships (March et al. 1999). To examine how gender influences

the integration of West African immigrants in Spanish society and their participation in transnational behaviors, I will use the social relations approach developed by Kaber (1994). The social relations approach highlights the structural relationships that produce and reproduce systematic differences in the position of different groups in society (March et al. 1999). It draws attention to how state policies and market forces affect the positioning of West African immigrants in Spanish society.

Significance

By examining how transnational behavior varies across different patterns of immigrant integration, this project builds on recent efforts to construct a more comprehensive framework for the study of transnational migration. The development of the field has been frustrated by conflicting definitions, lack of a methodological framework, and skepticism to the newness of the phenomenon (Portes et al. 1999; Foner 2000; Kivisto 2001). Framing transnational behavior within the context of integration can resolve some of these theoretical problems. In addition to examining the relationship between transnationalism and integration, this project broadens the study of transnationalism to countries where immigration is a recent phenomenon, such as Spain. Much of the research of transnational migration has focused on immigrants in the United States. Likewise, this project includes under-represented groups in the study of transnational migration. While a limited number of immigrants groups, specifically Dominicans, Mexicans, and West Indians, have been over-represented in transnational migration studies, African populations have largely been overlooked. International migration research concerning Africans has been centered mostly on forced migration of refugees, labor movements and the emigration of professionals—also known as brain drain. This study remedies these shortcomings.

Broader Impacts. This project also has applied implications in that it can shed light on current migration to Spain from sub-Saharan West Africa. As a portal to Western Europe, Spain is under pressure to curb growing illegal immigration and standardize its immigration policy in accordance with European Union regulations. Spain has undertaken several measures to stem illegal immigration: general amnesties and legalization campaigns; increased security on its coast and on the borders of Ceuta and Melilla, its North African enclaves; and joint ventures with European partners to patrol the Mediterranean Sea. In 2001, the Spanish government implemented a new immigration law to make the repatriation of illegal immigrants easier. At the same time, the low productivity sector of Spain's economy depends on immigrant labor. This project documents how the immigration policies of Spain and the social context of reception affect the integration of sub-Saharan Africans into Spanish society.

Ethical Considerations

I will take the utmost precautions to safeguard the rights and well being of the participants in this study in accordance with guidelines set by the American Anthropological Association (1998) and the Federal Policy for the Protection of Human Subjects, 45 CFR 46 (2001)—also known as the Common Rule. Due to the vulnerability of potential participants in this study—a large number of Africans are residing illegally in Spain, and the possibility of involvement in illicit activities exist—I will ensure the anonymity of informants by protecting and coding their names and identities in all notes and records, including tape recordings. In all stages of the research, I will keep documents and computer files under locked security. I will instruct my assistants on procedures to protect informants and to secure records. To protect informants participating in this study, I will obtain permission to conduct this project from relevant Spanish authorities.

Research Schedule

The 12 months of fieldwork is divided into four sections corresponding with the different phases of data collection and analysis. During the exploratory phase, I will familiarize and introduce myself to the different West African communities in Barcelona; collect and analyze preliminary data (free lists, rank

order tests, and semistructured interviews); and recruit and train the research assistants. The preliminary data will be used to construct the transnational behavior index for the survey. The research assistants will also be trained to use the Egonet program. In the second phase of fieldwork, the construction and administration of the survey will take place. At which time, the survey will be translated into Catalan, Spanish, French and English. Life histories from a subpopulation of the survey sample will be collected in the third phase of fieldwork. Participant observation will be conducted throughout the duration of fieldwork. Follow-up interviews will be covered in the last month.

Project Feasibility

José Luis Molina, who is a professor in the Department of Social Anthropology at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, will be supervising my field research. He has conducted extensive research on the social networks of Moroccan immigrants in Catalonia. During his visit to the University of Florida in the spring of 2002, I met with Dr. Molina to discuss African immigration to Spain, and he expressed much enthusiasm for my research. Throughout the past year 2002-2003, we have been in contact and he has been assisting me in my preparations for fieldwork in 2004. On the basis of his research and the support he has given me, I have asked him to sit on my dissertation committee. His assistance during my fieldwork will facilitate my research and enable me to access support from the University of Barcelona. My affiliation with Dr. Molina has strengthened the academic linkages between the Anthropology departments at the University of Florida and the Autonomous University of Barcelona.

Investigator Qualifications

I have a B.A. in English and Spanish and have traveled previously to Spain. For my masters research I examined the social integration of Haitian refugees in the Bahamas, focusing on factors hindering and promoting integration. The research question on which this present proposal is based stems from issues raised in my research in the Bahamas, where I observed that Haitian immigrants who exhibited greater transnational behaviors were socially and economically integrated into the Bahamian middle class. In addition, transnational migration is one of the subjects for my Ph.D. qualifying examinations. I have taken all of the seminars dealing with migration in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Florida. I have also taken courses on research design and cognitive research methods, qualitative research methods, statistics for social science research, and social network analysis. To prepare for fieldwork in Barcelona, I have enrolled in a Catalan language course offered in the Department of Romance Languages at the University of Florida for the fall of 2003.

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Budget Justification

- B.6 Other Personnel: Research Assistants - \$2,625.** Two research assistants will be hired to accommodate for the cultural and linguistic diversity of West African populations in Spain. The assistants will help with the construction and translation of the survey, the administration of the survey, the collection of life stories, and the transcription of interviews. The estimated total breaks down to an hourly wage of \$8.75 at 20 hours a week for approximately four months. The weekly schedule will be divided between the two assistants.
- D. Equipment: Notebook Computer - \$1,500.** The University of Florida requires the itemization of equipment expenditures over \$500. The price of the notebook computer is based on current estimates at different retail outlets. The computer will be my primary equipment for data collection and analysis: writing and managing field notes; transcribing interviews and life histories; constructing the survey and other instruments; and analyzing data in the field.
- E.2 Travel Foreign - \$1,121.** The requested amount includes the cost of one round-trip economy airfare between Miami, Florida and Barcelona, Spain (\$700) and local travel within the field site (\$421). The amount for local travel within Barcelona and its surrounding areas is the annual cost of a monthly T-Mes pass that permits unlimited rides on the metro, buses and local trains.
- G. Other Direct Costs: Living Expenses - \$6,600.** This estimate is based on information from Professor Jose Luis Molina on the cost of living in Barcelona. The total includes monthly rent for a room or efficiency apartment near the University (\$250) and monthly food expenses (\$300).