BREAKING BREAD
NOTES FOR A POLITICAL THEOLOGY
OF MIGRATION

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1. INTRODUCTION

Twenty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, other walls still form part of our everyday life. For example, the double fence separating the city of Ceuta and the Moroccan territory. Other walls are perhaps more subtle, though they are still the cause of bloodshed, because they exist within us and take possession of our lives. These are the walls that separate «them» from «us».

1.1. Walls and bridges

From Berlin, we have learned that walls are not natural, but artificial. They are not fixed, but changing. They are not eternal, only temporary. They are imposed... and accepted with complicity. However, it doesn't need to be like this. Human liberty can change history. When we meet another person, we can stigmatise them and in this way build a barrier wall; we also have the capacity to acknowledge them, and build a bridge to foster closeness.

Let us place ourselves for a moment on the border between the United States and Mexico. Wall or bridge? For centuries, this has been a place of exchange, communication and healthy interaction between people on both sides of the frontier. Wall or bridge? It was there that, shortly after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the government of the North began to strengthen the natural frontier of the Rio Grande with the systematic use of catch fence systems, helicopters, infrared beams, thermal imaging sensors and other instruments to reinforce border patrols. Wall or bridge?

In the same place, in fact, literally on the border, every year a special type of ceremony takes place, which is both powerful and significant. A group of Mexican and North American Christians meet to celebrate the Eucharist... united in the same faith and yet separated by a physical wall of political division. Bishops, priests and the whole

community actively participate in this unique bilingual celebration on both sides of the fence that separates them. The Eucharist is a witness to the fact that the universal, indivisible and unlimited love of God overcomes all divisions and invites us to give solidarity a global dimension. At the same time, the Eucharist denounces the culture of fear, the interests of the powerful, the suffering of the poor and the injustice that separates us. This rite is therefore a cry in favour of bridges and against walls[1].

1.2. Aim of this booklet

This booklet will explore the meaning and implications of actions like those we have just described, which are both symbolic and real, personal and public, spiritual and political. In this way, through our reflections, we hope to contribute to the development of a political theology that finds its roots in the Eucharist and that has transforming consequences[2]. I should clarify that we will not be tackling the issue of migration in all its complexity in this work, but that we will be focussing exclusively on the integration of migrants. Or rather, we hope to encourage and show the way towards the building of fully integrated societies in which each person and each social group can find their own space.

In this booklet, we will be exploring both political and theological arguments alongside each other. Given that not all readers will be comfortable with this double focus, and given that these subjects use two different 'languages' and forms of 'logic' that are so dissimi-

lar, it would be useful at this point to describe the theological and the political outline of this booklet.

The theological approach contains a key element of Christian faith, that is, the celebration of the Eucharist. This approach primarily allows us to affirm the inviolable dignity of each person and their fundamental rights. As the argument progresses, we will discover the implications of this approach in the cultural, socio-economic and political spheres, expressed through the significance of the word, of bread and of power[3].

The political approach, for its part, understands integration as the full and effective exercise of human rights. It deals with building a framework for community life in which everyone, both migrants and indigenous people, can see their rights acknowledged and can exercise them freely. We are referring to basic cultural, social, economic and political rights. We will see how this approach has implications when considering social intervention for immigrant people and groups (which needs to include their reception, recognition, redistribution and public participation), as well as how this affects our very notion of integration.

1.3. Layout of the four levels

The way in which we have set out the four levels of rights is not coincidental. Firstly, we are affirming the dignity of each person and their basic rights as the universal and solid basis upon which we can live in communities with each other and tackle these issues. Secondly, we

are analysing the cultural and socio-economic rights as a polarity that is needed to build an integrated society. The third and final stage focuses on rights as an expression of full citizenship, acknowledging that today this scenario is still a utopia that inspires us to continue walking towards this horizon[4].

We can complete and refine this outline from the perspective of a «sociology of presence», understood as the framework which shows the world the life or *lebenswelt* in which we are active[5]. This presence is, on the one hand, an idea and sociological reality that allows migrants to be incorporated normally into our daily life. On the other hand, presence is the idea and theological reality that adds a radical dimension to the commitment of a society to being inclusive and integrating everybody. In both cases, presence struggles with exclusion, stigma and the tendency to alienate people.

Asserting this presence as the backdrop to our worldview, we enter into the systemic mechanisms that build it up and make it viable in our complex societies. For this reason, we will be combining culture and economy in our analysis, status and class, the symbolic and the material, bread and roses[6], redistribution and recognition. We agree here with the opinions of Nancy Fraser, when she affirms that contemporary society:

Encompasses two analytically distinct orders of subordination: class stratification, rooted primarily in economic system mechanisms, and status hierarchy, based largely in institutionalized patterns of cultural value. (...) Whereas class stratification corresponds to maldistribution, status hierarchy corresponds to misrecognition. Morally speaking, however, the effect in both cases is the same: some members of society are prevented from participating on a par with others in social interaction. Thus, both orders of subordination violate a single overarching principle of justice, the principle of participatory parity.[7]

Finally and in a third step, this same approach leads us into the political arena, as a domain for full participation on an equal level. Presence, as a primordial human reality, highlights the common and inviolable dignity of every human being. This presence, in order to be socially relevant, requires cultural and socio-economic rights to be defended simultaneously. And all of this requires moving relentlessly towards a horizon of comprehensive political rights where the 'mutual presence' of a few people among others makes up the institutional and everyday fabric of our relationships.

In order to coherently maintain this sociological and political approach, we will be using the Eucharist as the main thread of our reflections[8]. This intertwining at both a political and theological level, constitutes one of the main features of this study, but at the same time, it may pose a slight difficulty to some readers. We therefore ask for your patience. We preferred to keep these areas united in order to convey the unity of our analysis clearly.

2. RECOGNISING OURSELVES. RECOGNISING FACES

We begin then, the discussion that we have outlined. We remind you that in each of the four chapters envisaged, we will be following the Eucharistic theme, from which we will be analysing theological aspects in succession, questions pertaining to the exercise of human and civil rights, elements involved in social intervention and some characteristics of the integration of migrants.

2.1. Theological level: the Opening Rites of the Eucharist

The Eucharist always begins in the street, in life, in history. Although we are sometimes not aware of it, every Eucharistic celebration involves an entrance procession. This procession (although it is not commonly practised in modern liturgy) is beautiful, powerful and 'secular', and brings us from the street into the place of worship. It is a procession that gathers those from various corners of the town, who have lived out their Eucharistic life during the week, thus congregating the dispersed, uniting the scattered, bringing near those who live far away. In effect, it is a procession that demonstrates and reminds us that we are all called by the one Lord of all history. Each one of us arrives with our own worries, desires, joys, hopes, sufferings and weaknesses; with our own specific situation, with our own cultural background, with our social position, our roots, and our daily life. When the entrance procession finishes, we still retain our differences, and yet are no longer distant from each other. We recognise the other person's face, we recognise ourselves in the other person's face.

And we listen, while in the place of worship, to the greeting from the priest presiding over the celebration: «In the

name of the Father, and of the Son and the Holy Spirit». We are called and gathered together by the Triune God, the God who has admirably maintained unity in the midst of diversity. Full communion for our full personal identity. And the People of God respond with one voice: «Amen». Each one of us (and all together) realise that this inclusive-God-community is the basis for our unquenchable desire to live in an integrated and plural society, which is respectful of differences. We also feel, through the Sign of the Cross, the embrace of the Trinity, which not only sustains us, but which also unites us. The embrace of the One that draws us to Himself, because He desires that we live in the image and likeness of His complete unity-in-diversity.

It is therefore not surprising that the next step of the Mass involves recognising our own faults and asking pardon for them. There is a wide gap between our desires and reality, between the 'spirit of the Compassionate Father' and the 'spirit of the world'. God dreams of a welcoming, inclusive and fraternal world, built on fair relations, respectful of differences, where each person can express themselves fully… and yet we live in a society that discriminates and excludes, which is dispersed and dominated by exploitative, unjust and unequal relationships. Of course, we are not external spectators to this reality, but rather active agents of our own history. «Lord, have mercy», we should cry out from the heart. On doing this, we come back to experiencing the forgiveness of God, who remains committed to pushing our history along pathways of fra-

ternity, and this is why we are welcomed, remade and launched anew into our lives.

These opening rites finish with the Opening Prayer. Firstly, a few brief moments are set aside so that each person may pray in silence and then the priest recites the common prayer aloud, shared with the people. This is where we again meet the dynamic of unified diversity: each person expresses their own very private words in silence, which are both spontaneous and profound, and which are then gathered together in the more formal opening prayer. This should therefore combine, by its very nature, the different voices, accents, music, silence, words, cries and sounds in one unique common prayer. Strictly speaking, this should be impossible in such a brief span of time, and yet the wisdom of the Church liturgy seems to be aware of this and invites us to symbolically integrate our differences through the dynamic of silence, and the words that are contained therein. We need to become silent and gather together from a perspective of silence in order to be able to include every voice, since these voices are so often drowned out by noise or silenced by the powerful.

These opening rites outline the anticipated reality of Christ, as Lord of all history and Lord of the Universe. We use the phrase 'anticipated reality' because, clearly, this reality has not yet been fully realised. It awaits fulfilment and is anticipated through the liturgy, as we wait for the full and definitive realisation of this promise. If as Christians we accept that Christ is the only Lord, we therefore have no other Lord

on this earth. For this reason, our relationships are characterised by circularity, equality, balance, and unconditional welcome. Jesus is Lord and we are all brothers and sisters. Through Jesus, everyone is acknowledged with basic dignity, still accepting that everyone is different, but at the same time knowing that these differences do not legitimise discrimination or exclusion of any type.

2.2. Political level: human dignity and basic rights

We have just seen how the opening rites of the Eucharist represent the liturgical expression of a fundamental human experience: that is, recognising that each one of us is called to communion, and that the other person is not a stranger that should remain distant, but rather a close neighbour.

The entire philosophical tradition of communitarian personalism, and more specifically Emmanuel Lévinas, underlined that simply acknowledging the Face of the other person constitutes the beginning of an ethical and truly humane relationship. When formulated like this, it seems to be quite a basic and obvious truth. Nevertheless, by reflecting on this just a little, we see that reality is in fact very far from these principles. Let us look at just three examples.

2.2.1. The Spanish Aliens Act

The Spanish Aliens Act (LOEx), reformed at the end of 2009, continues to represent a law on so-called aliens, in spite of the fact that its official name speaks of rights and liberties pertaining to foreigners in Spain. Without going into a detailed analysis, it is worth pointing out some of the serious errors in its approach, because they demonstrate very clearly the effects of these basic errors of recognition when they are translated into the legal and political sphere. Firstly, the law considers the migrant as a member of the workforce and not as a person, to such an extent that it formulates this explicitly in its opening preamble, which subsequently influences many specific sections of its content. And secondly, although it is not explicitly stated, the LOEx looks at immigrants from a criminalizing perspective. This is the only way that the many restrictive measures set out in this law can be explained, such as the waste of resources on Migrant Detention Centres (CIE, in Spanish) and the lengthy chapter on penalties.

2.2.2. A discriminatory employment stigma

The second example we will look at is that of the work environment, given that this is precisely the area in which we normally find the migratory phenomenon. Common sense dictates and admits (at least in «boom» times), that the immigrant is viewed as a worker. Yet in doing so, it automatically situates him or her within a certain sector or working environment, which is usually at the lowest wage level, in the poorest working conditions and with no social standing (or what is commonly called: «the jobs no one else wants to do»). In a spontaneous and very «natural» way, a serious error of basic recognition is committed here, which brings with it a

negative association with obvious discriminatory consequences. To be even more specific: when a Bolivian woman sets foot on Spanish soil, society automatically assumes her rightful place and the only viable labour option for her is as a domestic, regardless of any qualifications she may possess, her family circumstances, or her expectations... The multiple discrimination suffered by immigrant women is a well-known fact, in both the area of social intervention and in the academic sphere[9].

2.2.3. Second generation migrants

Thirdly, let us say a few words on second generation migrants, that is, the sons and daughters of immigrants who were born on our soil. In this instance too, we see how social perception and a distorted recognition of immigrants affects their ability to integrate normally into their new society. In a classic study, Carola and Marcelo Suárez-Orozco, coined the English term *poisoned mirror* in order to describe the stereotypes and prejudices that society launches at these second generations, with the effect of creating reactive and marginalized identities, as well as active opposition to the dominant society[10]. Clearly not every journey of personal identity and social integration of young people belonging to migrant families follows this course of conflict and marginalisation, but it is nevertheless true that these people suffer greater discrimination and more difficulties in following their chosen path in life. Without going into detail here, what we want to point out is the fact that these

mechanisms of distortion towards the children of immigrants have harmful effects, not only for them but for society as a whole, at both a functional level and in relation to values and principles.

We can say then that none of this happens by chance, not in the legislative domain, the domain of employment, nor in the area of second generations. The errors of recognition are not just errors, but are instead part of a logic that seeks to segregate and exploit. There are concrete mechanisms that criminalize immigrants and spread fear[11]. It is therefore necessary to unmask the social construction of inequality, or in other words, the process by which inequality and discrimination appear normal. Ultimately, it is essential to affirm once and for all the inviolable dignity of every human being.

2.3. Social level: the politics of reception, and legal and political integration

Hospitality and welcome allow us to free ourselves from suspicious glances and undo the errors of distorted recognition. Confronted with the perception of the immigrant as someone who is a stranger and hostile, there is another alternative approach, which is one of hospitality, which makes it possible to be born again (alter-native), to live another way, live with others, and live out alterity. Through mutual and reciprocal recognition, we can discover our true and renewed common humanity.

In this way, daily life and its relational network become areas of profound social transformation. The matter

is simple, even though many times we forget it: between the areas of the personal and the structural, the relational is found. Genuine welcome transforms our relationships and our relationships transform reality. This is how we manage to overcome the sterile and paralysing personal-structural polarity, which exists as though there were only these two possibilities; that of seeking refuge in our own private *microcosm*, or that of claiming that we could change the world in a single stroke. The authentic encounter with the other person in our daily life allows us to rediscover the transforming power of the *meso*, or the middle ground, and thus build relationships.

2.3.1. Basic rights and common dignity

However, these considerations do not solely affect the area of voluntary work or Christian charity in its strictest sense. The area is one of much broader scope. As we have already stated, affirming the inviolable dignity of every human being (regardless of their origin or financial situation) assumes basic rights that need to be recognised at a legal level and at a practical level. It is not merely by chance that in the *Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration (2007-2010)* of the Spanish Government, the first of the areas for priority action is the reception of immigrants with the double objective of, on the one hand, giving immigrants the necessary tools by which they can live with a sufficient degree of autonomy in order to allow them access to goods and services, the ability to exercise their citizens' rights and perform their duties on an equal footing with the native population, and on the other hand, structuring a State Network of Comprehensive Reception Services throughout the national territory, capable of responding to the needs of a comprehensive reception, which would receive people in situations of vulnerability or those with specialised needs.

In any case, we cannot forget that the issue of the inviolable dignity of each person points to the effective recognition of the fundamental rights associated with that common dignity. For this reason, the first of these notions of integration which, following the same theme as Andrés Tornos, we will be examining in this booklet[12].

2.3.2. Focus on legal and political integration

Is the legal-political approach, which understands a person as being well integrated when their rights are acknowledged and they can be exercised freely in the community. The emphasis is therefore on the legal framework. This is why the main difficulties facing integration come from shortcomings in the law and its implementation, in such a way that the solutions proposed aim to resolve the inadequacies of these laws (responsibility of the legislators), and the shortcomings in their application (responsibility of the citizens, immigrants or indigenous people).

From this perspective, some of the points already mentioned from the Aliens Act appear particularly serious.

Although it formally affirms principles of equality and non-discrimination, in reality, the regulation of rights such as education and housing classifies people according to their financial situation. In other words, according to the LOEx law, there is no such thing as universal rights that are applicable to everybody, but rather some people are accorded one set of rights, while others are accorded only a few rights. As well as the specific injustices involved in these stipulations and their questionable constitutionality, perhaps more serious is the fact that this law seems to bring us back to the time before the French Revolution, when a quasi-feudal system existed, in which people's rights did not depend on their common human dignity, but rather on their birth. In the same way, Professor Ricard Zapata-Barrero criticised the fact that these days, citizenship has become something like private property, a sort of privilege: «in contrast with other properties, citizenship is acquired in an involuntary manner, through birth. And it is precisely this privilege of birth which turns it into a new indication that the Middle Ages mentality prevails in our modern society»[13]. These privileges therefore, pose an obstacle to full recognition and violate human dignity.

3. DIALOGUE. AN EXCHANGE OF WORDS

Looking at the face of another (and seeing that person as a Face), we recognise them also as a speaker, and we open ourselves to the words coming from that person, and enter into dialogue with them. Dialogue literally means being «traversed» by the *logos (*dia-logue*)*, by reason, by words… with all their slants, accents, nuances, wealth, agreements and debates. This daily verbal exercise also brings us to realise and value the cultural rights of people and of social groups.

3.1. Theological level: the Liturgy of the Word

Let us continue then, with our celebration of the Eucharist, moving on to the Liturgy of the Word. Firstly, the Word of God is received and welcomed as a real gift from God to His People; secondly, this Word is spread, expounded, shared and circulated among the entire community of faith. The circularity of the Word (and for this reason, of all words) is the basis of dialogue. This dialogue seems particularly necessary in our social and ecclesial context, which is marked by pluralism and by many excluding tendencies. As we live in the Church, as Christians we should be capable of bringing this circularity into the public arena of our culture. From this perspective, culture should not be an elitist privilege which divides society, but should instead be a reality that we receive, recreate, control, spread and share among all people and groups within society –in a circular fashion, with no exceptions.

3.1.1. A dialogue between God and people

The Liturgy of the Word is essentially a dialogue between God and God's People. It begins with the initiative of God who desires to communicate Himself to humanity and our response is listening to the Word of God. Through the liturgical year, we go over the prin-

cipal moments in the history of salvation reflected in the Bible. It is impossible to offer here even a summary of the fundamental texts of the Bible referring to the reality of migration. We will limit ourselves to mentioning half a dozen, from both the Old and New Testament, as illustrative examples. Abraham, our father in faith, was a wandering Aramaean who left his land as an emigrant (Gen 12-25). The People of Israel, exploited on foreign soil, became God's People thanks to the liberating action of God, who heard their cries (Ex 1-15). Once in the Promised Land, the People are called to live relationships based on solidarity, evidence of this being in the attention given to sojourners who live in their midst (Lev 19:34). The Babylonian exile and the subsequent return to Palestine was another of the foundational crises that made up the fabric of the people. Jesus himself suffered an exile (Mt 2: 13-23), and throughout his life had nowhere to lay his head (Mt 8: 20), as well as explicitly identifying himself with immigrants (Mt 25: 35). The apostle Paul brings the Good News to the Gentiles (Gal 1: 16) and forms a community with them, which is both plural and unified in its diversity. For his part, Peter writes to a community of migrants (1 Pe 1:1; 2:11) and urges them to practise mutual hospitality (1Pe 4: 9).

3.1.2. A family conversation

The word homily comes from the Greek verb *homiléin*, which means to tell or communicate something with familiarity, or to share something in the context of friendship. Using this term leads us to a richer understanding of Sacred Scripture, and invites thanksgiving for the wonders of God, feeding faith with the Word, preparing the faithful for a fruitful Communion and inviting them to practise the requirements of Christian life (*Order of Readings for Mass*, n. 41). While in practice, homily has come to mean a sermon or preaching, its actual meaning is richer and more nuanced. It is about encouraging a space for dialogue between God and His community, facilitated by the priest, and the community with one another, surrounded by the presence of God and the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

3.1.3. The meaning of the profession of faith

Let us now move on to the Profession of Faith. On reciting the Creed together, the assembly not only proclaims their shared faith in the Triune God together, but does so by expressing their union with all the other communities of believers who recite the same formula around the world. Professing the Creed links us to an inherited tradition, in other words, with believing communities who before and after us have prayed and will continue to pray together, united by the same faith. As the philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre says, tradition is in reality an extended conversation in time. In other words, reciting the Creed signifies, at the same time, affirming our own personal commitment, sharing this commitment with the community of believers, and extending it both geographically and temporally. We again meet with a powerful affirmation of unity in the midst of diversity.

But what is the specific content of this Profession of Faith? In summary, it is a resounding confession of faith in one true God, the God-Communion. Clearly, this very condensed affirmation of faith opens on to many others. In the Paschal Vigil and in Baptismal celebrations a formula of questions and responses is used, and as the affirmations of faith are preceded by questions on renouncing Satan, etc., we could reformulate these questions to suit our own context here:

Do you renounce Satan and all his works and all his empty promises?

Do you renounce evil, which denies the Fatherhood of God by violating the essential dignity of every human being, whatever their condition, origin or administrative status?

Do you renounce Satan's works, that is to say, all actions that discriminate, exploit, marginalize, criminalize and break up society?

Do you renounce all his lies and empty promises, such as paternalism, which creates relationships of dependency? Do you renounce all comforts, which can make people silent in the face of injustice? Do you renounce the lack of recognition of rightful and enriching human diversity?

The Creed, which renounces values and visions of the dominant system, and which is formulated and shared among the faithful, is closely linked with the sincerity of our faith in the Trinitarian God: God the Father who founded the universal human family; God the Son who became flesh in Jesus of Nazareth and who shows his neighbourly, sincere and committed compassion for all humanity; God the Holy Spirit who hovers over all Creation and, on doing so, turns diversity into a source of communion.

3.1.4. A participatory prayer

The prayers of the faithful are the main channel through which the participation of all of the People of God takes place in the form of words said aloud. Every longing, anxiety, difficulty, intention, pain, hope and muttering find their place in this intercessory prayer for the needs of the world and the whole Church in its concrete reality. I remember clearly the Christmas Mass celebrated last year on December 25th in the Migrants' Detention Centre (CIE) in Madrid. At the moment of the prayer of the faithful, those present were asked to call out their own intentions. Hardly a second had gone by following this invitation to prayer, when a powerful voice was heard crying out: «Freedom!» It was that of a middle-aged man, of Ukrainian origin who was a member of the Orthodox Church, and who could barely put a sentence together in Spanish. Yet in one single word he expressed clearly and forcefully his deepest wishes to the All-Merciful God. Afterwards, other people presented their various petitions in different ways, styles, content, language, music or gestures. All these voices, shouts and silences reach the ears of the Compassionate God, all of them resonate within His heart, and all of them elicit a committed response.

3.2. Political level: cultural rights

Affirming the need for each individual and each social group to express themselves in the public arena as we have just done, is not just a prophet's plea in the realm of the Church, but rather a defence of the political recognition of cultural rights. With this in mind, we will present a logical threefold argument.

3.2.1. The unique value of each person

Firstly, we need to become aware of the importance of encouraging each person to express themselves fully, with equal rights and total liberty. That is to say, we refuse to consider the immigrant as merely an addition to the labour force who justifies his presence among us by the efforts of their work. No. Each individual immigrant should be valued as a person. They are of individual worth, they have a past, they have roots, they have a private life, a history, plans, expectations, frustrations, likes, needs, emotions, relationships, a particular personality, potential... and they have a specific present, they have a life to contribute to society. Each immigrant person is precisely that, a person and not a labourer. As a person then, and with this in mind, they should be considered as an equal subject and partner in our society.

3.2.2. Migrants: a source of enrichment

Secondly, we would point out that the voice of immigrants (with their richness, novelty and variety) offers a contribution of great scope to contemporary societies. We live in a globalised world where societies are becoming increasingly complex. Migrants can be a source of enrichment to this changing reality, giving us new experiences and offering us more resources in order to better understand and participate in it. It could be said that the migratory phenomenon is changing the make-up of our societies, and that it is precisely the migrant population that is contributing most to our society (through their words, their history, and their unique voices) at the height of these globalised circumstances of the twenty-first century. The schools, social organisations, churches or political entities that do not wish, do not know how or cannot welcome this voice of plurality that is being offered to them through the migrant population, are in a much worse position to confront the challenges of the present and the future.

3.2.3. The role of groups

The third step of our argument consists in underlining the group character of cultural rights. In other words, we are not only defending the right for each person to have a voice, but also highlighting the role of groups with a defined cultural identity, so that they can be recognised and allowed to make their voice heard in the public sphere. The configuration of our society is such that it will only become aware of its richness and plurality if it is capable of offering a way to channel this recognition and express this many faceted reality, such as through opening constructive dialogue between groups. To look at it another way, the stance that we are defending is far from being the neutralist liberalism that affirms freedom of

expression but understands freedom as something that only pertains to the individual and thus confines communal expression to the private sphere. In our opinion, cultural groups can and should make their presence felt in the public sphere: firstly, because they have the right to do so, and secondly, because this is how they can contribute to enriching the civil and political life of society.

3.2.4. The religious issue

At this point, it is necessary to incorporate two more elements into our analysis, the religious and political ones. In reference to the religious issue, it is clear that this is a delicate matter, and sets alarm bells ringing among those who are already reluctant to see the public presence of cultural groups[14]. «Religion should be confined to the sacristy», says the voice of dominant liberalism. «Particularly in these times of fundamentalism», adds the secularist. «There is no place for religion in the public domain», concludes the fearful citizen. This argument, which is so often used in modern debates, significantly impoverishes our public life and even limits our civil liberties, and ultimately encourages irrational fears: whether it is the ancestral fear of national Catholicism, the suspicion of what is different, or perhaps more specifically in our case, a fear of the Muslim world[15].

3.2.5. Towards institutional recognition

As for the political element that can institutionally keep the presence of various cultural groups away from the public sphere, we will make a simple

historical comparison. It could be said that the main ongoing dispute throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was the capital-labour issue. Given the economic nature of this dispute, modern democracies found ways of introducing the institutional representation of social agents (through unions and employers) as a way of bringing about the resolution of these conflicts and enriching democracy, and this led to the creation in many cases of the welfare state and the social economy of the market. In this system, it is not that unions or employers ignore political parties as a means of popular freedom of expression in a representative and parliamentary democracy, but rather that they enrich it and contribute to it. Therefore, if this system can function, would it not be reasonable to look for a similar system that offers some type of representation to significant cultural groups? If we accept that one of the main conflicts in societies today and in the future has a strong cultural component, should we not explore these possibilities? In fact, in a democracy as enriched and stable as the United Kingdom, activities of this type have already taken place, although we will not be analysing them here, but simply mention them to aid our reflection[16].

3.3. Social level: the politics of difference and psycho-social integration

3.3.1. "Cooperating with"

Having situated what we have discussed thus far in the domain of social intervention, we should primarily underline

the importance of allowing the immigrants themselves to speak. All too often, and even among pro-immigrant social organisations and well-intentioned programs, there is a tendency to reduce the participation of the immigrants themselves. It is not surprising, although it is sad, that local political authoritiessurround themselves with immigrant leaders when they have an electoral agenda in the hope of securing votes. Even more concerning would be that non-governmental organisations view immigrants as objects and not as active individual subjects; that they consider them as 'an area of problems and needs' instead of as individuals full of potential and possibilities; that they relate to them as if they were merely seekers of services and not as equal subjects. Ultimately, this results in generating a system of dependency and reinforcing a patronising attitude. Given this scenario, it is essential to emphasise the 'co-operating with' attitude over and above the 'doing things for' attitude. Examples of migrant-led organisations and an increase in mutual support networks are both realistic and utopian initiatives, which are full of hope for the future. They are also examples of how we can move forward, through the inequalities that currently exist, from the perspective of relational reciprocity, towards real community citizenship[17]. The first step therefore is taking the voices of migrants seriously and listening clearly to what they have to say.

3.3.2. Immigrant associations

The second task goes beyond the individual level and concentrates instead on the active promotion of immigrant associations. It is of course necessary to encourage participation of citizens and the incorporation of people of migrant origin into the various organisations that exist already, whether they are general or of specific interest. But this does not mean that associations that are specifically for immigrants do not have a relevant role to play in our society. Given that immigration is a social phenomenon of great magnitude that is hugely contributing to the make-up of the reality in which we live, it is important to listen to the authoritative and organised voices of the principal protagonists (the migrants). For this reason, we should encourage the spaces and forums by which these voices can be heard, and we should develop ways to incorporate their opinions and ideas into community life. As we have already said, it is necessary to overcome the fear we have of different communities having a public presence. The more rich and diverse a society is, the greater the level of integration and social cohesion will be, as well as benefiting the democratic health of the system.

3.3.3. Intercultural mediation

Thirdly, we need to refer to the so-called intercultural mediation. We understand and value it as a tool that can contribute to encouraging daily opportunities for plural and interlinked community living. The approaches that resign themselves to a peaceful co-existence of diverse socio-cultural groups existing side by side with little interaction are not enough. It is certain that, given the current context of the economic crisis,

preventing clashes and social conflicts arising out of xenophobic origins would be a desirable objective; but what is even more certain is that, if the approach limits itself to avoiding conflicts, the very social dynamic will maintain and reinforce prejudices and stereotypes, which will become a type of time-bomb that will explode into social conflicts. Therefore, it is essential to devise ways to enrich our daily life by crossing paths with these groups of various origins. From this point of view, it is clear that intercultural mediation cannot be a passing phase, or simply a career opportunity, and nor can it be an area reserved for 'expert' leaders. We would instead focus on a form of mediation that is rooted in the area, not preoccupied with conflicts, but firmly based in the areas of daily community life (health centres, colleges, neighbourhoods) and in the current and changing social fabric[18].

3.3.4. A truly inclusive school

It is clear that these cultural issues have a direct relationship with the educational environment and are closely linked to the area of second-generation migrants, that is, the sons and daughters of migrant families. In relation to the educational background, many authors have underlined the need to create schools that are truly inclusive of differences, overcoming not only a segregationist approach but also other approaches such as compensatory education, which run the risk of stigmatising young people belonging to minority groups. Going beyond this theoretical discussion, it is necessary to

formalise this through specific operational programs that respond creatively to real challenges. Here we should highlight the *Egeria* project promoted by «FERE-Catholic Education», which hopes to make this a reality. The commitment to an intercultural and inclusive education should go hand in hand with the struggle against educational segregation, which unfortunately seems to have won some ground in recent times. It is well known that pupils of migrant origin or from other ethnic minorities are very unequally distributed in the educational system in our country. It would be a gesture, not a prophetic one, but rather one that is simply in keeping with its mission, if Catholic schools agreed to establish a systematic 'action plan' in order to undo this unjust (and complex) situation, in such a way that the different geographical, cultural or economic backgrounds do not drown out the power of the Gospel. And going beyond opportunistic speeches, it would be important that the public authorities support and get involved in activities of this type.

3.3.5. Psychosocial approach to integration

Finally, we should point out that, unlike the legal-political approach mentioned earlier, the psychosocial approach of integration is primarily focussed on psychological conditions that favour or impede such integration. In this approach, it is felt that the main conflicts on which we should focus our attention are the mechanisms which cause frustration among migrant people (emotional deprivation, failed expecta-

tions, experiences of social or environmental rejection…), and we should search for the solutions among everything that might improve human relations and contribute to responding effectively to these frustrations. As can be seen, the intuitive use of this method of understanding integration runs the risk of ignoring the context in which individuals are trying to resolve or work out their emotional problems. However, when properly understood, it acts as a complement to what has been said up to this point. It is essential that each socio-cultural group can raise their voice and «say their piece», but this in itself does not resolve the fact that each individual person (particularly those in situations of great vulnerability or exclusion) needs to find their own personal and social resources which will allow them to «say their own piece». Furthermore, experience indicates that a healthy and successful insertion into a community with a strong and creative identity contributes towards reinforcing the personal resources that lead to a more balanced individual, who is in turn more psychologically healthy.

4. SHARING. REDISTRIBUTION OF GOODS

We are now moving on to a new stage in the plan traced out for this reflection. Along with the importance of the word, we need to talk about the bread. Along with cultural rights, we need to talk about social and economic rights too. Along with recognition, goes redistribution. In Christian terms, together with the Book, we find the table. Let's see how this comes about.

4.1. Theological level: Eucharistic liturgy

We are now entering the second main section of the Mass, which is called the Eucharistic Liturgy. This takes place around the altar and «and the mystery of the Lord's Supper is celebrated, that by the food and blood of the Lord's body the whole brotherhood may be joined together» (*Lumen Gentium*, 26). The memorial of the Last Supper should be understood as being closely linked with two of the main actions in the life of Jesus of Nazareth. On the one hand, his many meals in which the welcome of the stranger stands out, as well as his preference for the poor and margin-alized; and on the other hand, the multiplication of the loaves and fishes to feed the hungry multitude in need. In both cases, we note clearly and categorically the circularity of bread, that is, the practical affirmation that all goods are destined for all people.

From the early period in Church history, the Eucharist has been linked with the communication of goods (for example, see what St. Paul says in 1Cor 11: 17-22). When we celebrate the day of Charity on Holy Thursday and on *Corpus Christi*, we are highlighting this dimension of sharing the Eucharist. This reality anticipates, makes present and celebrates the novelty of the King-

dom of God, which proposes a radical alternative to the prevailing economic system of our world, which is behind so many forced episodes of migration. Confronted with an economy that revolves around materialism and consumerism, the Eucharist brings us to a place of gratuity and communion.

4.1.1. Fruit of the earth and work of human hands

The Eucharistic liturgy begins with the preparation and presentation of the gifts. Bread and wine are, in rural Mediterranean cultures, the basic elements for daily nourishment as well as for celebrations. They therefore make up the material and tangible reality that sustains the entire social fabric. «Fruit of the earth and work of human hands», in other words, of nature and of culture. At this point in the celebration, we bring our gifts and join them together as one; we gather what is a material reality and offer it so that it can be distributed equally among everybody. It is not by chance that it is precisely at this moment that the economic offering of the assembly is gathered, which is a concrete and palpable expression of the universal destiny of goods. In many communities, this moment in the celebration coincides with the offering of meals or money to those in more fragile and vulnerable situations, within or outside the Christian community.

4.1.2. A liberating praise

Next, the Preface offers us, through the form of praise, a synthesis of the liberating action of God through history.

In this way, for example, the Common Preface VII recognises Christ as a guest and pilgrim amongst us and the Holy Spirit as the creator of communion in order to make all nations as one new people directed towards the Kingdom of God, living with the freedom of children and guided by love. The Preface always finishes with the joyful 'Holy Holy' song. It is perhaps not a coincidence that, towards the end of a large sociological study on religion and the integration of immigrants, we read that «religion is an exercise of the glory of God in which communion sanctifies History»[19]. Thus, the authors believe that one of their more significant findings is recognising that religion is the true source of meaning and that it has serious implications for the integration of immigrants and for their life as citizens.

4.1.3. The heart of the Eucharist

The Canon forms the heart of the Eucharistic Prayer and gathers, in a central place, the memorial of the Last Supper. Due to the wealth of meanings contained therein, we will limit ourselves to making a brief reference to some of the significant aspects, such as is shown in the diverse forms. From the Roman Canon, we remember that God continues to create works today, sanctifying them, filling them with life, blessing them and sharing them through all humanity. From the Eucharistic Prayer IV we retain the memory of Jesus Christ, who «to the poor he proclaimed the good news of salvation, to prisoners, freedom, and to those in sorrow, joy». Following this example of

the Lord, Prayer Vb asks that each Christian: «inspire us with words and deeds to comfort those who labour and are burdened». For its part, the second prayer of reconciliation recognises that the Spirit of God acts so that «enemies begin to speak to one another, those who were estranged join hands in friendship, and nations seek the way of peace together». These are not empty words in a context like ours, which is marked by the unjust distribution of wealth, by asymmetrical socio-economic relations, by the dynamics of social exclusion and by the divisions of xenophobia.

4.1.4. Entering into communion

Precisely for this reason, the liturgy continues to incorporate two actions that are of huge symbolic significance and depth. Firstly, the assembly prays the Our Father together, the same prayer taught by Jesus to his disciples. He asks that we should live in the universal fraternity of the kingdom; that we should fulfil the will of the Father; that we should receive our daily bread; that we should obtain pardon for our sins; and that we should not be led into temptation. Secondly, there is a prayer for peace and unity, which is expressed through a specific and simple gesture. Open and extended hands to pray the Our Father, open and extended hands to share the sign of peace with our brothers. As the Spanish poet Blas de Otero would say, we ask for peace, bread, and the word.

With what we have just said, it is clear that «communion» is not in any way an individual act, or one that is strictly limited to the relationship between Jesus and the believer. No. Entering into communion means sharing the life of Jesus, living according to his way and choices, and relying on a fraternal communion that excludes no one. Communion involves sharing the bread and all the goods between all people. Communion in the Body of Christ means building the body of universal fraternity, going beyond walls and borders. Entering into communion with God through the Christ-Eucharist means entering into communion with all human beings through Christ-identified-with-the-marginalized. By offering the gifts of bread and wine, all the material reality (and economic reality) remains incorporated in God's domain, which He returns to us through His commitment to all humanity, without exception.

4.2. Political level: social and economic rights

4.2.1. International injustice and migration

There are two basic considerations that help us to understand migration, which are so obvious that they are often ignored. Firstly, the issue of international inequality and the asymmetry involved in the distribution of resources at a global level. People migrate simply because in certain areas of the planet, conditions of life are much better than in their country of origin. If life expectancy in Liberia does not reach 39 and in Canada it is over 80; if the average income *per capita* in Haiti is less than 800 dollars per year while in Ireland it stands at over 60,000; if

illiteracy in Morocco affects 50% of the population while in all of western Europe it has almost disappeared, how can anyone be surprised that in our world there are massive movements of people from one country to another? Talking about international migration means talking about the unfair distribution of wealth in the world. The displacement of people from impoverished countries to more prosperous countries is a response to the unequal distribution of wealth in the world, which in theory should be shared equally among all humanity.

4.2.2. Push-and-pull factors

The second basic commentary, which we also tend to forget, is that migrant workers form a structural element within the productive system of the countries that receive them. Migrants leave one country because they can no longer live comfortably there and arrive in another… out of necessity. It is that simple. It is important to remember this, particularly in a time of crisis such as the one we are living in now, because we can forget that migrants came because we asked them to! Let's think, for example, about three structural elements of the current Spanish economy: the property construction *boom*, the large-scale incorporation of women into the workforce and the progress of communication technologies. Can someone imagine how this would have been possible without the contribution of the Ecuadorian and Polish block layers, or the Bolivian and Romanian domestic workers, and the thousands of trenches dug by Moroccan and Malian workers in our streets in order to install cables?

However, it is not true that all migrants leave their countries because they are fleeing poverty. It is true though that very few people would abandon their country of origin if that same country allowed them to develop their potential, meet their needs, and live out their plans. Therefore, factors exist that push people to leave a certain country; and there are also economic and demographic factors in the countries that receive the migrants that cause them to require foreign labour. Academic literature on migration has called these *push-and-pull* factors.

It is necessary to point out these facts in order to place our reflection in a broader context, which should now return to its original context, which is that of Spanish society as a place of integration, of the daily exercise of citizens' rights and of social cohesion. For the sake of brevity, we will only be focussing on the area of work, leaving aside other socio-economic rights such as housing and health.

4.2.3. Dirty, dangerous and demanding work

In the sphere of work, it has been known for people of foreign origin to have a higher employment rate than indigenous people, but there are also higher rates of temporary and precarious employment among them, and they receive lower salaries. In every country, immigrants experience poorer working conditions than national workers. This is why it is said that migrant work usually consists of the three D's: *dirty,*

dangerous, demanding; which originates from a Japanese phrase about the three K's: *kitanai, kitsui, kiken.* In a context like ours, which is marked by a dual labour market, a concentration of migrant workers is generally found in specific segments of the productive system, usually under more difficult working conditions. This is what is called ethnic stratification, which forces migrants to fall into certain working categories, usually that of non-qualified manual labourers. This is why sectors such as domestic service, intensive agriculture or construction have remained largely in the hands of migrant workers.

4.2.4. Structural discrimination

This is undoubtedly a form of employment discrimination. It is perhaps a more subtle form of discrimination, because it can give the impression that we are in a situation where migrant workers freely choose their area of employment, whether through a personal choice, contacts of friends or family, or through their own ability or previous experience. However, many studies have shown that a form of structural discrimination exists in the mechanisms of the labour market, which prevents all workers from being incorporated under equal conditions. We will give just one example that was published fifteen years ago, because it shows in a very graphic way what discrimination is and how it works in relation to access to jobs[20]. Using the technique of *in situ* verification, several people with similar qualifications went for the same job; the study measured how these people progressed through different stages (phone call, invitation to interview, accepted into work). The investigation showed that Moroccan workers in Spain are four times less likely to be given employment than their Spanish counterparts. In other words, by the very fact of being Moroccan, and even through a telephone call, people with a similar CV see their possibilities limited of even reaching the interview stage. The situation has undoubtedly improved little since then.

4.2.5. Institutional discrimination

As well as the reference to this case, which clearly demonstrates what structural discrimination means (and hints as to the discrimination that can be expected in the daily life of businesses), it is necessary to say a few words about institutional discrimination. We are referring to the fact that according to current public policy and administrative practices, a type of discriminatory institutional framework is being created[21]. From this perspective, the very existence of the Aliens Act, the subordination of migrant workers to the national situation of employment and the sum of various administrative practices ends up creating a discriminatory framework, because in practice, foreign workers do not have equal access to the jobs available. In any case, perhaps the most striking example along these lines of institutional discrimination would be the failure of the Spanish (and of all countries that receive immigrants) to ratify the *International Convention on the Protection of*

Rights of All Migrant Workers and members of their families, signed December 18th 1990, which put forward the outline of these rights. Still, in January 2010, in response to a parliamentary question, the Spanish government maintained its refusal to ratify the Convention, citing general formalities. It literally states that «the subject matter requires, from the outset, a commonly held position on the measures relating to immigration policies» at the heart of the European Union.

4.3. Social level: politics of equality and inclusion

When we try to move from the formal recognition of social and economic rights to their effective and real implementation, the situation becomes greatly complicated. If when talking about cultural rights we were talking about the politics of difference, we should now talk about the politics of equality. And on this topic, as Zapata-Barrero indicates, we need to combine the language of rights (seeking universal and complete access to the same) with the language of discrimination (revealing that, in spite of having similar rights, people of migrant origin do not have the same opportunities of social mobility or public recognition open to them)[22].

4.3.1. Politics of equality

Every individual, who is equal in dignity, should have the same human rights available to them. In this sense, we are defending the politics of equality. Thus,

when the objective situation reveals practical inequalities that are tied up with the mechanisms of the social system, then the necessary corrective measures and affirmative actions are needed to help overcome the mismatches, compensate for the inequalities, and counter the discrimination. In keeping with what was said in the previous section, we will be focussing our reflections on the sphere of work, although the same line of argument could be used concerning the exercise of rights in housing, education or health.

4.3.2. The work as a place of discrimination

We have already referred to the difficult working conditions that migrant workers have to face, as well as the structural role that they take in our contemporary society. It would now be fitting to mention the various aspects that are linked to the real incorporation of migrants into the labour market, in relation to the policies that favour inclusive integration. For some time we have known that migrant workers suffer high levels of fluidity and instability in matters of employment[23], and during these times of economic crisis, they have also seen a significant increase in unemployment, precisely because temporary workers are always the first to have their contracts terminated. In this context, the policies which are focussed on encouraging migrant workers to return seem unfair and dangerous to us (initiatives which, on the other hand, have shown themselves to be inefficient and far from reality).

A second aspect refers to the existence of work categories in which the foreign working population seem to be concentrated; we have already mentioned that we are talking about sectors that are characterised by their physical duress, their lack of social status and their limited rights. The most significant case is that of domestic service, possibly the employment sector in which one finds the most situations of financial irregularities and in which, even when the working relationship is regulated, the work is carried out under the discriminatory conditions of the Special Scheme for Domestic Workers, which is much lower than the General Scheme. There is an obvious need for an in-depth reform of this system.

Thirdly, it is necessary to say a few words about the qualifications of migrant workers. On many occasions, we find a real waste of resources because the training and experience of migrant workers has not been taken into account, largely due to their classification as an ethnic group and discrimination in the workplace. Any intelligent policies, even if they are simply from the point of view of economic efficiency, should turn their attention to the human capital convertibility of migrant workers, to the improvement of management practices that approve and recognise qualifications from various stages of the educational system, particularly during these times of crisis, and to retraining programs that recognise the value of workers that are already on our soil, before leaping into ambiguous ventures such as the recruit-

ment of skilled workers (so-called blue card) or circular migration[24].

Finally, it is essential to deal with the reality of migrant workers who have already been incorporated into the workforce. On the one hand, it is necessary to locate them, document them, make them visible and struggle against any discrimination they may face in the world of work. And at the same time, it is important to look for positive measures that would favour a more creative and fruitful approach to management of diversity in the workplace. Without this, it is very difficult to envisage opportunities for upward promotion among people of foreign origin. Various social entities have launched local initiatives for some years now, but the journey ahead remains a long one.

4.3.3. The structural-functionalist approach

We can summarise what we have said by revisiting some reflections on the model of integration that we are hoping for. The structural-functionalist approach understands the social system as one whole entity that is divided into three sub-systems (cultural, economic, individual), which should be harmoniously regulated so that the whole and its parts function correctly. The person will be integrated from this perspective, when their culturally established role has been engaged with their own self-fulfilment or personal satisfaction and with the allocation of sufficient financial assets. In other words, if the immigrant adequately fulfils a specific social role, they will find economic

resources that are sufficient to allow them to move their life forwards and in this way be personally satisfied. The trap in this functionalist approach is already apparent, because it tends to see the migrant person as a mere cog in the social machinery. Its proposal for integration consists solely in adapting to the existing reality.

The fact is, however, that this approach ignores the unequal conditions in which migrants live, in such a way that the cultural roles attributed to them as well as the economic resources allocated are unfairly distributed. Once more, this approach forces us to simultaneously consider the cultural and the economic dimension. Migrants remain in a structural position that allows economic exploitation, which plays a fundamental role in the functioning of the global capitalist system. Therefore, the need for a less functionalist vision becomes apparent, as well as one which is less inclined to maintain the *status quo*, in order to expose the strategy of cultural segregation which enables this economic exploitation.

However, from a critical perspective, it is possible to recover some benefits from the structural-functionalist approach towards integration. Once their functionalist ambiguities have been overcome, this approach has the advantage of underlining the structural nature of migrations in the social system. In other words, it allows us to look at the migratory phenomenon (and migrants) as an essential element of the system, without which it would be impossible to understand our reality. At the same time, it accepts the fact that without the full exercise of rights in structural matters (work, housing, education, health) we cannot talk about the real integration of migrant people, because in reality we cannot talk about societies that have been structurally integrated.

5. PARTICIPATING. BUILDING THE CITY

This final section is shorter than those that have gone before and has a somewhat conclusive character. Or should I say, an open-ended one, since our conclusions remain open and launch us into the task of living out constructive integration in our daily lives. The Eucharist drives us into life in order to build a city-*polis* that allows full participation as well as urging us to seek a society in which the exercise of full rights becomes a reality.

5.1. Theological level: Concluding Rites

We have arrived then, at the so-called Concluding Rites of the Eucharistic service. The final blessing again places us under the merciful gaze of the Triune God, or more emphatically, enfolds us in His transforming embrace. The task that lies ahead will not be achieved merely by our own efforts, even if these have been inspired by the Trinitarian model: we are moving in the right direction because God Himself is moving with us, committed to our history, surrounding us with His Tenderness.

The final sending should not be understood as a routine and superficial formula, as the habitual «Go in peace» may suggest. Many times we may say or hear this expression as if nothing had changed after the celebration, but this would be forgetting the deep and integral meaning of the *shalom* or the Biblical sign of peace. Other formulas which also include the ritual help us to grasp new levels and rich nuances in the meaning of this final sending at the end of the sacramental celebration: «may the joy of the Lord be our strength» or «glorify the Lord with your lives». In my opinion, the following alternative farewell formula, though this is not a formula that has been used liturgically, seems very powerful to me: «We have

celebrated the Eucharist. Now we must live it. Let us go in peace».

This would mean that on finishing the sacramental celebration, we are aware that we have lived an experience that anticipates the reality that is as yet unfulfilled of the Kingdom that is to come, and for this reason we are invited to transform life, history, and all society according to what has been lived and celebrated. In other words, we are called to «make our lives eucharistic», to understand the whole of reality from a Eucharistic perspective and transform it according to what is anticipated in the celebration.

For this reason, it is fitting that the Eucharist should finish with the exit procession, which brings us from the Church back into the street, from the private to the public, from the community to the political, from the already to the not yet, from the sacred to the secular, from the Church to the world, from the anticipated future to the present that is being built, from the entrusted gift to the mission received, from Sunday to the week.

5.2. Socio-political level: daily participation and interaction

It is daily life where this last level of political rights come into play. We began this work by affirming the inviolable dignity of every human being, which is displayed in the simultaneous exercise of cultural rights and socioeconomic rights. Now we have reached the point at which it is necessary to affirm the universality of political rights, which involves full participation in the public sphere and the building of a global citizenship. We are talking about recognising the institutional nature of this situation, not merely limiting ourselves to its formal aspects, but instead enabling these rights to be practically exercised in normal daily interaction. This is why this task is both constructive and creative, and represents a horizon towards which we are working.

From the formal-legal point of view, the key element is the right to vote. However this is treated, the matter is very clear: there will never be full integration of people of foreign origin without recognising their right to political participation through voting in the democratic elections of that country. If migrant people are unable to elect or be elected as political representatives, there will always be a democratic deficit in existence, which obstructs their full integration. The demand for initiatives such as the «I live here, I vote here» campaign focuses on demanding the right to vote in municipal elections. Having the capacity to elect local representatives who manage the taxes of the place in which the citizens live seems to be a sensible, realistic and obvious demand. Nevertheless, it is far from being universally recognised and put into practice. The same Spanish Constitution, as well as limiting such a possibility in municipal elections, subjects it to reciprocal agreements with other states, which in practice means that, for example, neither Moroccans nor Ecuadorians have the right to vote in the cities in which they reside and pay their taxes. This is why bilateral agreements need to be signed which acknowledge these

rights, and it is also necessary to seek agreements that allow the Constitution to be modified to enable it to be more in keeping with our modern reality.

This formal recognition is necessary, but it is not enough to achieve full participation in integrated societies. From the point of view of political theory, it is fitting to reflect on the meaning and practice of citizenship. The *Ioé* group has developed an evocative interpretative scheme with four levels of insertion or integration relating to the migrant population in Spain, combining aspects such as how to understand the idea of coexistence, being included in the labour market, the implicit models of society and the various statutes of citizenship[25]. In all of this, the different ways of understanding (and practising) citizenship and social policies become clear. One would be the «subordinated citizenship» which tends to subordinate the integration of migrants into the social regulatory framework and the assimilationist social policies of the State, while the other would be «equated citizenship», which opts for an egalitarian integration into the society of the free market and subsidiary social policies. A third option would be «detached citizenship» which is expressed as a defensive retreat by the migrant population and as a segregating social policy. Finally, the most dynamic and progressive proposal suggests a «critical citizenship» which is understood as institutional project which defends the role of all individuals and groups as active subjects in the construction of a more just social order, therefore similar to a political plan with a social objective.

Precisely due to the constructive nature of this form of citizenship, it is necessary to return to the approaches towards integration, in order to recover the perspective of symbolic interactionism. Its emphasis on the importance of daily interaction as part of normal daily life allows us to overcome all the limitations of the formal-legal approach and avoids the risks of idealism posed by the critical stances that are unable to situate themselves in ordinary daily life. With this approach, we are able to combine the point of view of sociological theory with that of more creative political actions, within the framework of a Eucharistic praxis that launches us into the daily task, (which will always remain incomplete), of building an inclusive society. Daily interaction is what allows an inclusive society to become a reality, rather than just empty words. The neighbourhood, the school, the Church, the park or the health centre –these are the places that will tell us whether we are building an inclusive «we» or if we still have the «us and them» mentality, between migrants and indigenous people, building all sorts of walls between us.

This is why the key lies in gestures that are as simple as the breaking of the bread, and it is here that we discover the full power and creativity of a political theology of migration. At the breaking of the bread we recognise each other. At the breaking of the bread we converse and share a few words with each other. At the breaking of the bread we share out goods equally. At the breaking of the bread we set about building a city in which no one is excluded.

NOTES

1. Cf. Daniel G. GROODY, CSC, «*Morir para vivir. Los inmigrantes sin papeles y el misterio pascual*»: *Concilium*, 328 (Novembre 2008), pp. 119-129, as well as the documentary film by the same author *One border, one body. Immigrants and the Eucharist* (Gatekeeper Films, 2008).

2. I have developed this approach of political theology in more detail in Daniel IZUZQUIZA, SJ, *Rooted in Jesus Christ. Toward a Radical Ecclesiology*, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI 2009, espec. pp. 225-277.

3. I am referring here to what was dealt with in Daniel IZUZQUIZA, SJ, *Con-spirar. Meditaciones en el Cuerpo de Cristo*, Sal Terrae, Santander 2006, pp. 21-26.

4. There are both similarities and differences with the analysis by Lorenzo CACHÓN, «*Políticas para la integración de los inmigrantes en contextos transnacionales*», in Carlota SOLÉ, Sònia PARELLA and Leonardo CAVALCANTI (coords.), *Nuevos retos del transnacionalismo en el estudio de las migraciones,* MTIN, Madrid 2008, pp. 131-148.

5. Fernando VIDAL, «*La exclusión social remodernizada. Repensar la exclusión social desde una sociología de la presencia*» in Fernando VIDAL (ed.), *La exclusión social y el estado de Bienestar en España. V Informe FUHEM de políticas sociales,* FUHEM / Icaria, Madrid / Barcelona 2006, pp. 629-739. (tr. «Exclusion is an institution of exploitation, domination or alienation which disempowers the subjects in such a way that their social presence is wiped out, preventing them from freely having their needs met. Or to put it more concisely: social exclusion is the disempowerment of presence.»)

6. Fernando Vidal, *Pan y rosas. Fundamentos de exclusión social y empoderamiento,* Cáritas Española / Fundación Foessa, Madrid 2009. Often, this approach, which maintains a tension between creative cultural rights and socio-economic rights, is ignored. The fact that this is ignored is striking, but it is neither casual nor inconsequential. The traditional Marxist discourse insisted on the fact that the key element in social organisation was in the economic structure of labour exploitation, and criticised other realities for being simply an ideological superstructure that sought to expose this exploitation. To simplify this, we could say that the left was talking about the economy, and the right was talking about culture. Today however, things have changed surprisingly. Without needing to go into long discourses on the economy, it has remained entirely in the hands of global capitalism, which is also in the middle of a crisis; at the same time, the illustrious left has taken refuge in the domain of the cultural, seated in a multiculturalism which is often abstract and disembodied. Against this backdrop, over the following pages, we would like to argue for what was achieved by the best of the workers' movement and the feminist movement, when they managed to simultaneously get 'bread and roses', the material and the symbolic, economic improvement and cultural dignity.

7. Nancy FRASER and Axel HONNETH, *Redistribution or recognition? A political philosophical exchange.* London: Verso 2003

8. This can be seen in a similar argument, which is written with clarity, passion and simplicity, in: Margaret SCOTT, *The Eucharist and Social Justice*, Paulist Press, Mahwah, NJ 2009.

9. For example, see Sònia PARELLA, *Mujer, inmigrante y trabajadora: la triple discriminación,* Anthropos, Barcelona 2003.

10. Carola and Marcelo SUÁREZ-OROZCO, *Children of Immigration,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 2002, p. 107. In the Spanish translation, *La infancia de la inmigración,* Morata, Madrid 2003, it reads «envenenado reflejo» (p. 185). For these issues in the Spanish sphere, consult the study by Jesús LABRADOR and Mª Rosa BLANCO, *Nadie debe perder. Hijos de inmigrantes en su camino a la vida adulta,* Universidad Pontificia Comillas, Madrid 2008.

11. See Daniel IZUZQUIZA SJ, «*El hipergueto global*», Documents from *Cristianismo y Justicia*

n. 197 (June 2009) and Giulio Tinessa, «*Marginados, minorías e inmigrantes: criminalización de la pobreza y encarcelamiento masivo en las sociedades capitalistas avanzadas*»: *Documentación Social*, 148 (2008) 163-187.

12. We are referring to the document entitled «*Los enfoques empíricos de la integración*», developed by Professor Andrés Tornos for the Masters Programme in Contemporary Migration Studies at the Universidad Pontificia Comillas in Madrid. It would also be useful to look at the four dimensions of integration of Friedrich Heckmann, «*Integración y políticas de integración en Alemania*»: *Migraciones* 5 (1999) 9-24.

13. Ricard Zapata-Barrero, *Multiculturalidad e inmigración,* Síntesis, Madrid 2004, p. 99.

14. I have developed this issue in Daniel Izuzquiza, SJ, «*Religiones en la plaza pública*»: *Razón y fe* 1319 (September 2008) 123-132.

15. It is strange and very revealing how the same argument is repeated in the United States regarding Latin American immigrants, and in Europe, regarding Muslim immigrants. Let us take two important examples. Samuel Huntington argued that Latin emigrants, particularly Mexican ones, are part of a new type of migration in North-American secular history, that they do not want, and nor are they able to integrate themselves because they retain their identity, language and religion. What is significant in the European context is that Giovanni Sartori used exactly the same argument when referring to Muslims: they neither desire nor are they able to integrate because they retain their identity, language and religion. Could it not be the case that both of these thinkers have the same fear of the other, the unknown, what is different to them? Could it not be the case that they share an essentialist and fixed vision of national identity, *White Anglo-Saxon Protestant* in one case, and «Christian» in the other? Faced with these arguments that exclude others, we continue to defend people's cultural rights and the richness that various groups could express in the public sphere, and in the religious sphere. See Samuel Huntignton, *Who Are We? The Challenges to American National Identity,* Simon & Schuster, New York 2004 y Giovanni Sartori, *La sociedad multiétnica. Pluralismo, multiculturalismo y extranjeros,* Taurus, Madrid 2001.

16. Cf. Bikhu C. Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism. Cultural Diversity and Political Theory,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 2000 and the report by the Commission led by the same Parekh «on the future of a multi-ethnic Great Britain», presented in October 2000.

17. Cf. Juan A. Guerrero, SJ and Daniel Izuzquiza, SJ, *Vidas que sobran. Los excluidos de un mundo en quiebra,* Sal Terrae, Santander 2004.

18. Cf. Marcela Jabbaz and Albert Moncusí Ferré, «*Mediación intercultural natural: reflexiones a partir de una experiencia local*»: *Migraciones* 26 (2009) 171-204; Inés Richarte Vidal and Luis Díe Olmos, «*La mediación intercultural y la puerta hacia otro mundo posible*»: *Documentación Social* 148 (2008) 133-155.

19. Fernando Vidal and Julio Martínez, SJ, *Religión e integración social de los inmigrantes: La prueba del ángel,* CeiMigra, Valencia 2006, p. 438.

20. Colectivo Ioé, *Discriminación contra trabajadores marroquíes en el acceso al empleo*, OIT, Ginebra 1995. Available at www.colectivoioe.org.

21. Lorenzo Cachón, «Integración de los inmigrantes a través del trabajo»: *Documentación Social* 132 (2004) 97-120.

22. Ricard Zapata-Barrero, *Multiculturalidad e inmigración,* Síntesis, Madrid 2004, 124-147.

23. Ubaldo Martínez Veiga, *Trabajadores invisibles. Precariedad, rotación y pobreza de la inmigración en España,* Libros de la Catarata, Madrid 2004.

24. See, Elena Sánchez Montijano and Rocío Faúndez, «*Migración Laboral Temporal y Circular (MLTC) y codesarrollo: estudio de caso de una articulación posible*», a work which obtained the XI Premio Santo Padre Rubio award in January 2010 for Advances in the understanding of immigration, from the Universidad Pontificia Comillas de Madrid.

25. Colectivo Ioé, «*La condición migrante en España. Posiciones básicas en torno a la ciudadanía*»: *Papeles de relaciones ecosociales y cambio global* 104 (2008-2009) 23-37. Available at www.colectivoioe.org.