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TEZĂ DE DOCTORAT

**FLUXURILE MIGRATORII, SECURITATEA SOCIETALĂ ȘI
PROCESUL INTEGRĂRII ROMÂNILOR ÎN SPANIA. STUDIU DE
CAZ: COMUNITATEA DE ROMÂNI DIN CASTELLÓN DE LA PLANA
(2002 - 2014)**

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Key words: migration, security, societal security, constructivism, collective identity, romanian community, Spain, integration policies, socio-economic integration, network migration.

Summary

The end of the Cold War and the globalization transformed the reality of International Relations, which shaped a change in the theories belonging to this field. The concept of security is presented as an idea of organization of different globalization phenomena, which applies a research program that goes beyond the realist hypothesis regarding the military power and beyond the idealistic principles of peace researchers. New meanings of security regarding the theory of International Relations are exploited and in the meantime are presented theoretical patterns that influence the development of the politics and that try to approach security's problems and challenges within (the) globalization.

Once the Cold War ended the international migration became one of the most important problems on Western Europe's political agenda. Europe witnessed events resulted in the establishment of a high level of anxiety (justified or not) in terms of the migration's problem, a nervousness that affects not only the political circles but also different sectors of society. The fall of the communism, alongside a rising economical instability in the Eastern and Central Europe seemed to predict a masive movement of people from East to West, searching for a better life.

The studies on the immigration phenomenon have started long ago. These attracted the attention of researchers from various fields (demographics, geography, economics, sociology), each making their analysis from their own perspective, developing schemes and theories trying to explain as well as possible the mechanism of this phenomenon. No matter to what period we refer, the migratory flows had different intensities. There is a wide variety of problems raised by this phenomenon, as well as multiple explanatory perspectives. The migration or humans' mobility which brings forward more elements, such as, on the one hand, the integration process into the host society and on the other hand , the efforts made by the immigrants, grouped around the church (religion) and associations, in order to preserve the language, culture, religion, identity and traditions in conditions of constant evolution

and change. Therefore, the changes made are visible at the level of economical life as well as at the political, social, cultural and religious ones, for both the host country and the immigrants.

The motivation behind the choice of theme is the fact that it hasn't been approached so far by this field's literature from a tripple inter-disciplinary perspective: an International Relations (the constructivist paradigm), a security studies (the societal sector of security, the Copenhagen School) and a sociological one (collective identities' shaping). Alongside the scientific motivation an important part in choosing the theme was played by the personal experience accumulated during the time spent in Castellón de la Plana from 2004 to 2008. While I was there I lived the experience of integration in the Spanish society, simultaneous with the attempt to preserve the Romanian.

In the last few years, the migration phenomenon has become one of the social issues that attract interest, concern and public debate in Spain. This is due to the fact that in the mid 90s Spain became an important destination for the immigrants coming from Northern Africa, the American mainland, Eastern Europe and other parts of the world. The intensity of the streams has been raising, and Spain became the country in the European Union with the biggest contribution to the increase of immigrant population on the continent given the continuity, persistency and intensity of the migratory flows previously mentioned. This situation is not new to the sectorial, spacial and temporal requirements of some heterogeneous work markets, as well as of the facts of a Spanish population found in a quick aging process and already affected by a serious change of direction in the age structure. Even with an eventual persistence in the following years, this new reality has already triggered a social concern and a bigger public debate, thanks to both phenomenon's intensity and to the fact that for the first time in ages, Spain became a target of immigration instead of emigration. Given the context, the Valencian Community hasn't been an exception, becoming the destination for a big part of the immigrants' flow.

The method suggested reside in a multifaceted transdisciplinary analysis from demographic, identity, security, societal, politico-cultural and economic perspective. In early stages, the paper pursues the literature's review, in order to see which are the evolutions in the field of security, more precisely which is the new perception concerning the security in the opinion of the Copenhagen School, having as main goal the analysis of the new

framework of security – the societal sector of security- representative for a community, like in the case of romanians from Castellón de la Plana.

The purpose of this paper is to see which are the effects of migration on the integration process (on the wellbeing status and on identity construction), in other words seeks a better way of understanding the manner in which the relation migration-security influences the integration process.

The societal security is analysed , on the one hand from the Spanish state's point of view that perceives , or not, the immigrants as a threat for the national security (will be analysed from the perspective of the political parties PSOE and PP regarding the immigrants' problem), and on the other hand from the point of view of the Romanian immigrants from Castellón de la Plana which given the conditions in change (their migration to Spain) and in a process of evolution (the process of integration in the host society) tries to preserve its identity, culture , language, traditions and customs through their concentration around the church and around the associations of romanians.

The paper focuses on the examination of the formation of the collective identities , in the destination country, in the context of integrating the romanians through social services (health, education, place of living). Another important aspect is represented by the action and availability of the national actors to react to the needs of immigrants, meaning the comprehension of their needs and necessities, but also to proceed towards creating a new framework in order to fulfill them. Furthermore, the thesis also analyzes the way in which Romanian immigrants cope with their status.

In order to prove the hypothesis according to whom the Romanians that proceeded towards Spain preserved their identity in their adoptive social environment (host country) through the unity around the Romanian Orthodox Church and around associations of romanians , it is necessary that we know the flows of romanians gone to Spain, the reasons for emigrating, the set of moral and spiritual values that define them, the most important dimensions of identity, the religious and cultural affiliation.

One of the hypothesis representing the starting point of the field research was that immigrants in the interviewed sample are eager to keep their national identity and culture intact in their social environment in Spain. A major role in this regard is played by the

process of keeping in touch with their families from Romania, and their periodical visits home, by the usage of their mother tongue and also by going frequently to church, where are organized many types of cultural events (celebratory parties for the kids, some cultural evenings in order to celebrate different important persons in the Romanian culture and history, all of which are marked by both the kids' actions and activities with the grownups (parochial choir), in order to remind to those present the fact that romanian people has deep roots and personalities which left a mark on history, certain concerts or special programmes are organized, and the list goes on), which help them to a great extent to uphold the moral, cultural and spiritual values that deffine them.

The immigration phenomenon brings up the role of the church, with a powerful social impact which manages to gather people not only out of religious reasons, the members of a community thus becoming a 'mirror' of the dynamic of immigration and of their problems. As a result another starting hypothesis is: the religoius Romanian ortodox community has a foremost role in structuring and preserving the cultural and religious identity of the romanian community, different from those of the majority. As a minority religious community, the community of ortodox romanians faces a fundamental challenge: on one side the process of interpreting the majoritary culture (meaning to what extent do they accept the values of the hosting country in order to integrate, without being assimilated or without loosing their own national identity) and on the other side the reinterpretation of their native culture (for the conservation of the values and norms of their mother nation). Picking the simbolic forms that reveal the message includes different socio-hystorical contexts: of origin (geografical provenience) and of appropriate context (the spatiotemporal framework in which it develops). The construction of these events by its own members should contain various elements: individual's religious affiliation, social intragroup relations and interinstitutions relations. Via different types of intragroup meetings that religious comunities develop : administrative reunions (how should the community be organized, both from the infrastructural and economical point of view and from the point of view of the relations between institutions), cultural gatherings (Bible reading, prayer, developing of some rituals- baptising, stating belief), cultural meetings with the purpose of celebrating symbols, may them be religious, of national or local character (for instance, celebrating the inauguration of their own community). This is used to imply the community's objectives , to structure the resources in order to reach them and the most important aspect is the formation of an collective identity

which contributes to the creation of groups. Within these groups are decided the symbolic ways that are reinterpreted by its own members and by the society as a whole.

Obviously, within this process the changes at the psychological level, determined by the migratory project, have a distinct significance and can be included as a discriminatory element, around which the whole activity of the community is generated: starting with the one bound to provide economical or material support (for those who encounter obstacles in the first part of their indwelling in the host country, and not only) until the classes designed for the study of the language, literacy of the children in their mother tongue, judicial and professional orientation in order to facilitate getting the residence visas, work or familial regrouping. In this context we can also refer to the celebration of some events specific to the country of origin that brings together not only a significant part of the community members but also persons who immigrated from other countries or even Spanish people – a conclusive example is the Concert of Carols interpreted by the ‘Harmony’ Chorale from Constanta, organized by the Romanian Orthodox Parish ‘Saint Nick’ alongside the afferent charity from Castellón , which takes place in the Catholic Cathedral ‘Saint Mary’ from Castellón or the National Day of Romania on the first of December in Plaza Maria Clara (Castellón de la Plana).

The method that fundamentally helps supporting the hypothesis in cause is the case study. I chose for the analysis the community of Romanians from Castellón de la Plana due to the theme’s degree of complexity but also because the subject is extremely useful when trying to understand, on the one hand the socio-economical integration process and on the other hand the process of preserving a people’s identity, language, culture, religion and customs, given the conditions of evolution (we refer to the process of integration) and change (we refer to the migratory process).

A thorough analysis was made on the bibliographical materials available concerning the migrants flows, the process of integration and the activities undertaken by the church and by the associations of romanians in order to preserve the language, the culture, the traditions to which are added some pieces of information obtained through electronical sources.

The present research is based on numerous primary and secondary sources. The primary ones include official documents of the Spanish state, and also of the European Union, which constitute the aim of research in more subchapters.

The research has also as a base the secondary sources: books, newspaper and magazine articles, as well as electronic sources. The literature used is part of the broad field of International Relations and security studies (constructivism, Copenhagen School – the sector of societal security) and of public policies (the actions made by the law enforcement agencies with respect to the national policy of immigration and integration of the communities).

Next to the bibliographic materials, the field work and the analysis of the statistical data represent basic elements of this study. The aim of this paper, as previously highlighted, is the analysis on the immigration, integration and unity of the Romanian communities in Castellón de la Plana. However, this research is not limited exclusively at the Romanian group or at the Province of Castellón. In certain subchapters, beyond the analysis at the Castellón level, it is also analysed the situation in the whole Spanish state.

Among the immigrants coming from Eastern Europe, the main group in Castellón de la Plana is Romanian. The objective is to fit Romanian immigrants into the whole category of immigrants coming from Eastern Europe, given that all the immigrants in this area have common traits/features, their immigration happened in roughly the same period, being connected to the political processes developed in the entire area.

In the writing of the paper it was taken into consideration the territorial, local (centred on Castellón de la Plana) and state framework (we specify that this framework considers the analysis of the statistical sources, while the field work has been strictly reduced to the territorial, local framework of Castellón de la Plana).

It is important to emphasize the fact that the present paper isn't a bifocal research, made both in immigrants' place of origin and in place of destination, as it happens in most of the papers that have as theme the migration processes (anthropology). In this case, the field work has been strictly done in the place of destination. In the interviews are made several references to the place of origin, the reasons to abandon the birth places, the relationships and the social networks established in the place of origin and in the place of destination etc.

As technique I used the semistructured and unstructured interview. Regarding the semistructured interviews, the advantage was that the questions raised didn't have to follow a specific predetermined order. This method allowed a certain degree of flexibility, as well as

the opening up of new unexpected directions of investigation. In the case of the unstructured interviews, the participants were encouraged to present their autobiography and recall aspects of the private life by asking them general questions at the beginning.

The first chapter aims at presenting the basic concepts and fundamental categories of one of the theories that had significantly contributed to explain the new role of security within the context of globalization. The Copenhagen School appears as an original and comprehensive paradigm, being singularized as a centre of thought that gave a new impetus to security studies and which allows for a research programme regarding the new security issues and challenges within the context of globalization to continue.

In order to analyze the social mechanisms and empirical regularities of Spanish immigration policies in a security context, it is necessary to discuss about the cataloguing (or not) of immigration as a security issue. The attempt to find a solution to this issue, as well as to the way in which the Romanian community in Castellón de la Plana, despite the continuous changes (making reference here to their process of integration into the Spanish society), manage to keep their unity and identity, find their solution in the extensive security concept that has as starting point the defining criteria of security.

Constructivism considers that due to the identity relations between the system elements, it is possible to create a type of collective security capable to preserve the interests of the international actors. Hence, from a constructivist perspective, the security's object of reference would be identity, either of groups, collectivities, communities or institutions, which, in the process of their relations, have built strong bonds determining their position and role within the system.

Introducing the concepts of "society" and "identity" in the international security analysis can be seen as a transition phase in terms of perception within the mass tradition, from material to structural and cognitive resources, respectively from the state, as an object of reference, to human subjects of security. Societal identities can be seen as objects, in the sense that most group members adhere to a certain dominant identity construction and consequently display a proper behaviour. In other words, they become objects around which the security dynamics can take place.

When analyzing the relation migration-security-identity, we will take into account the concept of societal security as an analytical framework that allows us to focus on an essential aspect of immigration related to the threat to national identity. The close link between migration and state is caused by the fact that both influence each other. The migratory flows cause the state to take measures for regulating and controlling large-scale population movements (especially referring here to illegal immigration) and to deal with internal problems such as social integration and provision of social services (health, housing, education). Migration can thus affect a country's population composition and can simultaneously oblige the state to renew or implement a new policy regarding migration. The state can directly influence migration flows through its legal instruments such as border control or through restrictive laws on immigration.

In recent years, the phenomenon of migration has become one of the social issues of the highest interest, concern and public debate in Spain. This is due to the fact that in the mid-90s, Spain became a major destination for immigrants, the Valencian Community being no exception, as it became the destination place for the largest part of the immigration flow.

In the first part of *the second chapter* we will firstly refer to the general aspects regarding migration such as: causes of migration, types of migrations, steps of emigration (of Romanians in Spain), the Spanish migration policy (Spain from a emigration country to an immigration country-to see if there are gaps between the official objectives of the migration policy and its results).

The manner in which migration networks are formed, as well as their role is analyzed, starting from key questions: *How did Romanian immigrants reach Spain? Who helped them or what has determined them to take this step?* The migration networks established between the origin and destination countries are the foundation that supports migration in time, the inclusion of people within networks, rather than individual calculations being the aspect that allows the understanding of differential trends to move and the long-term nature of migration flows, despite the policies pursued by the EU to control these flows. The strength of the networks contributes to the consolidation of the already existent concentrations in a typical process of accumulative causality and helps explain the different compositions based on national origins observed in various areas.

Migration is not just an exchange of people from one place to another, but also represents a change in its social and cultural structures: customs, traditions, values, beliefs, language and everything that represents their material and symbolic world. In this context, we will look upon the way in which the Romanian community maintains its language, religion, culture, traditions and customs in circumstances of evolution and change.

The third chapter addresses one of the key processes associated with the migration phenomenon: the inclusion of immigrants in the host society. The chapter takes into account the theme on integration, on the one hand of all immigrants in Spain, and on the other of the Romanian community in Castellon de la Plana, a goal which is not easy at all. In this regard, we shall first make some references to the conceptual approach on the theme of inclusion and the way in which the theme of security, inclusion and immigration are linked, as some sociologists believe, to continue afterwards with some of the most important key domains necessary when analyzing the policies encouraging integration or inclusion, but not before observing which are the main models of inclusion.

This third chapter starts with certain comments on the concepts of security and inclusion, related to immigration, according to some sociologists. This subchapter is in fact a continuation of the subchapter “The relation migration-security-identity”. The novelty consists in the insertion of the terms of *immigration* and *inclusion* in the analysis. The purpose is to see what the opinion of certain sociologists is with regard to the presence of immigrants in the destination countries. The conclusion is this: if security studies and the media admit there is a migration – security relation (demonstrated by several studies in the field), sociologists claim that the tendency to link immigration to insecurity does nothing else but hinder the inclusion of immigrants.

The belief with which the relation migration-insecurity is supported by many politicians and the media appears in numerous public statements (we keep in mind that the speeches of the two political parties, PSOE and PP, include a mix of both reactive and proactive elements, but not of the same intensity).

The comparative models of immigrant inclusion are analyzed, with focus on cultural pluralism – applied to the Spanish state – which can be defined as the ideology or social organization model that asserts the possibility of living together harmoniously within different societies, groups or ethnic, cultural, religious or linguistic communities.

When we refer to the process of inclusion, we are talking about creating a new social space, by mutual agreement, which will be probably governed/ruled by new laws, born of mutual negotiation and creativity of both the majority and the minority group members. The process of reorganization will be pursued in terms of changing their own culture (namely customs, traditions, values will be *partially* influenced), as this paper aims to observe what is the limit to which major elements of the host country are absorbed, without abandoning their own cultural identity from the country of origin.

Therefore, for the inclusion policies to be successful, certain aspects must be considered: the social conditions that immigrants have to deal with in the destination countries, the attitude of the host society towards the newcomers, as well as the presentation of a multicultural society's benefits by the political leaders in the host countries.

The fourth chapter analyzes how immigrant associations and the Orthodox Church contribute, on the one hand, to the social inclusion of Romanians in the Spanish society and on the other, to the preservation of their culture, language, traditions, customs and identity.

The presence of the religious factor within the migration phenomenon is also analyzed, this religious factor having great value in the immigrants' lives. Religion is considered by many individuals as the pillar used to rebuild their lives. Religion and culture seem to form a combination that supplies the identity of immigrants. The dynamics of assessing the religious component leads to the notion of respect. In other words, religion is one of "the fundamental pillars" of life, although this aspect is not explicitly expressed. The importance of religion is also achieved through the presence of the religious element as a bearer of the central components of a community's identity and as a manner to understand one's self (the individual) throughout history.

As a conclusion, it can be stated that the theoreticians of the Copenhagen School (Barry Buzan, Ole Warver, Jaap de Wilde) have developed a comprehensive framework of analysis to understand the importance of the identity – security causality relation. This analytical framework is called the societal security sector, Ole Waever's theory on securitization as an act of speech has the main role. The protection of a group's identity, through societal security is regarded as a priority issue of security, in terms of survival. As it has been observed, the political importance given to immigration problems, in many

countries, including Spain, although here, to a lesser extent, may be interpreted as securitization of this problem.

Social security is referring to the problems that the social groups are facing and also to the collectivities which have a given identity and which can see their identity threatened by the changes that are taking place. Simultaneously, it defends the identity of the groups and communities which share the same values (beyond the interests of the states and of the governments). Building an identity and the consequent role represents an essential component, mostly when developed and applied measures to protect the identity of these groups and societies. The analysis of the link identity-security places the problem of migration and consequently of the immigrant into logics of security, which is being perceived as a three folded threat: firstly to the welfare of the state, secondly to the public order and thirdly to the cultural identity of a society.

The credit of Constructivism is that it has materialized and given expression to identity as a security object of reference, creating a vicious circle in which social security has a central position. Consequently, the social society is an essential compound of the concept of extended security and collective identity appears within it as an object of reference.

It could be argued that there is continuity within the migration policies: it is systematically concluded that there is a gap between the official migration policy and the real migration policy. The reasons that determine this gap in the case of Spain are: in the first place, planning ahead impossible targets and in the second place, improper tools. In Spain, the migration policies lead to a large amount of illegal immigrants which, when reached a large number, made absolutely necessary the application of an extraordinary regulation which not only that it did not solve the problem of illegitimacy but which also was the source of a higher illegal migration on short and medium term.

The immigrants' first contact through the migration networks represents, undoubtedly, one of the most important matters in order to characterize the migration phenomenon as it makes possible the acquaintance with the networks that facilitate the process of entering in Spain and simultaneously makes possible each individual migration project (in the circumstances in which most of the immigrants have arrived to Spain through the migration networks).

In other words, integration can be regarded as a harmonization process with respect to various communities, groups, roles or organization within a society. Furthermore, as Moritz Jess says: "immigrant integration can be described as an individual or group inclusion of the newcomers into the host society. It is about the insertion of individuals which bring a new culture, habits and manifestations into the host society. The social policies which aim at immigrant integration have to be adjusted according to the population specification, but also have to take into account the local, regional and national circumstances, but mostly have to take into consideration the economic and social aspects of the integration and those related to cultural, religious diversity, citizenship and political rights. In other words, integration is an adaptive answer to the encounter between a major and a minor culture.

Immigrant integration in the Valencian Community involves recognition of rights and obligation fulfillment which is based on cohabitation criteria but also on the organization specific to the Spanish society in general and to the Valencian society in particular. All this is accomplished by respecting the newcomers' cultural and religious identity. Thus, integration can only be applied through mutual awareness of the Spanish society by the newcomers, on one hand, and on the other hand, of the values and features of the immigrant population by the host society.

When we are referring to the immigrants from the Valencian Community and their integration process, we are referring in fact to a compromise, an integration commitment in which it is involved the host society and the immigrants. The integration of the immigrants implies recognition of rights by the receiving society and fulfillment of the obligations by the immigrants and which is based on cohabitation criteria but also on the organization specific to the Spanish society in general and to the Valencian society in particular. All this is accomplished by respecting the newcomers' cultural and religious identity. In order to achieve an actual integration and a cohesive society it is needed both the immigrants' arriving to the host society effort as that of the Valencian society, the receiving society. Awareness and mutual respect inside of the constitutional and legal framework as the equity between the natives and the immigrants regarding rights and obligations represents the departure point.

Castellon de la Plana has a large percentage of immigrant population, higher than other province, autonomous and State areas which justifies a Municipal Plan, especially if it is taken into consideration that most of the immigrant communities recently and hastily

settled here which hindered proper adaptation both of the recently arrived population as that of the host society. For this very reason through the immigrant integration plans of Castellón de la Plana, as a various cultural reality, it aims to facilitate cohabitation, establishing an intercultural relationship, safeguarding human rights and dignified living conditions for all the inhabitants and forming of an inclusive society.

Referring to the immigrant integration plan of Castellon, the words "coexistence" and "integration" always have a positive connotation. By these words it is often intended to express values as equity, solidarity and cooperation, this being reinforced by implementing the immigrant integration plans. The national, municipal and local plans cannot only serve for social integration of foreign communities which have decided to remain and live on the Spanish territory, but also for these who have to be capable of establishing social cohabitation and intercultural skills, where every member has his own role, as to create together a place to live and coexist without social exclusion. Respect towards cultural differences should be a priority, and this barrier could be solved through dialog, exchange of experience, reciprocal understanding and negotiation of the existing differences. The limits are market by the legislation in force and especially through the respect towards human dignity.

Religion is an identifying, maintaining and cultural identity preservation factor, which represents an important component for integration. Religiousness reduces the uncertainty regarding character and moral changes caused by migration, creating an area of behavioral safety around the subject because religion offers safety, predictability and assurance. Religious community not only that represents an identifying socially differentiated structure, but in reality can become the key component for the insertion into the host society, largely determining the social insertion strategies.

From the analysis performed in the 4th chapter results that the Rumanian Orthodox Church of Castellon de la Plana created a social network which by activities as sharing food to people in need, information and guidance, home visits, help in seeking employment, and moral support etc., participates to the social integration of more vulnerable groups and communities. Social and support networks represent one of the reasons which determined a progressive growth of communities. Taking into account the complexity of life situations, there are numerous immigrants who seek support and company within religious communities especially when entering a society which is not theirs and in which at first they feel alien,

immigrants. The role of social network is that of helping to an easier development of the integration and socialization processes.

Generally speaking, we can say that the initial hypothesis that Romanians have preserved their identity, language, culture and traditions, it is confirmed by the answers in the interviews. The results of the interviews prove that most of the Romanians preserve their cultural and national identity in their new social environment the representative components and the church (for those who attend church) plays a major role from this point of view. Consequently, the interviewed claimed that their main concern is greater income; it is possible that for most of them, preserving social and cultural identity to be an object that falls under the idea of integration, but the matter of integration in a foreign country has a dramatic content as by integration, the immigrants desire nothing more than overcome the isolation difficulty.

It was confirmed that during the integration process, the immigrants take the first step with the help of the Church (information and guidance, help in seeking employment, advisory services, moral support etc.)

Considering the importance that has cultural transmission to the next generations, the religious communities develop activities that involve education, country of origin language learning, history and geography. These activities are intended to consolidate the group's identity, but mostly, it creates a contact area for its members.