CONQUERING SUNSHADES
Indian enclaves, resilience and local commercial conflict in the Catalan coast.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. The Resilience of People on Motion. Processes of immigration, and reintegration in the wider Europe today (13-15th October 2011 (University of Trier)

Research.

Spanish context: migration and crisis.
  ▪ A case study: Lloret de Mar.

The ethnic enclave: theoretical and empirical approach.

Discussion.
  ▪ Conflict & resilience.

Fieldwork quotations:

“Indians come because this is a joke. They do not pay taxes and they steal” (Local Shopkeeper 1, Lloret de Mar, Spain)

“I am against to what is going on... But imagine an Indian comes and offers me 60,000€ straight away with a 5 years contract ... I would take it! without thinking twice!“ (Local Shopkeeper 2, Lloret de Mar, Spain)

“They live to work, we work to live”. (Local Shopkeeper 3, Lloret de Mar, Spain)

- Migrant entrepreneurship and the effects of the socioeconomic crisis.
- Ethnic & enclave economies / transnationalism / social networks.

LLORET DE MAR: A CASE STUDY ON ETHNIC ENCLAVE AND LOCAL CONFLICT

- 1st approach: fieldwork, formal/informal interviews (45).
  - Interviews to local and Indian shop-keepers & representatives (association leaders, etc.)
  - Ongoing research: social networks, position generator (social capital), and the enclave’s traits.

Spanish context: migration & crisis.

IMMIGRATION
From 0.5% migrant population (1985) to 14.1% (2011)

1. Romania (809,409)
2. Morocco (766,187)
3. Ecuador (478,894)
...
India (0.50%)

20% rate of UNEMPLOYMENT.

A case study: Lloret de Mar
Local population: 40,000 (60% Spanish + Europeans + Latinos + Africans + others) and becomes more than 100,000 during summer.

Lloret de Mar: 1st touristic destiny in Catalonia & 5th in Spain.

Mass tourism in Lloret is also called:
- “Lumpen-tourism” / “Sun, sea, sand” tourism / “all-included” tourism / drunkenness tourism.

- During 2011: 10 million tourists, 8.000 million dollars revenue / 400.000 jobs.
The Indian Community

- There are 1500-1800 Indians in Lloret:
  - Sinds, Sikh and Punjabis

- No previous historical contact.
  - World Diaspora

- Displacement of previous local “ethnic economies”
  - Moroccan, Pakistani, locals.

Enclave: a particular case of “ethnic economy” (Light, 2006)

- Alternative to the dual labor market (Kim, 2003: 805).
- Comparative advantage of ethnic resources (work-force, credits, information, solidarity).

“Permanent concentration in a particular spatial place of a variety of ethnic enterprises with a significant presence of co-ethnic workers in a specialized economic sector” (Portes, 1981:290-91).

The questions.

1. Can we talk of ethnic enclaves in the context of Spain?
   - “There is not such thing as “ethnic enclaves” in Spain”
     (Haller, 2004; Solé & Parella, 2005; Arjona & Checa, 2006)

2. Can we talk of an “homogeneous community”?
   - Intra-enclave inequalities.
     - Social mobility (integration) vs segregation.
       - Differences between employers/employees

3. Does the enclave operate in marginal environments?
   - *Mixed embeddeness*, conflict and resilience.

First question: an ethnic enclave?

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spatial concentration</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>Sector specialization</th>
<th>+</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic co-workers</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Ethnic Owners</td>
<td>+/-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ethnic clients</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ethnic solidarity</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information and opportunities flow</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Capital (economic, social and human) flow</td>
<td>+/-</td>
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Yes, it is an ethnic enclave.

Spatial concentration
An specialized economic niche.

**SOUVENIR SECTOR (80%).**

1. Little economic (investment) and human capitals (experience).
2. Small profit per unit, but large volumes.
3. Availability of workers, suppliers, and consumers.
4. Unspecific, non-specialized sector:
   - From t-shirts to bullfighter figurines.
   - Great variety, flexibility and adaptation to new demands.

Second question: ... Is the enclave socially homogeneous?

EMPLOYEES
- Wide labor reservoir
  - Young co-ethnics, non-skilled, fresh migrants.
  - Low consumption rates, low salaries and long working days (> 14 hours).
  - Social segregation + "circular migration"

EMPLOYERS
- Early community and long settlement.
  - Barcelona (1992) and Andorra (15 years)
  - Most hold Spanish Nationality
  - Tenants and ownerships (>1)
- Integration + upward mobility.

Intra-ethnic differences: there is no an homogeneous ethnic enclave.

### Relationships within the enclave (hypothesis)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>OWNERS</th>
<th>WORKERS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>SOLIDARITY</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<td>INFORMAL CREDITS</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>UPWARD MOBILITY</td>
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<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>INTEGRATION</td>
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<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>TRANSNATIONALISM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ties between Indian employers and locals with high social capital.

High “level of integration”.

Source: Courtesy of JL Molina.
DISCUSSION

Resilience, mixed embeddeness and local conflict.
Enclave and “the art of bazaar economy”

“Bazaar economies” (Geertz, 1978)
- Prices relates to supply and demand.
  - Active selling / bargaining
  - Control over information.
    - Command different languages.

Ethnic resources
- Work exploitation – family and co-ethnics.
- Patron-client relationships.

Highly adaptable.
- Longstanding, particular, relations with suppliers.
- Strong competition and adaptability to new demands.

Integration or assimilation: not their primary concern.

Local entrepreneurs and “the art of gossip”.

Mistrust and animosity towards ethnic competition.
- Traditional control.

Gossip as weapon (Redfield, 1989)
- Free from taxes.
- They sell stolen goods.
- Money laundering.
- Unfair competition (timetables).

Double standard
Local owners rent their stores to ethnic employers.

MIXED EMBEDDINESS APPROACH (Kloosterman, 2000)
In the analysis of “ethnic economies” we need to bear in mind both the context (structure) and the ethnic resources (cultural perspective), but also the internal inequalities + local specificities (utility of fieldwork).
- Context of high competition and limited resources (crisis).
- More agents in the game: local owners, ethnic owners (of single or multiples stores), employers and employees.

RESILIENCE: 1. The property of a material to absorb energy when it is deformed elastically. 2. The capacity of an ecosystem to respond to a disturbance by resisting damage and recovering quickly. 3. Metaphorically, the term might be used to explain how migrants adapt and overcome contextual adversities.
- Not always the enclave is a way out to segmented labor market.
  - Enclave economy might compete with mainstream economies.
  - Ethnic entrepreneurs use diverse strategies to adapt and compete under adverse conditions (e.g. bazaar economy)
    - There is no single strategy but many.
    - Resilience varies depending on to the context and the social stratum.

Thank you, Danke