



## **SUB-SAHARA AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE 'LAND OF PLENTY': ECONOMIC CRISIS, FOOD INSECURITY AND HUNGER IN TARRAGONA AND LLEIDA**

**Egbe Manfred Egbe**

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Hunger in Tarragona and Lleida

**Doctoral Dissertation**



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Supervised by Prof. Josep M. Comelles &  
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Department of  
Anthropology, Philosophy and Social Work



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## LIST OF ACRONYMES

**DAFITS:** Departament d'Antropologia, Filosofia i Treball Social (Department of Anthropology, Philosophy and Social Work)

**URV:** Universitat Rovira i Virgili

**SSA:** Sub Sahara Africa

**R+D:** Research and Development

**FPU:** Formación del Profesorado Universitario (Training of University Teaching Staff)

**AGAUR:** Agencia de Gestión de las Ayudas Universitarias y de Recerca (Catalan Agency for the Administration of University and Research Grants)

**FI:** Formación Investigador / Formación de Personal Investigador Novel (Training of Novell Research Staff)

**FURV:** Fundació Universitat Rovira i Virgili (The Universitat Rovira i Virgili Foundation)

**FI-DGR:** Beca Predoctoral Formació Personal Investigador Novell (Predoctoral Fellowship for the Training of Novell Research Staff)

**SMA:** Society of Medical Anthropologists

**EASA:** European Association of Social Anthropologists

**GEC:** Global Economic Crisis

**GDP:** Gross Domestic Product

**INE:** Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (Spanish Institute of Statistics)

**OECD:** Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

**ECSR:** European Committee of Social Rights

**MSSI:** Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad (Spanish Ministry of Health, Social Services and Equality)

**NGO:** Non-Governmental Organization

**IAASTD:** International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology for Development

**FAO:** Food and Agriculture Organization

**JHCNSP:** John Hopkins Comparative Non-Profit Sector Project

**TSAS:** Third Sector of Social Action

**TS:** The Third Sector

**CEPES:** Confederación Española de la Economía Social (Spanish Confederation of Social Economy)

**IMF:** International Monetary Fund

**WTO:** World Trade Organization

**UN:** United Nations

**MDGs:** Millennium Development Goals

**IFAD:** International Fund for Agricultural Development

**EUROSTAT:** European Statistics Office

**UNICEF:** United Nations Children's Fund

**ILO:** International Labor Organization

**WHO:** World Health Organization

**UN, ACC/SCN:** United Nations Administrative Committee on Coordination / Standing Committee on Nutrition

**PAC:** Política Agrícola Común (Common Agricultural Policy)

**MDD:** Marca de Distribución (Distribution Brand)

**FBS:** Food Balance Sheets

**FIVIMS:** Food Insecurity and Vulnerability Information and Mapping Systems

**PoU:** Prevalence of Undernutrition

**LSMS:** Living Standards Measurement Study Survey

**UNDP:** United Nations Development Program

**NCHS:** National Centre for Health Statistics

**MUAC:** Mid-Upper Arm Circumference

**BMI:** Body Mass Index

**DRC:** Democratic Republic of Congo

**RDAs:** Recommended Dietary Allowances

**SENC:** Sociedad Española de Nutrición (Spanish Society of Nutrition)

**SEEDO:** Sociedad Española para el Estudio de la Obesidad (Spanish Society for the Study of Obesity)

**AECID:** Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo (Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation)

**CAR:** Central African Republic

**UNODC:** United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

**UNHCR:** United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

**SHFB:** Spanish Healthy Food Basket

**HFSSM:** Household Food Security Survey Module

**AROPE:** At Risk of Poverty and Social Exclusion

**NIE:** Número de Identidad de Extranjero (Foreigner's Identification Number)

**EPA:** Eicosapentaenoic Acid

**DHA:** Docosahexaenic Acid

**EU:** European Union

**ICMPD:** International Centre for Migration Policy Development

**CAQDS:** Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software

**IDESCAT:** l'Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya (Statistical Institute of Catalonia)

**AESAN:** Agencia Española de Consumo, Seguridad Alimentaria y Nutrición (Spanish Agency for Consumer Affairs, Food Safety and Nutrition)

**PSOE:** Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Spanish Socialist Worker's Party)

**PP:** Partido Popular (the Peoples' Party)





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## DEDICATION

To the loving memory of my late dad, Egbe Joseph Oneke. To my mum, Egbe Joanna Egbong, my siblings: Anna Egbe, Franklyn Egbe, Neville Egbe, Godrick Egbe, Fritz Egbe and Hillman Eta. To my wife, Salome Egbe and my lovely daughter, Johanna Egbe

I love you all.





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HAGO CONSTAR que el presente trabajo, titulado “Sub-Sahara African Immigrants in the ‘Land of Plenty’: Economic Crisis, Food Insecurity and Hunger in Tarragona and Lleida” que presenta Manfred Egbe Egbe para la obtención del título de Doctor, ha sido realizado bajo nuestra dirección en el Departament d’Antropologia, Filosofia i Treball Social de esta universidad.

Tarragona, 8 de noviembre de 2016

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Directores de la tesis doctoral

Dr. Josep M. Comelles Esteban



UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI  
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## PREFACE

*'...food doesn't only meet our basic nutritional needs...the foods produced, distributed, and consumed, are entrenched in the culture of society and in our reflections of the political-economic structure of society. They are cultural mechanisms that go beyond the mere purpose of meeting basic human nutritional needs...'*  
(Bodley, 2012).

Food and food systems are topics anthropologists have long been interested in; many anthropological studies have explored the production, distribution, and consumption processes of food from an ecological, physiological, politico-economic and symbolic approach. Bodley (2012) describes a food system as a cultural mechanism, which 'meets basic human nutritional needs through the processes of production, distribution, and consumption (Bodley, 83). Anthropologists have principally been interested in food and the systems necessary to secure it; and food systems have been used in building theory in the field, highlighting a wide range of societal processes such as political-economic value-creation (Mintz, 1986), symbolic value-creation (Munn, 1986), and the social construction of memory (Mintz & Du Bois, 2002; Sutton, 2001). Also, food systems' analysis has been used to analyze tensions between obtained taxonomies and the categories people use in everyday life (Nichter, 1986; Wassmann, 1993). Furthermore, the extensive role of food in human life is emphasized in Mintz & Du Bois (2002) ethnographies of food systems – highlighted as the fundamental foundation of any society that informs on its social structure and ideologies. Variables such as gender divisions, class distinctions and symbolic ceremonies have been explored in anthropological studies showing how the human act of food production, distribution, and consumption surpass nutritional needs and take on important roles (Mintz & Du Bois, 2002). (Klein, Pottier, & West, 2012) write that throughout human history, people have sought ways to eat using different practices and methods: hunting, gathering, and farming. This implies food systems are determined by the ecology or infrastructure of any society.

Food has in fact been studied in anthropology from a food system analysis, probing into the ways people eat, what they eat, and the source of the food (Gabaccia, 1998; Himmelgreen, 2002; Mead, 1970; Visocky, 2011), from the broader specifics of society. It is important to note that the type of food system a society or population living in a particular habitat adopts depends on the demography, habitat, and technology of that society. For example, while the food system of developing countries is still arguably based on small-scale subsistence farming, that of industrialized nations, characterized by highly dense and heavily populated urban centers, is exemplified by a complex of large-scale farms, wholesalers, retailers, bio-agricultural companies, food processing



technologies, as well as agrofuel infrastructure – i.e. fossil fuel dependency (McMichael, 2009a)<sup>1</sup>; bringing food from its raw state ('from nowhere') to the mouths of consumers. As Sidney Mintz writes, 'food [and food systems] was [and is still] an instrument for the study of other things' (ibid., 1996:3 – emphasis added). The study of the food system of any society serves as a pathway for exploring and understanding how that society and its cultures function. Therefore, '... learning how food is obtained and who prepares it, provides considerably, information about the way that society functions...' (Farb & Armelagos, 1983).

The study of food and the food systems of a society underscores the fact that food doesn't only meet our basic nutritional needs; '...for us humans, eating is never a 'purely biological' activity because the foods eaten have histories associated with the pasts of those who eat them; the techniques employed to find, process, prepare, serve, and consume the foods are culturally variable, with histories of their own. Thus, food is neither ever simply eaten; its consumption is always conditioned by meaning... and these meanings are symbolic and communicated symbolically – they have histories (Mintz, 1996).

This study of *Sub-Sahara African immigrants in the 'land of plenty': economic crisis, food insecurity and hunger in Tarragona and Lleida* informs of the apparently permanent crisis of precarious living and economic livelihoods, food insecurity and hunger, for an increasingly marginalized population (Sub-Sahara African migrants - SSA); and of access to food in a food secure First World society (Lleida and Tarragona) for this group. It tells of the day-to-day lived experiences of this migrant group<sup>2</sup>, and their struggles (cuts in social spending and widening income inequalities; continuous economy uncertainty; rising inequalities in general; falling, un-extensive, ungenerous social safety nets and so on) with acquiring food for themselves and for their families.

### **Why and how did I become interested in the SSA migrants lived experiences with food insecurity and hunger – my story within the broader story!**

*Is this research about me? – My experience of 'lack' and consciousness of the importance of food*

From the onset of this research – from its very conception as a possible research project to its eventual development into a dissertation proposal to the DAFITS of the Universitat Rovira i Virgili (URV), the question, 'why I was interested in the foodways of SSA migrants in Tarragona and

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<sup>1</sup> McMichael (2009) argues that the switch to agrofuels represents a confluence of a long cycle of fossil fuel dependence reaching a threshold, expressed in alternative energy policies in an age of global warming, which simultaneously raise food prices and intensify the crisis of social reproduction stemming from cycles of de-peasantization.

<sup>2</sup> Often presented as those most affected by the current economic crisis.

Lleida was central. I needed to know my motivations for engaging in this research and in this group. In addition, as I set out gathering preliminary data and talking with SSA immigrants I began to understand the importance of this study in this population:

In the forward to *'The handbook of food research'*, (Mintz, 2013) posed two questions: (1) What explains the lasting attention that food in all its aspects now seems to demand in life? (2) What category is really comprehended when we speak of 'food studies'? These questions shaped my understanding of food and food studies; guided me to situate myself within this research and gave me motivations to investigate the foodways of SSA migrants in Tarragona and Lleida cities in the Catalonia region of Spain. Before I read *The handbook of food research* I also pondered on the aforementioned question - 'why food practices in SSA migrants, and why SSA immigrants and not some other group?'

From the beginning of the research, I thought my interest in food practices in this group was motivated by the possibilities of obtaining a doctoral grant<sup>3</sup> if I tailored the research project to fit the objectives an already funded research and development (R+D) project at in my department. Moreover, at the time I enrolled for doctoral studies at the DAFITS, there were two ongoing R+D research projects – one in mental health and the other in food studies. My research interest at the time was issues of access to health care services for migrant populations in Spain. My research interest was more compatible with the food studies research area (under the R+D research project on, 'Eating in times of economic crisis; new contexts of food and health in Spain') than it was with the mental health research project. Therefore, I redesigned my research proposal to suit the broader objectives of this area of research; that is to focus on both the food practices of SSA migrants and the implications for health. It is after I redesigned my dissertation research proposal to comply with the objectives of the R+D project that I was confronted by the dilemma of whether I perceive or considered food to be a relevant subject of investigation for me, or I exploited the topic as a way of getting a PhD. grant?

Therefore, Mintz' question pushed me into what I would call 'soul searching', to be sure my motivation came from my desires to understand food practices in SSA migrant populations in Tarragona and Lleida, to know the day to day experiences with food insecurity, and precarious living conditions and the mechanisms they put in place to overcome these hardships; and not mainly the doctoral award. Moreover, as a migrant from SSA Africa, and having many food-related

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<sup>3</sup> There were possibilities of obtaining one of the most coveted scholarships for doctoral students in Spain and Catalonia region; the FPU (Formación del Profesorado Universitario) awarded by the Spanish Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports, and the FI (*Personal Investigador Novell*) of the Catalan Agency for the Management of University and Research Grants (AGAUR, Generalitat de Catalunya).

experiences, mainly shaped by the economic conditions in Spain, at specific moments of my stay in the country, an investigation of this genre became more relevant to me. Thus, it became clearer and clearer to me that my interest in the topic and in the group was not as much as in the grant; was it neither because food studies had become fashionable nor because of the change in time and ideologies about food studies – especially in Anthropology as Mintz (2013) suggests. Talking about food studies becoming fashionable, I guess it does not apply in DAFITS, as professors, and my female colleagues dominate research in this area. To the best of my knowledge it seems I am one of the first male student in the department (at least for now), interested in food studies to the point of focusing my doctoral dissertation in this research field. If my interest in the food practices of the SSA migrant group is not the result of how fashionable food has become among (male) anthropologists; nor by the likelihood of being awarded a doctoral grant, what then explains my motivation?

As Mintz (2013) highlights, food is an underlying driver of life which desperately crave to achieve; and unlike other drivers of life like sex, hunger is a lifelong drive whose impulse Richards quoted in Mintz (2013: xxvii) indicates that it cannot be inhibited or repressed at any rate beyond certain limits, making it a periodic urge, recurring regularly every few hours. Just like the desire for food is not particular to any sex, so is its study (Mintz, 2013). My eventual consciousness of the importance of food in the life of humans, in the life of a people (migrants) based on my experience of lack as a migrant in Spain partly explains the motivation for this study – it added impetus to my interest in the topic and in SSA migrants.

### **The experience**

I am the second child and first son of a family of seven siblings. I have parents who had a lot of money at a certain period of their lives, and not so much at another period but they were never so rich or poor, we always had plenty to eat at home and did go to college and the university. They did everything they could so that we could live a decent life; this does not mean we had all the fancy things we did desire. We had the basic, what was deemed necessary and important. My parent's resources permitted them to take care of our education to the level of bachelors and that was it. They did so for the first three of us (my elder sister, my direct younger brother) and myself and could not continue with the others. After the bachelors, I, like my elder sister and younger brother, decided to take a couple of years (2 years) off to work and raise money to further our studies and support our younger siblings who were still in college or in the bachelors. After those two years working, I enrolled in the masters in medical anthropology at the University of Yaounde one in Cameroon. I finished with the degree program in 2008 with an experience at my master's

thesis defense that left me with strong desires to pursue my studies out of the country. My thesis was under-graded because I obtained my bachelors in an Anglo-Saxon university of the country<sup>4</sup>; at the end of my presentation and response to questions at the public defense, just before the jury deliberates on the grade, the president of the jury of my defense (who was also the Head of Department of Anthropology of the university and a francophone) asked to know from what university I had obtained my bachelors. When I replied and said it was from the Anglo-Saxon university he replied with a disappointing voice: « *il fallait nous dire que tu venais de Buea et on n'aurait pas perdu du temps avec toi, parce que on ne fait pas l'anthropologie à Buea, l'anthropologie se fait ici. Buea c'est un "mushroom university" »<sup>5</sup>.*

I was left with the feeling that I would have been valued or treated differently if I obtained my bachelor's degree in a French-Speaking university, at the University of Yaounde I since that's where anthropology is done according to the HOD. I felt I was victimized for being an Anglophone in a francophone-dominated Cameroon. For me this meant I had to consider studying outside the country to further my education, because I did not want to be told the same thing again and be hurt. The Anglo-Saxon university did not have programs beyond bachelors in my field of interest. Studying overseas became a very serious option to consider and I began applying for scholarships to study in a European university. This is how I was awarded a scholarship in February of 2009 for a master's degree at the University of Deusto (Basque Country, Spain). This is where my voyage as a SSA immigrant in Spain began.

It is worth noting that the scholarship award from the European Commission (EACEA) for the period of two years provided for me both the opportunity to further my studies and to be able to financially support my family back in Cameroon (improve their living conditions). I regularly sent money to Cameroon to take care of family needs and expenses. Not being able to find a job or win another grant for doctoral studies at the end of the master's degree program (which implied the end of the scholarship as well), mainly because of the status that appeared on my residence permit (student) and the economic crisis that hit the country; I returned to Cameroon and was there for about eight months then was awarded another master grant to study medical anthropology and international health at the URV in Tarragona, Spain.

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<sup>4</sup> Because of our colonial past with the French and English, there are two educational systems in Cameroon (Anglo-Saxon and Francophone). Francophones constitute the majority in the country – there are 8 French-speaking regions and only two English-speaking regions in the country. And back then, the University of Buea was the only Anglo-Saxon University in the country, and that is where I obtained my B.A. in Sociology and Anthropology.

<sup>5</sup> That is, "you should have told us that you are from Buea and we wouldn't have wasted this much time with you because anthropology is not done in Buea, it is done here. Buea is a mushroom University"

This time the scholarship was not as much as that which I was awarded by the European Commission in 2009. Unlike the previous scholarship that covered every month of the calendar, the URV scholarship covered only the academic year and was paid in two installments per academic year and not month like the previous. It is during this second phase of my stay in Europe that 'things began to fall apart'. The scholarship money could barely take me through the month, it was difficult to meet with daily needs<sup>6</sup>, and worse of all I could not find a job to get more cash and meet up with the needs. My inability to get a job was also because the scholarship I had was incompatible with several other forms of remunerable employment. Moreover, I still had the status of 'student' featuring on my residence permit, a category that makes employment even more difficult for immigrants. Most employers prefer hiring those with a work permit and not students, especially if the latter is a foreign student. Moreover, Spain was and is still in crisis and there were not jobs for many people. With this situation, I was unable to meet with other vital initial migration objectives, - send financial support to the family back at home. With the scholarship money not taking me through the month, and my inability to get a job and get more cash I started to get anxious, stressed-up by the situation and feared many times that I could someday be without food. I was not always sure of how long the little money I had could sustain me after paying my monthly rents and bills.

To be precise I had a budget of 350€ - 400€ to manage during nine months (an academic year), and had to figure out how to survive the other three months not covered by the scholarship. I did work in the grey economy some few times in the three months not covered by the scholarship, thanks to a Cameroonian friend, - a gardener who was often offered '*petit jobs*' in the grey economy from time to time. The money I made from these '*petit jobs*' was mainly to pay the rent of my room in a shared flat. It is true I never went a day without food back then, but it is also true that I worried a lot about food since I was not sure I had enough to eat daily. Most of the times my main meals (lunch and dinner) were with the Cameroonian friend and family, and I remember that I did not always eat as I would have loved to if I had money. I generally did not have breakfast, even before these hard times, though the situation I was in gave me more reasons not to even think about breakfast. It was a very stressful period for me, I did not have to worry only about what I will eat, if I will have enough money to care for my needs; I was also concerned (and disappointed) that I could not support the family back home during those difficult times. The current situation was quite new for me because until then food had never been a major concern for me neither in

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<sup>6</sup> I am grateful to the donors (URV, Postgraduate school) because it is thanks to this scholarship that I was able to obtain a master's degree in Medical Anthropology and International Health in the year 2013. Therefore, I by no means look down on the award. I am bringing it up here because it is the phase in my European trajectory wherein I experience issues of food insecurity

Cameroon nor during my first stay in Spain. With the little money, my parents had we eat to our satisfaction in Cameroon because we produced part of what was consumed; a great deal of foods eaten at home came from the farms.

In 2013 it happened that I was employed by the *Fundació Universitat Rovira i Virgili* (FURV) in the organization of an international conference as administrative and logistic staff<sup>7</sup>. From this point, things turned around again for me and I was once again able to provide my daily needs and support the family back home during the six months' period I was hired. Before my contract with the FURV came to an end, I was awarded a pre-doctoral scholarship – University and Research Centres Novel Teaching and Research Staff – FI-DGR, by the government of Catalonia (*Generalitat de Catalunya*) Agency for the Management of University and Research Grants (AGAUR), the grant facilitating the present research. It was a three-year grant wherein the first year is considered a scholarship and the last two years a work contract with the university. Employment with the FURV and the AGAUR pre-doctoral grant brought an end to my concerns about food, about my economic condition, inability to support my family back home and provide for them better living conditions (a vital migration objective). It ended several months of stress, worries and uncertainties. And I have always asked myself this question – If I had not been employed by the FURV or awarded the FI-DGR scholarship what would I have done, how would I have managed the situation, or what would have happened?

My personal experience living in precarious economic conditions generated some degree of fear, worries, stress and uncertainties (of running out of food before the month ran out; of being without food throughout the day; of being unable to meet up with important 'pre-set migration goals'), which added on my interest to investigate the issue in other SSA migrants. I was worried and concerned about many things, which were all linked to work (employment, source of income), food, and wellbeing (the migration objective). I was not in these precarious conditions for a long period. I don't know what would have happened if the situation persisted (no job, no source of income), however, I do know it was a difficult and stressful period in my stay here in Spain; it shaped and reshaped a lot of things; shopping habits, involvement in social activities and events, etc..

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<sup>7</sup> It was the first medical anthropology joint international conference, 'Encounters and engagements: creating new agendas in medical anthropology' organized at the URV by the European Association of Social Anthropologists (EASA), the Society of Medical Anthropologists (SMA) of the American Anthropological Association, and the DAFITS of the URV.

When I look back at those stressful moments and think about the so many SSA immigrants I know; who have lost their jobs, had their salaries split into two; and conscious of the so many responsibilities they have about family (both here and in country of origin); as well as the probability that they may not be able to meet these responsibilities because of the precarious economic conditions in Spain, I am motivated to investigate their experiences. It is my hope that documenting the experiences of SSA migrants often presented as the cause for low wages (low paid workers) in the wealthy countries they migrate to – a phenomenon believed to have encouraged the diminution of enterprise benefits for core workers, and for pushing many in the sector of the precariat (Standing, 2015) and depicted in the print media as a ‘pest’ in Europe, would contribute in providing a way forward for the many SSA migrants caught in the cobwebs of hardships. The narrations of many SSA migrants in this research of their experiences with the economic crisis in Spain, food, migrations and so on unravel stories of bravery, solidarity, mutual support, hardships and ‘administrative exclusion’. The study is by large informed by my experience with lack and precarious economic conditions as a SSA migrant student in Spain.

## **CHAPTER ONE: SSA MIGRATIONS TO SPAIN; STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM, RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH OUTLINE**

In this chapter, I present the background to the research, in which I highlight studies that have specifically approached food from a food insecurity, hunger and economic crisis perspective; and specifically studies that explore this relationship in migrant groups in 'First World' nations. The chapter also presents migration distributions in Europe, Spain, Catalonia, Tarragona and Lleida; examines policy responses to immigration to the country, highlights immigration regulation measures of the Spanish state especially since the start of the economic crisis. An analysis of the impact of the economic crisis on migration policies as well as for immigrants (particularly Sub-Saharan African immigrants) is presented. The analysis shows how the economic crisis has affected immigrants (that is, the conditions of immigrants in the backdrop of the economic crisis and austerity measures in Spain). The chapter further reiterates the issue (question) under study and notes how social needs are addressed in Spain; that is, the evolution of social action – highlighting how social needs are progressively addressed by the state, the private sector, and the non-profit (or third) sector. I end the chapter with the contextualization of the investigation from the broader research and development research project from which it is carried out; and with the presentation of the objectives of the study, its significance and the outline of the thesis.

### **ANTECEDENTS**

There is paucity of information on the health of immigrants in Spain in relation to the financial crisis. Moreover, the few studies that have focused on the impact of economic crisis on health, have been descriptive and prescriptive, from a more economic perspective; they provide a recount of the causes, consequences, and solutions to the crisis (Ebner, 2010; Eichengreen & Irwin, 2009; Pinilla & González, 2009; Quintana & López-Valcárcel, 2009; Székelys & Van den Noord, 2009). The studies have been very general, not focusing on any particular group and leaving untouched the relationship between the Global Economic Crisis (GEC) and access to food and its implications for the nutritional health of the population.

Meanwhile, there is vast account of food security, food insecurity, hunger, poverty, and obesity in 'First World' societies (Beebout, 2006; Lee & Frongillo, 2001; Radermacher, Feldman, & Bird, 2010; Rose, 1999; Tarasuk, Mitchell, & Dachner, 2016; Tarasuk & Beaton, 1999; Wunderlich & Norwood, 2006); for studies in Spain see (Casadó & Gracia, 2014; Comelles, Egbe, & Agis, 2015; Egbe, 2015; Egbe & Monserrat-Mas, 2014; Gracia-Arnaiz, 2015; Moreiras et al., 2009; Medina, Aguilar, & Fornons, 2016), but few studies have focused on the interconnectedness of the current GEC to these issues (specifically food insecurity and hunger) and its implications for the 'food



security' of low-income earners who disproportionately are made up of the most impoverished sectors of the population – migrants. Interest in studying the relationship between the economic crisis and 'food insecurity' has mostly been from the context of the developing nations' (Agbeko & Akpakli, 2010; Atukorala, Pulani, & de Silva, 2010; Mwitwa & Ng'andwe, 2010; Sanchez & Yibby, 2010; Yavich, 2010).

Recently, there has been much interest in the issue of food poverty or hunger, on its association with other issues such as the 2008 economic crisis in 'First World' nations. Such studies have specifically been conducted in countries such as, the UK, Estonia, Spain, Turkey, Canada, the US, Australia, Finland and New Zealand (Cameron, 2015; Caplan, 2016; de Armiño, 2014; Dowler & Lambie-Mumford, 2014; Dowler & Lambie-Mumford, 2015a; Dowler & Lambie-Mumford, 2015b; Dowler & O'Connor, 2012; Jüri, 2014; Koç, 2014; Lambie-Mumford, 2014; Lambie-Mumford & Dowler, 2015; Michael, 2014; A. Nielsen, Lund, & Holm, 2015; Pappendieck, 2014; Riches & Tarasuk, 2014; Silvasti, 2014; Silvasti, 2015). In most of the studies, focus is on poverty per se and the growing phenomenon of food poverty and food charity in these 'First World' nations - presented to be extreme in some cases.

Few studies in the academia in Spain explore the issue of 'food insecurity' and hunger and its interconnectedness with the 2008 economic crisis<sup>8</sup>. More information on the issue appears in the tertiary sector (blogs, newspapers) that commonly dramatize the incidence and prevalence of hunger in First World societies. Headlines like; "*Al colegio con hambre y sin cuaderno: la crisis se ceba con los niños en España*"<sup>9</sup> (i.e. hungry to school and without a notebook: crisis preys children in Spain); "*España vive un retroceso brutal en términos de hambre, sobre todo infantil*"<sup>10</sup> (i.e. Spain is experiencing a brutal setback in terms of hunger, especially among children); "*Desempleo, desalojos y hambre, el resultado de la crisis en España*"<sup>11</sup> (i.e. unemployment, evictions and hunger, the results of the crisis in Spain) abound in the print media, newspapers, blogs and also the social media in the country.

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<sup>8</sup> A couple of studies that attempt to appraise this interconnectedness include; (Antentas & Vivas, 2014; Cáceres & Espeitx, 2011; Creu Roja, 2015; de Armiño, 2014; Gracia, 2014; Medina et al., 2016).

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.rtve.es/noticias/20120607/pobreza/532380.html> This Spanish Radio and Television (RTVE) news reported that 17.1% of minors in Spain live below the poverty line; that the economic crisis worsens their living conditions, nutrition and education; that their parents have difficulties in purchasing school supplies and cloths for them; and that every child born in Spain, is born with a public debt of 15.570 euros.

<sup>10</sup> [http://www.eldiario.es/andalucia/desarrollo-intelectual-malnutridos-decrecer-profundamente\\_0\\_147335631.html](http://www.eldiario.es/andalucia/desarrollo-intelectual-malnutridos-decrecer-profundamente_0_147335631.html). In this el Diario newspapers edition (report of an interview with a former FAO employee – José Esquinas), informs that there are children scavenging food in garbage dumps near schools because they see their parents do it.

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.elpais.com.co/elpais/internacional/noticias/desempleo-desalojos-y-hambre-resultado-tesis-en-espana>. It reports that poverty now affects 21% of the Spanish population, and has led many people to access food from social kitchens to be able to feed themselves. Also, it notes that the number of houses with children where no adult had a job increased by 120% between 2007 and 2010.

Looking at the few publications in Spain on the subject, Antentas & Vivas (2014) analyzed the impact of the economic crisis on food consumption in Spain. They reported that the crisis has impact on sectors of the population, as well as on people of varying profiles with implications for health. Also, they underline that the crisis has affected diet and food consumption, and increased food insecurity for certain sectors of the Spanish society – particularly in groups spending a higher proportion of their income on food. The authors emphasize that many households in Spain, endeavor to spend less on food, resulting to cuts in the food budget – which has implications for their eating habits (unhealthy eating habits) – a favorable condition for the development of obesity for many. They conclude that the right to a healthy diet as recognized by the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of the United Nations are undermined for many households in the Spanish society (ibid, 58).

Pérez de Armiño's chapter, "Erosion of rights, uncritical solidarity and food banks in Spain" in Riches and Silvasti (eds.) *"First World Hunger Revisited: Food Charity or the Right to Food?"* (2015) tells of the growing role of food banks in meeting the basic needs of vulnerable people in the face of the current economic and social crisis in Spain. The author notes that the weakening of the welfare state affected by structural shortcomings, cuts in funding and neoliberal privatizations explains this emerging trend (ibid, 131). Pérez de Armiño holds that the economic crisis and the austerity measures implemented by the state to curb the crisis, have rather generated disproportionate increases in unemployment, reduced income and the social protection of the Spanish population, which largely depends on occupational status. The result is a serious deterioration of the livelihoods of the more vulnerable families, reducing their capacity to access essential goods, amongst which is food (ibid, 132).

Furthermore, Gracia-Arnaiz (2014) research on the *'Economic crisis: new contexts of nutrition and health in Spain'* highlights the peculiarities of the economic crisis and its implications for the deterioration of the material conditions of life for millions of people in several European countries (ibid, 652). She argues that the economic crisis and the cuts to curb the crisis is a turning point that show both the paradoxes of inadequate policies, and the limits of a precarious welfare state that has brought an end to fundamental rights, including the right to food (ibid., 652). From this perspective, Gracia-Arnaiz holds that we can no longer talk of societies of abundant food with the same ease as in a couple of decades ago, nor can there be claims that differences in consumption have been reduced in such countries whose production systems progressively favors growing disparities between the rich and the poor. According to the author, these new realities are linked to the failure of neoliberal economic ideas in dealing with issues of food poverty, food insecurity and hunger. Thus, the

implications for these failures is that advanced industrialized nations such as Spain are no longer as much societies of abundant food as they used to be some decades ago. There is growing disparity between the rich and the poor, and consumption differences have resurfaced in the society. The borders of the social class are progressively slimmer, explaining heterogeneity and food inequality in these societies.

I have focused just on these three studies as examples of researches linking food insecurity and hunger (particularly from food poverty) to the current economic crisis in Spain. Reasons being that jointly, they highlighted the deterioration of the social and material conditions of life of the population in Spain and for specific groups of the society. Also, because they emphasize the limitations of fundamental rights, including the right to adequate food; changes in food consumption practices, cuts in households' food budget, unhealthy eating habits; and the growing role of food banks as resorts to meet basic needs for vulnerable people in the context of an economic and social crisis. These findings are relevant for the present research, because they echo the experiences of the group under study. However, it is important to point out that, like the previous studies analyzed above, these studies do not specifically focus on the migrant groups in 'First World' nations, especially the Sub-Sahara African migrants.

One of the few studies that focus on the relationship between the economic crisis, food insecurity and hunger in a 'First World' nation, is Megan Carney's *'The compounding crises of the economic recession and food insecurity in three low-income communities in Santa Barbara County in the United States'* (Ibid:2012). Carney examined the responses of low-income Latino households to the economic recession, assessing the degree of autonomy and control that characterize their food procurement, preparation, and consumption behavior. She writes that;

*"the experience of Latino residents of Santa Barbara County in the US reflect a form of citizenship that appears compromised by a host of variables (unemployment, food prices, fuel prices, corporate supermarkets, corporate fast foods) perceived to exist outside the realm of their control...and determined by the global economy, which fails to uphold people as citizens and foods as sustenance, but rather reinforces people as consumers and food as commodity" (ibid., 197-8).*

As Carney highlights, the global economy fails to protect low-income populations from economic crisis and 'food insecurity'. Moreover, the politico-economic developments in the last decade at the international level raises questions about the issue of the right to food<sup>12</sup> in certain European societies (Gracia-Arnaiz, 2014:649). The current food consumption patterns of people with less

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<sup>12</sup> Gracia-Arnaiz notes that food ceased to be a major objective, concern of social organization, and became internationally recognized (at least in theory) as a right, as evidenced in Article 25, section 1 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (2014:649)

socioeconomic resources in European societies (particularly Spain) is as such, more excluded from variety, quality, and frequency (ibid.). And, it seems the main problems of today's highly developed global societies are not only those caused by the abundant production or multiple specialization of the agro-industrial system, but also that of guaranteeing access to healthy, culturally adequate and economically sustainable food for all citizens (ibid.:646). This is particularly true as certain positive developments that the agro-industrial system had favored, such as, the progressive democratization of food, and the reduction of social disparities in food consumption and food security are now being reversed by the crisis (Gracia, 2012; Gracia, 2014; Pynson, 1987). Consequently, there is growing social disparities both in consumption and food insecurity for a sector of the population (particularly migrants), who live in contexts of increasing vulnerability to food insecurity and hunger; and a cluster of health problems (Antentas & Vivas, 2014; Egbe, 2015; Green, 2011; Quesada, 2011). Caplan (2016) clearly depicts the changing context of hunger in First World societies when she notes that, 'the kind of food insecurity problems she had previously studied in Tanzania and India are now much closer to home' (ibid.:5).

Hence, the incidence of food insecurity and hunger is prevalent in wealthy nations, occurring disproportionately among migrants; and revealing how structural inequalities and forms of hardship abound and are strengthened within the food systems (Allen, 2008; Gottlieb, 2010; Poppendieck, 1997). Often, analysis of hunger is rare, not reported; for there are often no statistics nor official reports of the issue in many 'First World' nations. For example, there are neither official statistics nor is there any specific data on the deterioration of the nutritional status in the prestigious reports by different social organizations in Spain. There are no official statistics of the deterioration resulting from the severe erosion of the livelihoods of vulnerable families; reducing their capacity to access essential goods, including food (de Armiño 2015: 132).

All these considered, there is need for studies that explore the linkage between the current economic crisis in Spain and food insecurity and hunger, and its implications for health. In this way, nuanced data relating to the incidence of the issues as manifested at household and individual levels (those data not often depicted in official statistics or reports)<sup>13</sup> may be depicted. This study seeks to obtain data, which will help address these research gaps. It probes into the 'lived realities of SSA immigrant households and individuals who have difficulty at some time during the year in providing enough food for all their members and for themselves because of a lack of resources (Coleman-Jensen, Gregory, & Singh, 2014; Gracia, 2014); households and individuals who experience 'food stress' (Pottier, 1999): That is, the lived realities of those individuals or groups

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<sup>13</sup> See, Pothukuchi et al. 2002, and Pothukuchi, 2004

that are increasingly being referred to as the emerging category of casual workers – the precariat (in this case, SSA migrants), who are ‘hirable on demand, available on call, exploitable at will, and fireable at whim (Foti, 2005). The study engages anthropological probing on migration, food insecurity, hunger and the economic crisis; integrating political economy approaches to food (Peet & Watts, 1996) with theories of precarization (Bauman & Bordoni, 2014; Lorey, 2015; Schierup, Munck, Likić Brborić, & Neergaard, 2015a) entitlement and capabilities (agency) approach (Sen, 1994).

It is important to note here that although precarization is mainly economic, it is also nutritional in this context, and as Schierup, Munck, Likić Brborić, & Neergaard, (2015b) write, migrants and racialized minorities make up a disproportionate part of the precariat – the growing social group, whose experience in the world of work is marked by ‘precarity’ in terms of informal labour, wage squeeze, temporariness, uncertainty, and pernicious risk (Munck, Schierup, & Delgado Wise, 2012; Schierup, Hansen, & Castles, 2006; Waite, 2009). Thus, the focus on SSA immigrants in Lleida and Tarragona - Spain is to emphasize the disproportionate and racial dimensions of precarization that is often neglected in research; and, to appraise the intervention strategies of state and non-state actors regarding the issue (food insecurity and hunger). The goal is to show how migrants reflect upon, strategize, cope with, analyze, overcome, and occasionally triumph in relation to macro forces (Zavella, 2011).

The day-to-day lived experiences of SSA immigrants in Tarragona and Lleida narrate the reality and magnitude of the problem of hunger, as well as the approach of State institutions and other non-state institutions or organizations in addressing the issue. Also, it discloses issues of food justice and the human rights to adequate food and nutrition in the Spanish society. The investigation reports the reality of poverty in Spain; showing how it is changing the structure, and composition of the society, encompassing more and more people (especially the middle-class – former proletariat – and immigrants), and changing the food practices (procurement, preparation and consumption) of the migrant population; with a probable negative implication for health. It is argued that an investigation of this genre is important and timely in the sense that it brings to focus the social, political, and economic conditions that characterize the issue under study.

## **MIGRATIONS TO SPAIN; IMMIGRANT POPULATIONS**

Within the space of a few decades, Spain has transitioned from being a typically emigration country to become one of the most important immigration countries in Europe. The country's foreign population has risen continually since the middle of the 1980s. Migration trends in the country changed with increased levels of south-north migration from the 'Third World' and from Central and Eastern Europe (Kreienbrink, 2008). This spectacular upsurge happened within a very short space of time and was mainly encouraged by Spain's economic prosperity at the time – what has been referred to as the 'Spanish economic miracle' referring to the economic surge that occurred between 1959 and 1973. This economic surge was initiated by reforms implemented by technocrats with the approval of the dictator – Franco. With the reforms, came policies to promote development in Spain through support from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The implementation of the reforms took the form of development plans and was by large a great success as Spain became one of the largest economies in the world (ibid.). This period of economic growth in the country also brought about notable improvements in the living standards of Spaniards and in general the development, growth of a middle class. The country became the fifth largest economy in the European Union (EU) – by 1986. One of the remarkable characteristics of the country during the period of economic growth was an intense rural exodus to the main cities (Madrid, Barcelona) to work in the industrial sector.

Also, there was excessive and uncontrollable growth in the construction sector, especially in the peripheries of the major cities to accommodate the new industrial workers that had come from the rural areas (especially from the south of Spain). During this period and the boom in the construction sector, cities like Madrid became service provision cities and business cities. Service provision and business that would contribute to increase the population of the city, causing demand for new housing facilities. Consequently, there was increased employment in the construction sector. Other factors that contributed to the Spanish economic miracle were its opening to the world as a touristic destination, the emigration of many Spaniards to work in the factories of already industrialized countries in Europe such as Germany and France – many of the Spaniard workers sent significant parts of their income to their families in Spain. It is important to note that the 1973 and 1979 oil crises marked an end of the Spanish economic miracle.

Spain's domestic, socioeconomic and political situation explains its transition from an emigration to immigration country. Continuous economic growth, as well as membership in the EU and European Commission have made the country an attractive destination for migrants. A period of prolonged economic growth, led to an increase in the number of migrant workers entering Spain.

There was shortage of labor in certain sectors (especially agriculture) that did not attract Spanish workers any longer (because they are accustomed to higher standard of living) and shortage in the supply of unskilled labor (domestic workers). With continuous growth of the economy, there was an expansion of the informal sector, which created additional job opportunities for immigrants. Another factor that encouraged immigration to Spain were the country's border and immigration policy; until the mid-1980s border and immigration policies in Spain was loosely defined and offered few obstacles mainly because of its focus on tourism (a great Gross Domestic Product – GDP source for the country) – this loose defined border and immigration policy continued up until the 1990s. Also, restrictions established through immigration reforms in countries such as Germany, France, and Switzerland beginning in the mid-1970s, and in the USA in the mid-1980s, made Spain very attractive to migrants (Kreienbrink, 2008).

Thus, at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, immigration to Spain underwent a spectacular increase, and the country became one of the EU countries with the highest net immigration rates, receiving almost 50% of net immigration (Finotelli, 2014). Spain seems to be one of the main migratory destinations for most migrations in the EU zone, the country experienced significant increase in its immigrant population in the last part of the 1990s (Acevedo, 2004). Statistics from the Spanish Institute for Statistics (INE) indicates the immigrant population witnessed progressive increase from 2005 through 2011 (INE, 2015).

### Immigrant population in Europe

According to the Eurostat data on the population of non-EU nationals whose previous place of usual resident was in a non-EU country and who have established their usual residence in the territory of an EU State for a period of at least 12 months, there were 1,360,422 immigrants of non-EU nationality in the EU States in 2009; the number rose to 1,455,953 in 2010; and later dropped to 1,399,934 in 2011, then it rose again to 1,170,665 people in 2012 (Eurostat, 2016).

**Table 1: Immigrant population in Spain 2005-2014**

Year	Immigrant population
2005	3,730,610
2006	4,144,166
2007	4,519,554
2008	5,268,762
2009	5,648,671
2010	5,747,734
2011	5,751,487
2012	5,736,258
2013	5,546,238
2014	5,023,487

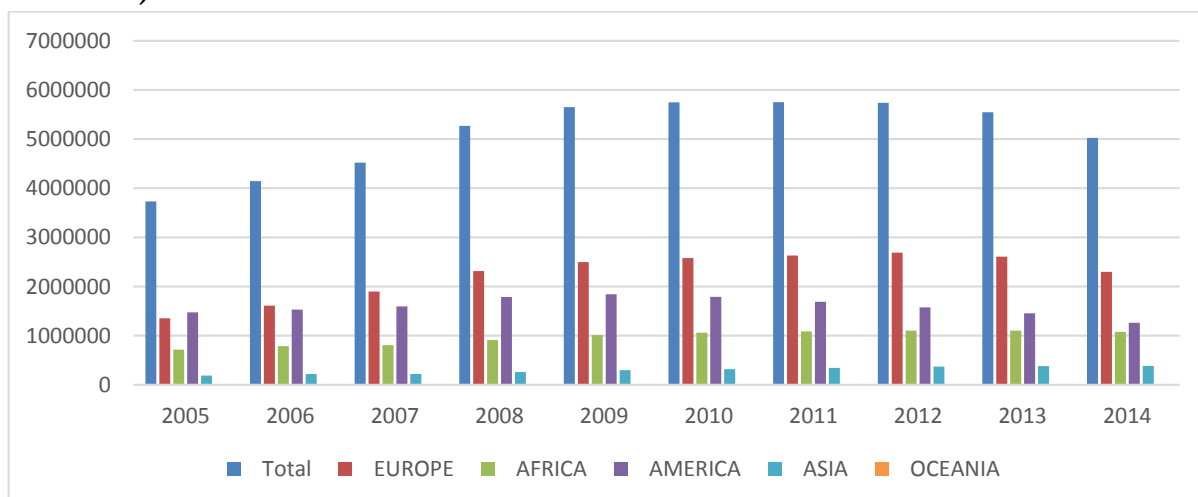
Source: INE, 2015

Among the top 15 countries of origin of the newly arrived non-EU nationals to the EU between 2009 and 2012 was one of SSA country – Nigeria which registered 21,657 migrants in 2009 (ranked 14<sup>th</sup>); 20,831 in 2010 (ranked 15<sup>th</sup>); 18,483 in 2011 (ranked 11<sup>th</sup>); 21,130 in 2012 (ranked 8<sup>th</sup>). Non-EU nationals' resident in the EU during the period 2010 to 2013 accounted for 4% of the total EU population for each of those years (Eurostat 2014). 14,77% of the total number of non-EU nationals residing in the EU lived in Spain in 2013 and accounted for 6,45% of Spain's total population. Only Italy (15,21%) and Germany (22,92%) had more migrants (or non-EU nationals) living in their countries than Spain; however, the total number of non-EU nationals' resident in Germany and Italy in the same year (2013) accounted for only 5,70% and 5,19% respectively of their total population.

### Immigrant population in Spain, Catalonia and Tarragona

As indicated above, Spain witnessed a significant increase in immigration in the last part of the 1990s (Acevedo, 2004) - some 2,130,282 immigrants were registered in the country between 1996 and 2002. Towards 2003, the number of immigrants registered in the Spanish territory rose by 6,2%. Statistics from the *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* – INE (Spanish Institute of Statistics) indicate a progressive increase in the number of registered immigrants in the territory from the 2005 to 2011. The immigrant population in the country currently stands at 5,751,487 immigrants from a total population of 47,190,493 people; this does not include illegal migrants (INE, 2015). The country registered the second largest number of immigrants (465,158 immigrants) in the European Union area in 2010; the United Kingdom with 590,950 immigrants registered the largest number (Eurostat, 2010). Economic migrants from countries poorer than Spain make up the largest segment of registered immigrants in Spain.

**Figure 1: Immigrant Population in Spain, 2005-2014 (By Geographical Region - Continent)**



Source: INE (personal elaboration)

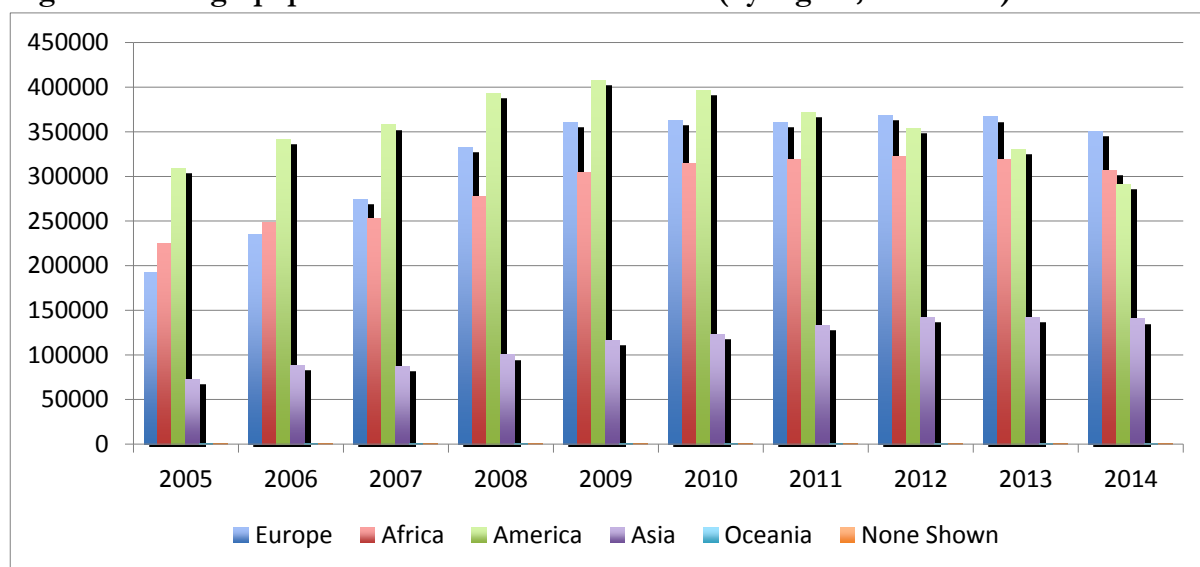


Immigrants from the African continent constitute the third largest immigrant population in Spain after Europe and the Americas and the second largest population in Tarragona province after Europe (the EU zone). Except for 2014 when there was a drop in African immigrant population in the country (i.e. from 1,103,534 immigrants in 2013 to 1,076,164 in 2014), data from the INE indicate a progressive immigration trend from 2005 to 2013. Immigrants from the north of Africa (specifically from Morocco) constitute the greater share of the African immigrant population in the country (INE, 2015).

As in the case of the entire country, immigration trends at the level of the communities (Catalonia in this case) are similar. The registered immigrant population from Africa as highlighted in the INE was on a progressive increase until the end of 2012. As from 2013, the number of registered immigrants from Africa in Catalonia region, started dropping. In 2005 there were 224,383 registered immigrants in Catalonia, by the year 2012 there were 322,673 immigrants from the African continent in the region. In the following year, this number dropped by 1,21% compared to 2012 and by 3,89% in 2014 (INE, 2015).

The same migration trends observed in African immigration in Spain and Catalonia are repeated at the level of Tarragona province. There is a progressive migration of Africans into this part of Spain (i.e. Tarragona province) from 2005 to 2012. From 2013, the number of registered immigrants from the African continent in Tarragona decreased.

**Figure 2: Foreign population in Catalonia 2005-2014 (by region, continent)**

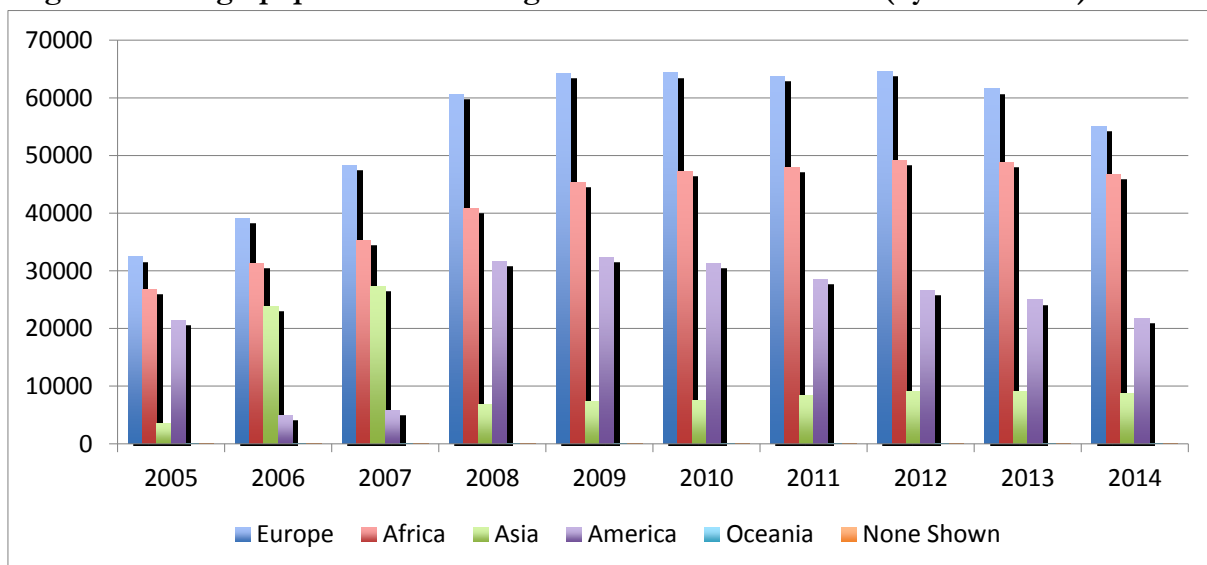


Source: INE 2015 (personal elaboration)

In 2005, the total number of registered immigrants from Africa living in Tarragona province was 26,690 people and by 2012, there were 49,155 registered African immigrants living in the province.

This number decreased by 5,09% in 2014 – there were 46,651 registered immigrants from Africa living in Tarragona province.

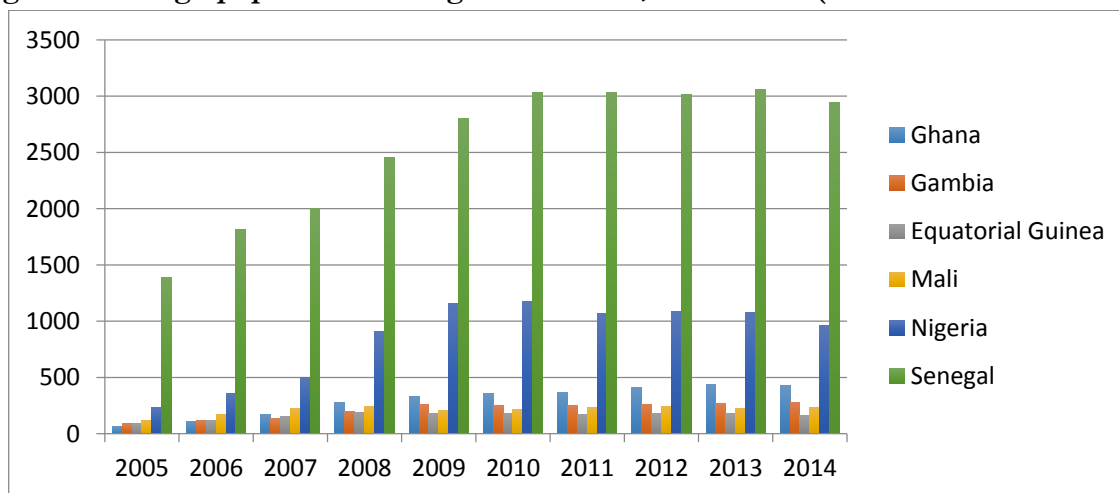
**Figure 3: Foreign population in Tarragona Province 2005 – 2014 (by continents)**



Source: INE 2015 (personal elaboration)

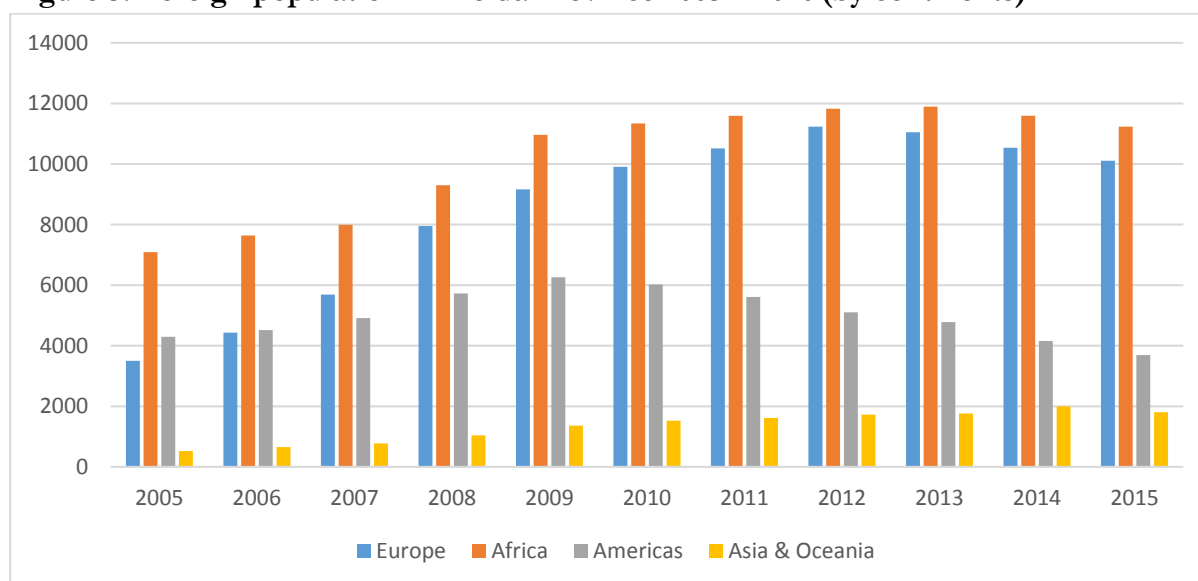
Immigrants from Senegal constitute the greater share of the registered immigrant population from Sub-Sahara Africa in Tarragona province: there were 1,388 registered Senegalese immigrants in 2005 and about twice this number by 2014 (2,939 immigrants from Senegal). Next on the list are immigrants from Nigeria, 236 Nigerians were registered in the foreign population statistics in Tarragona province in 2005 and by the year 2010, there were 1,174 registered immigrants from Nigeria living in Tarragona province. The most recent statistics show that there are 957 registered immigrants from Nigeria in the province, that is a decrease of about 18,48% compared to 2010 (INE, 2015).

**Figure 4: Foreign population Tarragona Province, 2005 – 2014 (Selected SSA countries)**



Source: INE 2015 (personal elaboration)

**Figure 5: Foreign population in Lleida Province 2005 – 2014 (by continents)**



Source: IDESCAT 2016 (personal elaboration)

Contrarily to what is observed in Catalonia and in Tarragona, the largest immigrant population group resident in Lleida province is from Africa; the total number of immigrants from Africa registered in the province was 7,090 people in 2005 and progressively increased to 11,895 people in 2013. There was a decline in the number of immigrants of the continent in 2014 – 11,595 people and another reduction in 2015 – 11,236 people.

### Increased SSA migrations from North Africa into the ‘old continent’

In the early part of the year 2014 news of SSA immigrants, illegal migration into the old continent was on the headlines of the mass media: “*African migrants storm into Spanish enclave of Melilla*” (BBC, 2014); “*As Africa surge to Europe’s door, Spain locks down*” (Daley, 2014); “*Spain’s African enclaves struggle to control migration*” (Melilla, 2014). During all this news about SSA illegal migration into the European continent, particularly to Spain and Italy, a few media got interested in the experiences of these migrants in their trajectory into Europe and published stories of SSA migrants’ journey from their countries of origin to Europe. The dire desire to obtain a better life for themselves and their families was the obvious push factor in most of these stories, and nutrition is a part of the ‘better living conditions’ package hoped for by many of the migrants. This is because food scarcity has always been one of the major push factors in migration history<sup>14</sup>; and the FAO has warned that chronic hunger will continue to be a growing problem in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. Thus, hunger, like perceived economic opportunities, have become

<sup>14</sup> The Irish potato famine in the 1840s that caused the migration of many, and the migration of two million people in Bangladesh in 1974 in search of food stand as examples.

an impelling force into migration and a determining factor in migrants' rationalization of destination (Kershen, 2002).

Thus, attention was drawn to Ceuta and Melilla when many migrant boats with Sub-Sahara Africans arrived off its coasts in 2014 and when many migrants attempted and some succeeded to climb and cross a border fence between Morocco and Melilla in the north of Spain (see picture). The increase in the number of migrants from North Africa (including Sub-Sahara Africans, Asians; particularly Syrians and Afghans), the sufferings and deaths at sea of many of these migrants is what caught the attention of the European community. EU leaders met in April 2015 in an emergency meeting to find a solution to the problem. They agreed to increase funding for maritime patrols in the Mediterranean to apprehend and damage illegal migrant boats before migrants get into them and, to break people trafficking networks.

**Picture 1: SSA immigrants on border fence between Spain and Morocco**



Source: copyright NY times<sup>15</sup>, el Pais<sup>16</sup>, NPR<sup>17</sup> <http://www.npr.com/>

<sup>15</sup>[http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/16/world/africa/10-injured-as-migrants-storm-spanish-border-fence.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/16/world/africa/10-injured-as-migrants-storm-spanish-border-fence.html?_r=0)

<sup>16</sup> [http://elpais.com/m/elpais/2014/10/22/inenglish/1413983861\\_652200.html](http://elpais.com/m/elpais/2014/10/22/inenglish/1413983861_652200.html)

<sup>17</sup><http://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2014/08/14/340289301/spain-forced-to-cope-with-surge-in-african-migrants>

While a couple of migrants have been rescued in the Mediterranean, illegal entrance into European territories hasn't ceased; about 219,000 refugees and other migrants crossed the Mediterranean in 2014 and about 3,500 lost their lives (UNHCR, 2015). Per a UNHCR April 2015 report, about 1,750 migrants died at sea and some 1,766 were reported missing in their attempt to get to the European coast between January and April of 2015 (ibid.: 2015). One of such tragedies of migrants at sea was that of April 19 in which an estimated 800 lives were lost. Despite this loss of live at sea, more migrants continue to arrive European coasts; the International Organization for Migration - IOM (2015) highlights that more than 21,000 migrants reached the Italian coast between January and mid-April 2015. By nationality, many of the migrants that use the Mediterranean route to Europe (that is between 2014 and 2015) are from Syria, Eritrea, Somalia, and Afghanistan (IMO, 2015). So why food, migration and crisis, why SSA immigrants? Well, as (Jackson, 2009), (Wills *et al.*, 2008), (Iversen & Raghavendra, 2006), and (Broadway & Stull, 2010) highlight, food offers a lens through which to study social institutions, economic issues, or features of political organization, and the renewed attention to illegal migrations (especially of Sub-Sahara Africans) in the Mediterranean, migrations mainly motivated by the enduring threat of hunger in the country of origin of many of these migrants provides an additional impetus for this work.

### **Policy responses to immigrations to Spain**

As Carrasco *et al.*, (2007) indicate, immigration changes the structures of societies in the world and generate new necessities and priorities in many sectors. Increasingly, these high-intensity immigration trends have become a great preoccupation for many industrialized nations, becoming a highly ranked political and social issue on the public agenda of these nations. In the case of Spain, these immigration-related problems led the Spanish government to formulate immigration policies. Three phases of migration policy evolution have been identified in the country (Aja & Arango, 2006; Kreienbrink, 2004). The initial migration policy development phase consisted in the laying down of basic legal provisions and in the development of political awareness concerning immigration. Examples of basic provisions include articles in the Spanish 1978 constitution referring to foreigners and asylums; as well as the more restrictive and police-oriented Aliens Act of 1985 (Kreienbrink, 2008). As immigration-related problems became real in Spain, the government developed a guideline for immigration policy in 1990. This guideline laid the foundation for the second phase of migration policy development in Spain.

The second phase of migration policy development in Spain is said to be characterized by fusion, differentiation and consolidation. Regulations introduced during this phase (2393/2004 Immigration Regulation reform) touched issues concerning; border security – border security was

expanded, through high-tech border controls – the development of the so-called *Sistema Integrado de vigilancia Exterior* – SIVE (i.e. Integrated System of External Vigilance), and increased bilateral cooperation with the countries of origin of immigrants, as well as with other EU member states – these bilateral agreements offered privileged entry quotas as compensation for the repatriations of clandestine immigrants<sup>18</sup>; tighter asylum policy in line with harmonized European regulations; introduction of permanent work permits; entry and visa regulations – the Spanish government reinforced entry avenues for high skilled migrants by introducing a special avenue for the hiring of high-skilled workers called the Unit for Large Companies and Strategic Groups (*Unidad de Grandes Empresas*); and quotas (*contingente*) for foreign workers – i.e. it improved the quality of labour recruitment of foreign workers by companies with more than ten employees. In general, this migration policy reform contributed to the diversification of the recruitment procedures for foreign workers, making it more suitable to the demands of the Spanish labour market, at least during the time of the economic boom (Finotelli, 2014). However, the reform affected integration policies – the lack of institutional infrastructure in the 1990s had assigned integration issues to a less important role (Arango, 2000). Integration policies were left in the hands of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and was mostly concerned with issues around reception and provision of social services.

However, in September 1993, autonomous regions such as Catalonia, the government of Catalonia – Generalitat de Catalunya – created an Interdepartmental Immigration Plan that led to the creation of the interdepartmental Commission of Immigration in 1994. The commission was composed of local and autonomous administrations, trade unions, NGOs, immigrant groups, employers, parents, neighbourhood and students associations, and migration experts; this was chaired by the Counselor of the Presidency of the Executive of the Generalitat from its implementation of Decree 228/2000 of June 26, which restructured the commission and expanded its functions. Its plan of action has so far focused on information campaigns to immigrants, care for immigrant women, education, linguistic education and incorporation into the labour market. The Catalan government has insisted on the need for coordinated and coherent immigration policies through the creation of the Secretariat for Immigration by Decree n° 293/2000 of August 31 (Brugué, González, Gusi, & Sol, 2013). A sole body under the Department of the Presidency, the secretariat was assigned to ensure the implementation of the actions (decisions) agreed by the existing interdepartmental bodies and to support departments of the Generalitat in this aspect (area).

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<sup>18</sup> Spanish Ministry of Interior, 2006



During this phase of migration policy development initial steps were taken towards creating an integration policy including the adoption of permanent residence permits and regulations for reuniting families, as well as the creation and expansion of specialized administrative services (Kreienbrink, 2008). New regulations concerning the implementation of the 1996 Aliens Act (which included many of the aforementioned regulations) were also adopted during this phase. It is important to note that these were largely shaped by Spain's entry into the Schengen agreement<sup>19</sup> and the steady emergence of a European migration policy, which brought with it a compelling number of obligations.

The third phase of migration policy development in Spain can be traced back to the year 2000 with the enactment of the "Organic Law 4/2000 of 11 January on the rights and freedoms of foreigners in Spain and their social integration"<sup>20</sup>. This modern, flexible migration legislation was designed to facilitate legal immigration and social integration, with the recognition that immigration would remain a constant in Spain. The law showed that immigration had gone from being a neglected issue to a key political issue (Kreienbrink, 2008); it became the center of political debates and increasingly a populist tool for political mobilization. The January 11, 2000 Organic Law was tightened after the conservative People's Party (*Partido Popular* – PP) won the March 2000 elections. The law was tightened to prevent undocumented immigrants from enjoying various rights allowed to persons with valid residence permit. The restrictive migration policy under the PP resulted to rigorous measures concerning deportation, internment and family reunification, and about penalties for aiding and assisting illegal immigration.

However, the change of government in 2004 gave way to a new phase of legal stability with regards to migration policy. The new socialist government (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español* – PSOE, i.e., the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party) took a liberal, consensus-oriented approach to the issue of immigration (Roig, 2005). They emphasized on creation of legal employment-bound paths of entry, meanwhile regulations concerning family reunification were slightly eased again, and procedures dealing with undocumented employment were tightened. At the same time, a campaign to legalize undocumented migrants took place in the first three months of 2005 – dubbed the 'normalization' process. Immigration regulation n° 2393/2004 reform was developed, to check the recruitment procedure for labour migrants. The regulation maintained the nominal employment of foreign workers in which the representatives of the regional administrations, along with trade unions and employers' associations published a Catalogue of Hard-to-Find-Occupations (*Catalogo de Trabajos*

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<sup>19</sup> A treaty which led to the creation of Europe's Schenghen Area, wherein internal border areas are by large abolished.

<sup>20</sup> <https://www.boe.es/buscar/act.php?id=BOE-A-2000-544&p=20151030&tn=0>

*de Difícil Cobertura*) every three months with a list of jobs for which there were no available candidates, and thus facilitate the recruitment procedure. Under this provision, employers could immediately begin the recruitment procedure to fill vacancies for jobs listed in the catalogue without need of first obtaining certification from the state (Finotelli, 2014).

During this period, there was less rigid regulation allowing for permanent legalization for those who can prove they are 'rooted' in the country (*arraigo*) – this is mainly an individual regularization type based on either the pre-existence of a labour relationship in Spain or on the social integration of irregular migrants (principally in the form of family relationships). As Finotelli (2014) highlights, the *arraigo* was conceived as an on-going regularization system for individuals, and was intended to avoid the need for mass regularization processes in the future. Also, the central government established an integration fund (120 million euros in 2005, 182 million euros in 2006, 200 million euros in 2007) to benefit autonomous communities and local authorities responsible for integration in their locality. The funds were used to finance measures to receive and integrate immigrants as well as education programs targeting young migrants. The funds were unified in the Comprehensive Strategic Plan for Citizenship and integration (*Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración 2007-2010*), the latter was developed following extensive public consultation and consensus (Kreienbrink, 2008). The funds and the plan were intended to serve as a framework and platform for coordinating the diverse measures for the integration and reception of immigrants (ibid, 2008).

### **Consequences of the economic crisis for migration policies and migrants**

Before the economic crisis, migration legislation in Spain was marked by weak and insufficient migration programs/policy (Arango, 2000). A neo-corporatist policy approach through which the recruitment of a foreign worker was done before entry into the country. This liberal approach was supported by the inadequacy of entry channels and the high demand for foreign labour (Hollifield, 1992); the approach laid the basis for irregular migration as a structural feature of the country's migration regime (Finotelli, 2014). Thus, there was no sound immigration policy, if not posteriori regulations. Considering the novelty of immigration in the country, it will have seemed the country could absorb many immigrants in the space of a decade, making it unique example of immigrant integration and effective labour migration administration in Southern Europe despite the absence of state integration policies (Finotelli, 2014). However, the GEC and the collapse of the construction industry (on which the Spanish economy was largely built) have precipitously affected Spain's prodigious decade of economic and demographic growth (Oliver, 2008). It has brought about damaging effects on the labour market with astounding increases in unemployment rates.



After being an attractive immigration country for at least a decade, especially with intensive migration flows at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and gaining the fame of the most important labour importer; Spain was hit by the GEC, which brought an end to its prodigious decade of economic and demographic growth and suddenly became the country with the highest unemployment rate in Europe.

Spain's unemployment affected the whole population but immigrants were particularly hard hit, with unemployment for immigrants in Spain reaching 35% in 2013, almost 10 points higher than that of those to Spain native. This is particularly astonishing given that unemployment in immigrants was only 12.5% in 2007 (Finotelli, 2014). Immigrants comprise the low-skilled labour force that was required to fuel the rapid growing Spanish economy in its prodigious years; however, with the economic crisis, low-skilled workers are those most exposed to fluctuations of the economy and hence, the most likely to lose their jobs. As Oliver (2014) highlights, about 750,000 immigrant jobs were lost between 2009 and 2013, and more than half of them were lost between 2011 and 2013.

With the economic crisis, came more restrictive migration policies which did not only restrict access to Spanish territory by labour migrants<sup>21</sup>, but has also set in place restriction measures concerning integration policies for migrants who now have at their disposition fewer political instruments and available resources. Also, the recently approved 2/2009 immigration law – regarding family reunion – restricted family reunion only for long-term residents who could apply for family reunion with their parents, provided the later was more than 65 years old and without sufficient income to support themselves (Cebolla & González, 2008). Furthermore, the Spanish government in collaboration with the International Organization of Migration (IMO) has designed a voluntary return program for unemployed immigrants. This shows the government's clear preference for short-term options that favour return instead of adopting 'reskilling' measures (Parella & Arce, 2014).

It should be noted that the 2/2009 immigration law did not include measures on immigrants' integration as it rather defined integration as 'transversal' policies across all public policy sectors and proposed new laws concerning political participation and to grant municipal voting rights to immigrants (Art. 6, BOCG 30/10/2009). New measures were further approved to promote the integration of ethnic and religious minorities in the Spanish territory – especially Muslim minorities

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<sup>21</sup> Annual entry quotas based on *contingente* was reduced to zero and almost all the occupations listed on the Hard-to-Find-Occupations (*Catalogo de Trabajos de Difícil Cobertura*) were cut.

with the principle of interculturality declared as one of the basic principles of the 'Strategic Plan for Integration'. In Catalonia, the Generalitat approved Law n°. 16/2009 on the regulation of holy places (*Llei de Llocs de Culte*) that obliges municipalities to devote part of their public space to religious issues.

With the change of government (from PSOE to PP) in 2011, the new government of Mariano Rajoy of the People's Party (PP) suspended the National Integration Fund for budgetary reasons and abolished the 'Report on Integration efforts' that were useful in the case of unemployment for immigrants to renew their residence permit. Another exclusive measure taken by the new government was the Law n° 16/2012, which excluded irregular immigrants from the National Health System. There has also been a progressive weakening of the cooperation between the autonomous communities and the central government. Also, the objectives of the *Plan Estratégico Ciudadanía e Integración 2011-2014* (Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration) have remained on paper (Finotelli, 2014). New immigration policies favored rich foreigners that were willing to invest in Spain, especially in the real estate market for not less than half a million euros (Arango, Moya, & Oliver, 2014). The economic crisis has clearly affected migration policy developments in Spain; there has been a progressive restrictive turn after the crisis. Immigrants' access to rights – closely related to residence status and citizenship (Hammar, 1985) has been affected. Public officials are now requesting for additional documents from immigrants applying for the *arraigo* residence to slow down bureaucratic procedures such permit renewals or foreign workers' recruitment (Arango et al., 2014).

Immigrants (work related immigrants) are supposed to renew their residence twice before obtaining long-term residence. Data from the Secretary of state of Immigration and emigration show that the number of foreigners who renewed their residence permit for the second time was lower in 2012 than the number who renewed them for the first time between 2009 and 2010. The implication of this is that many immigrants may have been pushed into situations of irregularity – mainly because of the lack of means of sustenance (employment contract) required for renewal of initial residence permits. In a nutshell, the economic crisis has negatively impacted the economic and demographic growth of Spain, which has seriously affected the integration of the immigrant population in the society – many migrants have lost access to some basic social rights such as health care, and economic rights, especially those linked to employment, which are now increasingly linked to residence status.

## MIGRATION AND THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IN SPAIN

Migration has become a phenomenon with great preoccupation for many industrialized (western) societies. It shapes the structures of society and generates new priorities in many sectors of society (Carrasco-Garrido et al., 2007). Spain happens to be one of the main migratory destinations for most migrations in the EU zone. The country experienced significant increase in its immigrant population in the last part of the 1990s (Acevedo, 2004). Per data from the INE, the foreign (or immigrant) population in Spain witnessed a progressive increase from 2005 through 2011. From the year, 2011 to present there has been a constant decline in the number of foreigners in the country (see figure 1). For instance, there was a total of 5,751,487 foreigners in the country in 2011, by 2012 this number decreased by 0,3% - i.e. there were 5,736,258-registered foreigners in the country. Between 2012 and 2013, the foreign population decreased by 3,3% (there were 5,546,238 registered foreigners in Spain in 2013). By the end of 2014 the total number of registered foreigners in the country stood at 5,023,487 people that is a 9,4% decline as per the total in the preceding year (INE, 2015).

The decline in immigrant or foreign population in Spain coincides with the economic crisis that has hit the country and other EU states since 2008; Spain has been hit hard by the financial crisis since 2008. The crisis has affected individuals and families, state and policies, the distribution of resources, health and wellbeing, and social inequalities (Quintana & González, 2009). Amongst many other effects, the crisis has caused profound devaluation of the purchasing power of households. Meanwhile dire austerity measures undertaken since 2010 failed to repress the situation. On the contrary, there has been a continuous loss in household disposal income since 2010: 2,9% in 2010, 3,4% in 2011, and 3,8% in 2012 (INE, 2014). And like the European Commission suggests, the statistics are not surprising taking into consideration that the country witnessed one of the highest losses in jobs between 2008 and 2013 (ibid.: 2013). According to the OECD (2013), there was a significant increase in the number of people (families) increasingly exposed to financial stress since the start of the crisis (i.e. over 4 million people) (ibid.: 2013). Unemployment rate stood at 21,7% in 2011 in Spain; that is about 4,257,159 unemployed persons. The unemployment rate rose to 25% by 2012 (i.e. about 4,720,404 unemployed persons). In 2013, there were as many as 4,845,302 unemployed persons in the country; that is a total of 26,4% of the population was without a job. By 2014, unemployment rate stood at 23,7% (i.e. there were about 4,419,860 unemployed persons in 2014). Long-term unemployment rate<sup>22</sup> stood at 41,6% in 2011,

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<sup>22</sup> This is the probability of being unemployed for more than a year and indicates long-term unemployment in the percentage of unemployment

44,4% in 2012, and 49,7% in 2013, (Eurostat 2015). Meanwhile youth unemployment is reported to have risen from 52,9% in 2012, to 55,5% in 2013 and 53.2% in 2014 (Eurostat, 2015a).

As the crisis persists over the years from 2008, it caused the steady increase in the proportion of the population at-risk-of-poverty and/or social exclusion (AROPE)<sup>23</sup> (Eurostat., 2014). Statistics show that the AROPE has been more severe in Spain than in the EU since the start of the crisis. The rate stood at 24,5% in Spain in 2008, while that in the EU was 23,7%; that of Spain rose by 0,2% in 2009 (i.e. 24,7%). In 2010 it rose again by 1,4% and stood at 26,1%. It rose again in 2011 and was 26,7%, and in 2012 and 2013 standing at 27,2% and 27,3% respectively (Eurostat, 2015a).

The MSSSI<sup>24</sup> (2014) suggest that the AROPE data are illustrative of the intensity of the crisis suffered in Spain; over one in five persons in Spain lives below the poverty threshold. Moreover, about 10,3 million people were reported to live below the poverty threshold in 2012; that is, about 800,000 people more than in 2008 (INE, 2014). Also with the crisis, the poverty benchmark threshold of Spain was reduced from 7,800€ in 2009 for a single person, to just 7,200€ in 2012. Therefore, the at-risk-of-poverty-rate pinpoints the population with income below the threshold of 7,200€ calculated on basis of the median income (as of 2012) as poor. However, it should be noted here that the at-risk-of-poverty-rate is a relative variable that does not consider whether the threshold allows for minimal levels of subsistence/wellbeing to be reached and maintained.

However, the average income of the Spanish population (i.e. 14,214€/annum in 2008) fell by 2,3% between 2008 and 2012, standing at 13,885€/annum by 2012. Within this same period, the cost of living rose by approximately 10% (INE, 2014). It is further revealed in the 2011 Active Population Survey of the INE that there was the exacerbation of severe forms of poverty in the country. The survey indicated that the number of households with no income whatsoever rose from 2.12% in 2007 to more than 3,5% by the end of 2012; suggesting about 630,000 households survived with no income. In 2008 6,8% of the population had income below 40% of the median income; this almost doubled by 2011 with 10,1% of the population living with no income. About 4,6 million

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<sup>23</sup> At risk of poverty and or social exclusion (i.e. AROPE) corresponds to the sum of persons who are: at risk of poverty (PAROP) or severely materially deprived (SMD) or living in households with very low work intensity (VLWI). At risk-of-poverty are persons with an equivalized disposable income below the risk-of-poverty threshold, which is set at 60% of the national median equivalized disposable income (after social transfers). Material deprivation covers indicators relating to economic strain and durables. Severely materially deprived persons have living conditions severely constrained by a lack of resources, they experience at least 4 out of the following 9 deprivation items: cannot afford - i) to pay rent or utility bills, ii) keep home adequately warm, iii) face unexpected expenses, iv) eat meat, fish or a protein equivalent every second day, v) a week holiday away from home, vi) a car, vii) a washing machine, viii) a color TV, or ix) a telephone. People living in households with very low work intensity are those aged 0- 59 living in households where the adults (aged 18-59) work less than 20% of their total work potential during the past year (Eurostat., 2014).

<sup>24</sup> Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad (Spanish Ministry of Health, Social Services and Equality)

people lived in severe poverty in 2011 (INE 2014). Sharp rise in inequalities in the distribution of incomes has also been noted in the country; the country's top 20% of income earners recorded income that was 5,7 times higher than the bottom 20% of income earners in 2008. Meanwhile the income recorded by the top 20% of income earners was 7,2 times higher than that of the bottom 20% by 2012 (INE 2014).

With the economic crisis on the scope, resources to access food and maintain a healthy diet have been severely affected and as Drewnowski & Eichelsdoerfer (2010) state: 'choosing healthful versus unhealthy food is an economic decision, especially for people with limited resources'. Cerdeño (2014), highlights that there have been a lot of changes regarding the food acquisition and consumption habits of the Spanish population, with serious cuts in expenses on food. The food acquisition and consumption habits of many households with reduced or limited disposable income has been affected; and it is now common in many households to substitute a food item for another (ibid: 2014). It is suggested that changes in acquisition and consumption habits of the population are stressed by declines in household disposal incomes, high and long-term unemployment in the country (Cerdeño, 2014).

The crisis has for sure had significant consequences on individuals and households, especially on their acquisition and consumption habits - resulting from high unemployment rates and rising food prices (Serra-Majem & Castro-Quezada, 2014). The economic crisis has introduced changes in the food consumption habits – in the quantity and quality of foods – of the population, notably in vulnerable groups. 46% of the population in Spain does not eat in the way they did before the start of the economic crisis and 5% of the Spanish population (i.e. 2,3 million people) do not have sufficient money to eat on daily basis (Oxfam Intermón, 2014). Consequently, many households (low-income families) are beginning to abandon the Spanish Mediterranean dietary patterns; the consumption of typical Mediterranean products (foods) tends to be less in times of crisis (AESAN, 2013; Bonaccio, Iacoviello, de Gaetano, & on Behalf of, 2012). The most adherence to the Mediterranean diet in Spain (noted to be very healthy) is mainly in the group of high income earners (72%); this is substantially lower in low income groups, who have also been shown to have high prevalence of obesity and overweight (Serra-Majem & Castro-Quezada, 2014). In the last eight years, families (especially low-income families) have reduced their consumption (intake) of mutton, beef, and frozen fish, as well as fresh fruits, olive oil, yoghurts, wine and soft drinks. Instead, there is increased consumption of potatoes and vegetables, sunflower oil, eggs, bread, sugar, legumes, fresh molluscs and fish (MAGRAMA, 2012; Zaragoza, 2012)

The context of the economic crisis has not meant the scarcity or deprivation of food, as was the case in some western societies in the 1980s through 1990s (Tarasuk, 2001). Moreover, more than what is needed to feed the entire world is produced (Gracia, 2012). So, challenges to access food (because of financial constraints), in other words food insecurity is not always the outcome of the absence of food or food scarcity (at least not in the case of SSA immigrants in Tarragona Province); it results from financial constraints caused by precarious economic conditions. By food insecurity here, I refer to limited, inadequate, or insecure access to sufficient, safe, nutritious, and personally acceptable food (both in quantity and quality) to meet individual or households' dietary requirements for a healthy and productive life (Canada's Plan on Food Security 1998, quoted in Tarasuk, 2001:5). The focus on limited, inadequate or insecure access to food emphasizes the primary role of income in the food practices or foodways of a group (access, consumption, preparation, etc.).

### **Poverty and hunger in the backdrop of the economic crisis and austerity measures in Spain – the situation of immigrants**

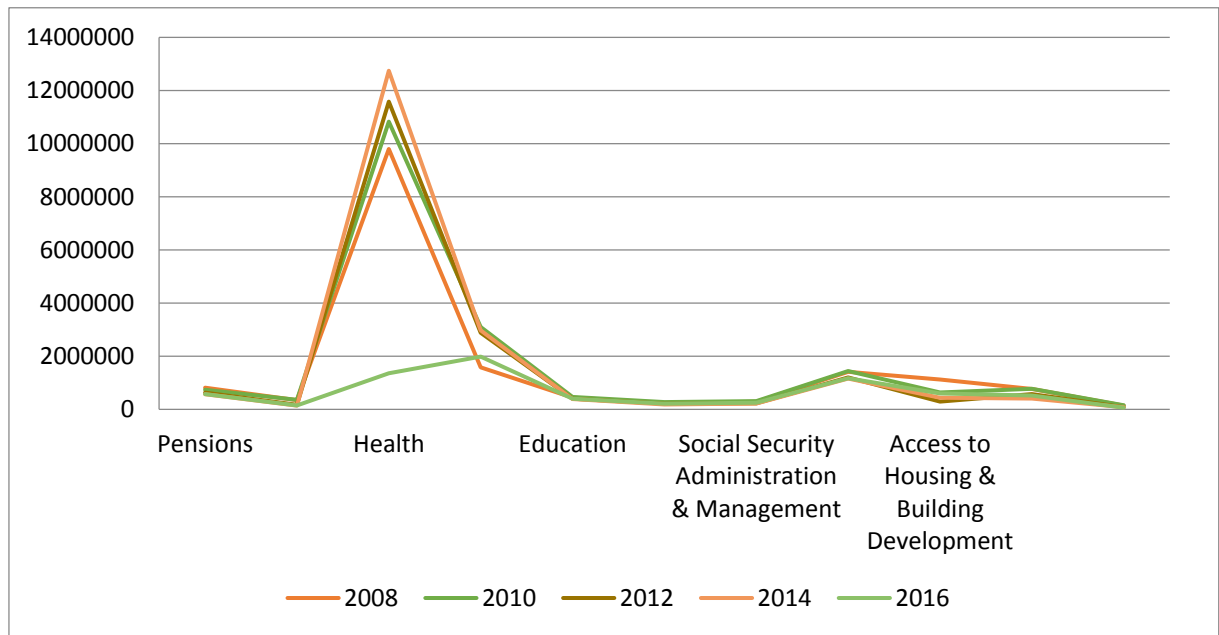
Hunger in the sense of 'developed nations' is an indicator and potential, albeit not necessary consequence of food insecurity. It is a manifestation on a continuum of increasing food insecurity relative to need; a potential albeit not necessary consequence of not having enough food relative to need. A Center for Economic and Social Rights report (2015) notes that poverty and inequality has increased over the past four years in Spain following the austerity measures implemented by the state to curb the effects of the 2008 GEC. Austerity measures have affected the economic and social rights of the most vulnerable.

**Poverty and social exclusion:** As the economic crisis persists over the years from 2008, it is causing a steady increase in the proportion of the population at-risk-of-poverty and social exclusion (Eurostat, 2014). The AROPE corresponds to the sum of persons who are at risk of poverty (PAROP) or severely materially deprived (SMD) or living in households with very low work intensity (VLWI). At risk-of-poverty is defined as those persons with an equivalized disposable income below the risk-of-poverty threshold, which is set at 60% of the national median equivalized disposable income (after social transfers). Material deprivation covers indicators relating to economic strain and durables. Severely materially deprived persons have living conditions severely constrained by a lack of resources, they experience at least 4 out of the following 9 deprivation items: cannot afford: i). *to pay rent or utility bills*; ii). *To keep home adequately warm*; iii). *To face unexpected expenses*; iv). *To eat meat, fish or a protein equivalent every second day*; v). *A week holiday away from home*; vi). *A car*; vii). *A washing machine*; viii). *A color TV*; ix). *Or a telephone*. People living in households with

very low work intensity are those aged 0- 59 living in households where the adults (aged 18-59) work less than 20% of their total work potential during the past year (Eurostat 2014). Statistics highlight that the AROPE has been more severe in Spain than in the EU since the start of the crisis. 24,5% of the population was at risk of poverty and social exclusion in 2008 in Spain and 23,7% in the EU. This rate rose by 0,2% in 2009 and by 1,4% in 2010 with 26,1% of the population at risk of poverty. In 2011, 2012 and 2013 the proportion of the population at risk of poverty and social exclusion was 26,7%, 27,2% and 27,3% respectively (Eurostat., 2014).

The AROPE data illustrate the specific intensity of the economic crisis in Spain; over one in five persons in Spain lives below the poverty threshold (MSSI, 2014). In addition, about 10,3 million people (that is about 800,000 households) were living below the poverty threshold in 2012 (OECD, 2013). Also with the crisis, the poverty benchmark threshold of Spain was reduced from 7,800€ in 2009 for a single person, to just 7,200€ in 2012. Hence, the AROPE pinpoints the population with income below the threshold of 7,200€ calculated on basis of the median income (as of 2012) as poor. However, the AROPE is a relative variable that does not consider minimal levels of subsistence and wellbeing to be reached and maintained by individuals and households. All the same, the average income of the Spanish population (14,214€ per annum in 2008) fell by 2,3% between 2008 and 2012, and stood at 13,885€ per annum by 2012. Within this same period, the cost of living rose by approximately 10% (OECD, 2013). The Active Population Survey of the Spanish Institute of Statistics (INE) – 2012, further highlights that severe forms of poverty were being exacerbated in the country. The survey indicates an increase in the number of households with no income (from 2,1% in 2007, to more than 3,5% by the end of 2012). This means about 630,000 households survived with no income; 6,8% of the population had income below 40% of the median income in 2008; this number almost doubled by 2011 with 10,1% of households living with no income. According to the OECD (2013) report some 4,6 million people lived in severe poverty in 2012. Furthermore, a sharp rise in inequalities in the distribution of incomes is reported in the country. The top 20% of income earners recorded income 5,7 times higher than the bottom 20% income earners in 2008. Meanwhile the income of the top 20% income earners was 7,2 times higher than that of the bottom 20% in 2012 (OECD, 2013).

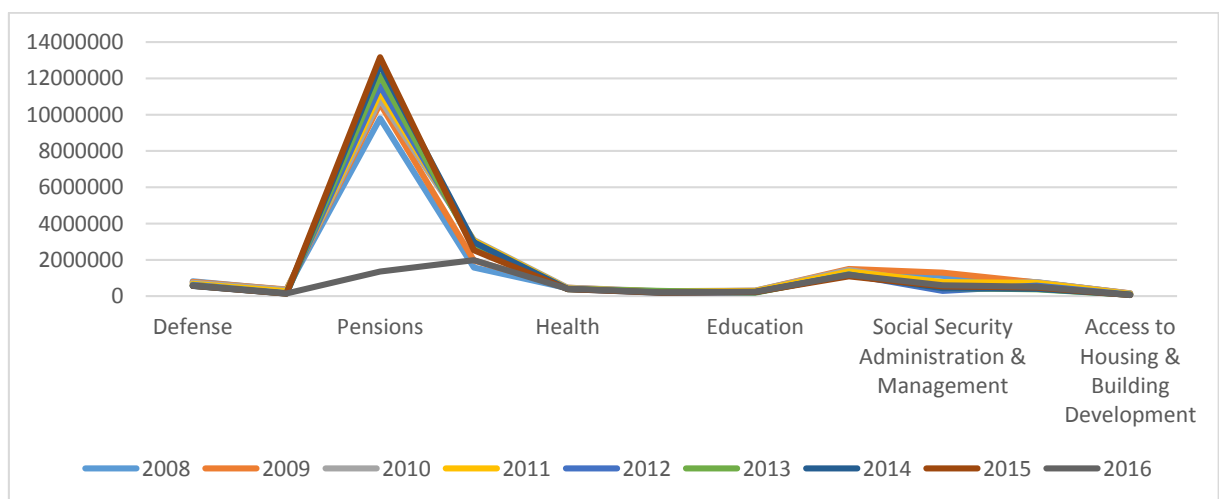
**Figure 6: Social spending in Spain, 2008-2016**



Source: MINHAP, 2016 (figures are in million)

Against the background of austerity measures, poverty has risen in Spain, as there have been sizable reductions in the budget allocations to social security administration – job promotion, education and housing. Also, there has been a severe cut in state budget for social security benefits for children and families (91% cut since 2008). Social protection allocations to people with disabilities, the elderly, immigrants and dependents have seen a memorable decline – with reductions of 69%, 50%, 79%, and 26% respectively between 2008 and 2015 (Oxfam Intermón, 2014). CESR et al. (2012) highlight that austerity measures implemented in Spain include regressive sales tax hikes, cuts to public sector pay, restrictions to health care entitlements, and the privatization of public services.

**Figure 7. Social Spending in Spain, 2008-2016**

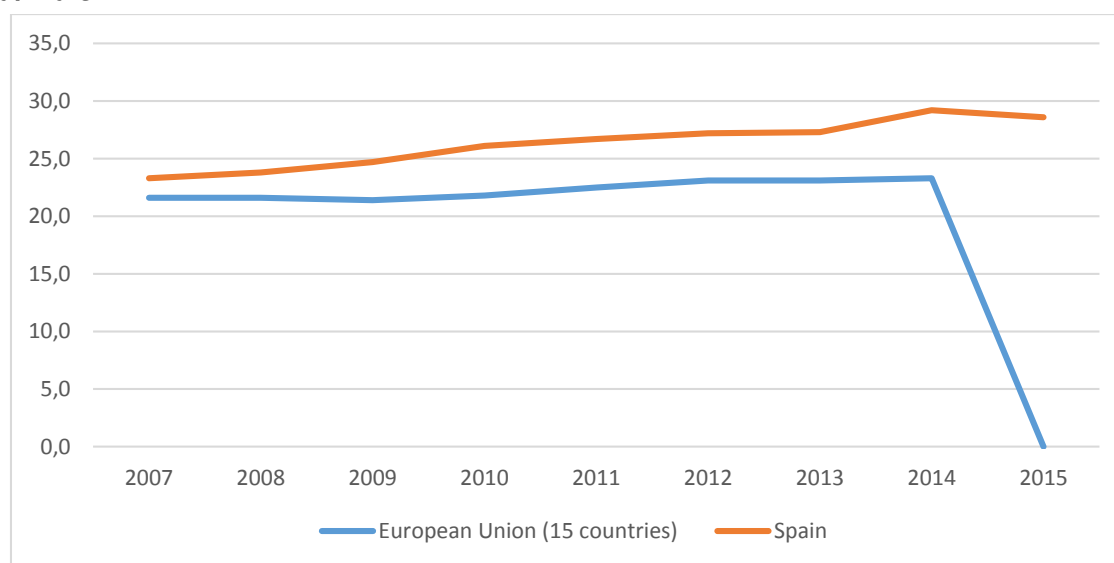


Source: MINHAP, 2016 (figures are in million)



Hence, AROPE have a disposable income below 60% of the national median. According to the Eurostat statistics about thirteen million people were at risk of poverty and social exclusion in Spain, in 2014 – which is about three million people more than in 2007 (Eurostat, 2015b; Eurostat., 2014). This number is projected to increase to almost eighteen million people in 2022 if flow continues. Fundación FOESSA (2014), notes that social protection transfers (unemployment benefits and pensions) have had the smallest effect on poverty rates amongst those already severely excluded.

**Figure 8: Percentage of total population at risk of poverty and social exclusion, Spain, 2007-2015**



Source: Eurostat, EU-SILC Survey, 2016

**Poverty, social exclusion and health:** Being at risk of social exclusion is particular to foreign nationals in Spain; 24,4% of immigrants were reportedly subject to severe social exclusion in 2013 – 13,2% higher than in 2007. There were increased situations of social exclusion for immigrants between 2007 and 2013 in areas such as education, employment, consumption, health and housing. Exclusion from access to health care for foreign nationals is of particular concern. At the backdrop of the economic crisis, the Spanish state introduced changes in government regulation of the health system – it introduced the Royal Decree-Law 16/2012 (a centerpiece representation of austerity policies in healthcare) which implied significant changes in health care model and change of pre-existing political and social agreements (Repullo, 2014). The most vulnerable are excluded from health care coverage with the pretext that there is need to limit abuses of use. Meanwhile the right to access health care is also reduced for specific groups of the population (irregular immigrants; access for them is limited to emergency care, maternal health and for children under 18 years) (Vázquez, Vargas, & Aller, 2014). There have been continuous cuts to health spending since the

crisis began – the total health budget fell by 11% between 2010 and 2014 (MINHAP, 2015)<sup>25</sup>, 2015). These changes in health expenditure and health financing<sup>26</sup> are happening at time when more resources may be required to deal with the right to health effects linked to unemployment, household debt, and decreases in standards of living (ECSR, 2013). These measures affect the accessibility, affordability, quality and universality of health care services.

The new combination of budgetary, legislative, administrative and other structural measures that have disintegrated the formerly universal public health system, threatens to weaken the health status of the population as the exclusion criterion intensifies. The migrant (particularly irregular or undocumented)<sup>27</sup> population is the group particularly affected by these new norms, since their rights to access care is reduced to emergency care services, maternal health or care for children under 18 years. ECSR (2013) reports that 30.6% immigrant households faced health exclusion in 2013, almost double the proportion in 2007 and 13,5% more than Spanish households. The co-payment option for pharmaceuticals has signified an increase cost borne by ordinary (already vulnerable) people, a possible impact on their income, as well as danger for their health (FOESSA, 2014). The implication for this is that these measures are discriminating against a sector of the population already socially and economically marginalized, placing them at an even greater vulnerability and risk of poor health.

**Child poverty:** In addition to augmentations in the percentage of the total population at risk of poverty and social exclusion, there is increased child poverty in Spain – reported to be one of the biggest increases in the EU.

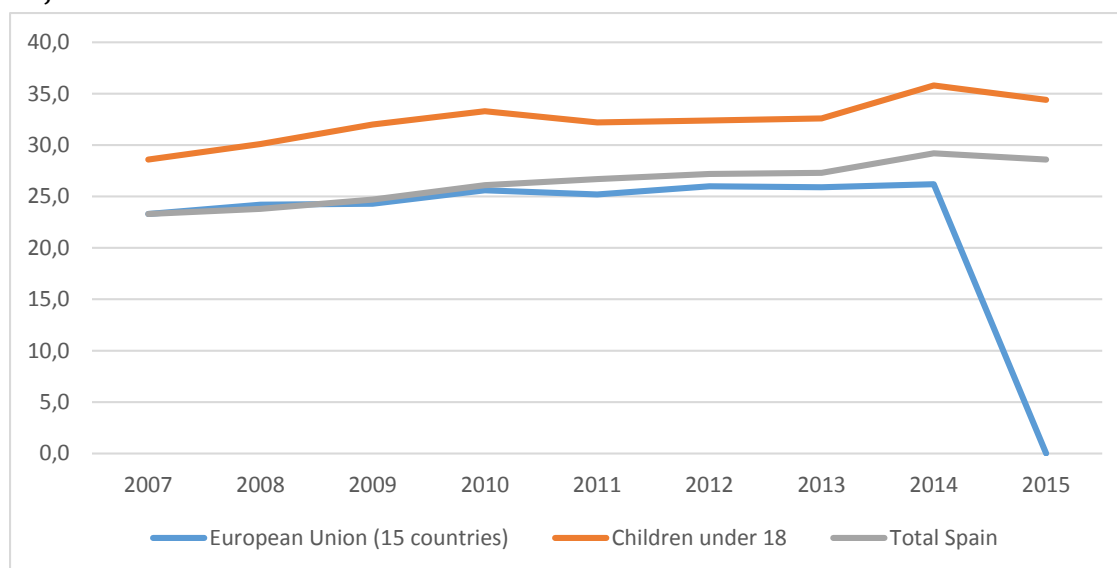
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<sup>25</sup> Ministerio de Hacienda y Administraciones Públicas

<sup>26</sup> Spain remains one of the lowest spenders on health per capita (Eurostat, 2015)

<sup>27</sup> There some 873,000 people estimated to be irregular migrants in Spain, and before the RDL 16/2012 they were guaranteed right to access public healthcare with only limited options (ECSR, 2013).

**Figure 9: Percent of population less than 18 years at risk of poverty and social exclusion, Spain, 2007-2015**

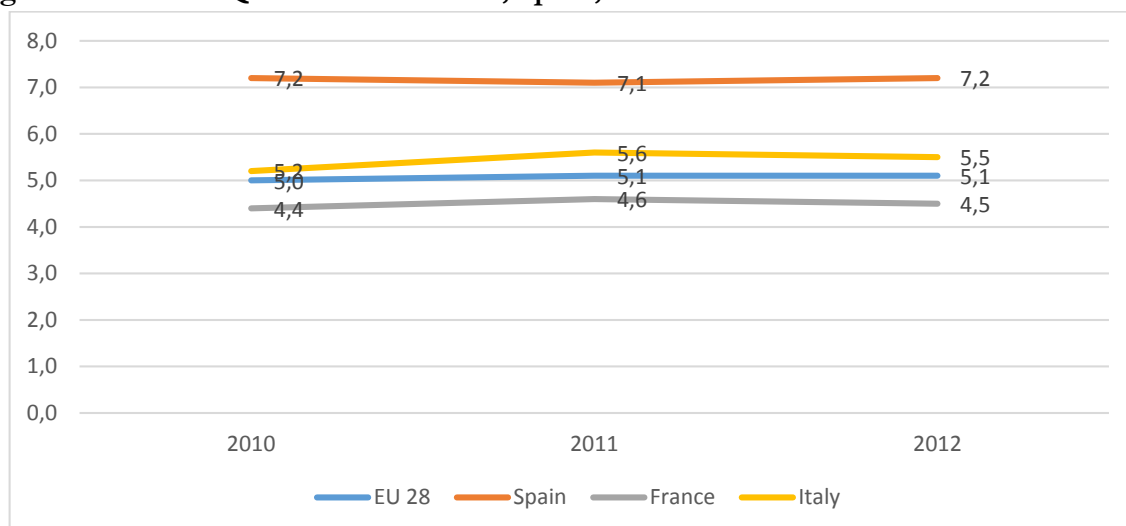


Source: Eurostat, Income and Living Conditions, 2016

According to a 2014 UNICEF report, about 2.7 million children in Spain are at risk of poverty or social exclusion, about 800,000 more than in 2008 (ibid., 2014). Oxfam Intermón (2014) highlights that the country now has the second highest child poverty rate in the EU, only surpassed by Romania. This increased child poverty rate was higher (6%) for children in migrant households than for other children (UNICEF, 2012). This same UNICEF report highlights that the proportion of children facing severe material deprivation, in Spain, has nearly doubled since 2007. It projects that 2,3 million, or a quarter of children in Spain are at risk of malnutrition.

**Widening inequalities:** With the economic crisis and the austerity measures implemented by the Spanish government to curb the financial crisis, is widening inequality. The crisis is disproportionately affecting the most vulnerable, those who are least able to carry the burden. Since 2007, the average disposal income in Spain has decreased by 3.6%, whereas the richest tenth of the population have lost only 1.4% as opposed to 12% for the poorest tenth. The wealth of the richest tenth has grown swiftly from 52% in 2007 to 55,6% in 2014 (Credit Suisse Research Institute, 2014). The gap between the rich and poor tells of these inequalities, Spain has become one of the most unequal countries in Europe with one of the largest gap between the rich and the poor in Europe; this gap has also witnessed a 15% growth since 2007 (OECD, 2014).

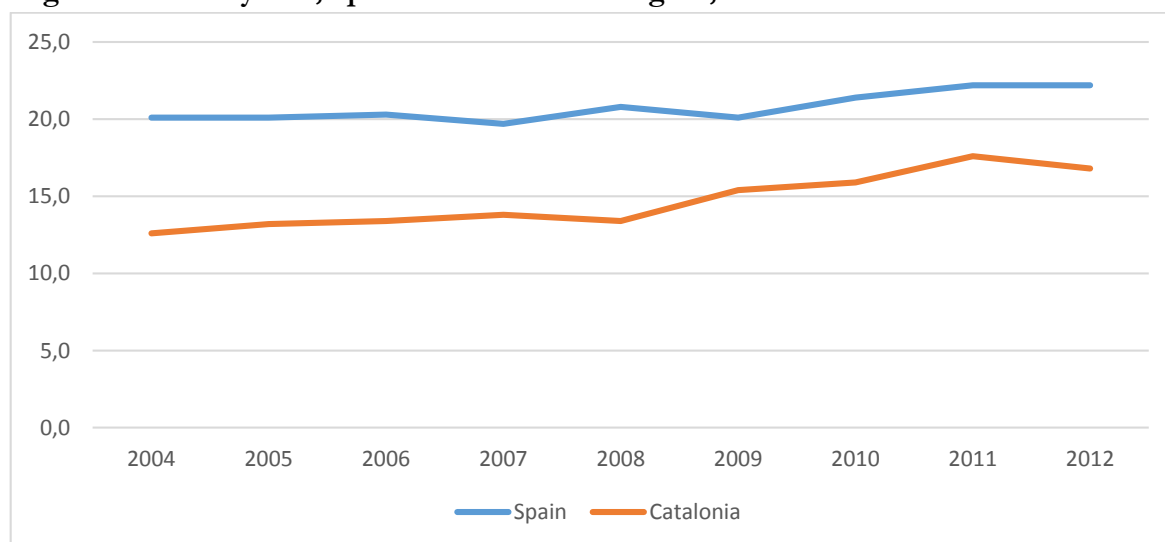
**Figure 10: Income Quintile Share Ratio, Spain, 2010-2012**



Source: Eurostat SILC, 2015

Corak (2012) argues that there is high likelihood that parent's earnings determine their children's (i.e. social mobility) in Spain. However, the current outcome of austerity measures and the economic crisis in Spain, if prolonged, it will prevent meaningful social and economic investments in the youth and in children – especially those from disadvantaged backgrounds and there will be deep disparities in Spain with regards to life chances (CESR, 2015).

**Figure 11: Poverty rate, Spain and Catalonia Region, 2004-2012**



Source: INE Database, 2015

**Unemployment and wage discrimination:** As (Quintana & González, 2009) highlight, the economic crisis has affected individuals and families, states and their policies, the distribution of resources, health and wellbeing, and triggered social inequalities. The purchasing power of individuals and households has been seriously impacted by the crisis, and austerity measures

undertaken this far, have not helped redress the consequences of the crisis. On the contrary, events such as unemployment is on the rise since 2008 through 2014. About 21,7% of the population in Spain was unemployed in 2011 – that is some 4,257,159 persons. The unemployment rate rose to 25% (some 4,720,404 persons) in 2012. Meanwhile there were about 4,845,302 unemployed people in 2013 (i.e. 26,4% of the total population); and 4,419,860 (23,7%) in 2014. Youths and foreign nationals are particularly hit hard by unemployment; their unemployment rate is now three times higher than the pre-crisis rates: about one third of foreigners in Spain are without work and more than half of the population under 25 is unemployed (CESCR, 2012). Long-term unemployment rates<sup>28</sup> are particularly alarming; 41,6% in 2011, 44,4% in 2012, and 49,7% in 2013, (Eurostat, 2015a). So too is youth unemployment with an increase from 52,9% in 2012, to 55,5% in 2013 and 53.2% in 2014 (Eurostat, 2015b; Eurostat., 2015). Some 2,4 million people in Spain have been unemployed for two or more years. Many of the unemployed have lost access to unemployment benefits and other social protection benefits after two years without work. This is a serious threat to social security and to adequate standards of living.

Not only are jobs rare, wages for these are increasingly precarious, as is the minimum wages for those earning it. Several households are faced with wage precarity – i.e. their household and gross income is below €12,000 per year (GHESTA, 2012). The GESTHA notes that about 44% of the population face wage precarity and about most those employed (about 16 million) also face wage precarity (ibid., 2012). Also, there has been continuous loss in household disposal income since 2010 - 2,9% in 2010, 3,4% in 2011, and 3,8% in 2012 (INE, 2014); and minimum wages are failing to keep up with increasing prices, reducing workers purchasing power. Some falls of a predicted percentage of 4.5%, points between 2010 and 2015 has been noticed in the wage income share. It is suggested that such sharp falls may fuel inequality and deprivation of economic and social rights, as it constraints households' consumption, weakens tax revenue, stiffens social immobility and suggests that workers and their families are not receiving adequate remuneration nor a fair share of the wealth they create in the economy (European Committee of Social Rights (ECSR), 2013). Consequently, the number of households exposed to financial stress since the start of the crisis has increased (OECD, 2013). As the European Committee of Social Rights (ECSR, 2010) writes, 'minimum wages have remained clearly inadequate and well below the minimum threshold recommended by the ECSR to uphold the right to fair remuneration and a decent standard of living in Spain.'

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<sup>28</sup> This is the probability of being unemployed for more than a year and indicates long-term unemployment in the percentage of unemployment

Another reality brought about by the economic crisis and the austerity measures implemented to curb the situation are compelling disparities in earnings between men and women and between nationals and non-nationals. On average female nationals, earn only 76% of male wages. This is because females are largely concentrated in precarious part-time jobs (they make up 72.5% of part-time workers and only 43% of permanent contract workers (INE, 2013). Migrants compared to nationals face an even broader wage gap. According to the ECSR, the average female migrant earns less than half of the average Spanish male, suggesting a strong degree of intersecting workplace discrimination (ibid, 2014). With the economic crisis on the horizon, resources to access food and maintain a healthy diet has been severely affected and as (Drewnowski & Eichelsdoerfer, 2010) state: 'choosing healthy versus unhealthy food is an economic decision, especially for people with limited resources'. (Cerdeño, 2014), highlights that there have been many changes regarding the food acquisition and consumption habits of the Spanish population, with serious cuts in expenditures on food. The food acquisition and consumption habits of many households with reduced or limited disposable income has been affected; and it is now common in many households to substitute a food item for another (ibid, 2014). It is suggested that changes in acquisition and consumption habits of the population have been stressed by declines in household disposal incomes, and related high and long-term unemployment in the country (Cerdeño, 2014).

The crisis has for sure produced thorough consequences on individuals and households, especially on their acquisition and consumption practices – triggered by high unemployment rates. However, more than what is needed to feed the entire world is produced (Gracia, 2012). Therefore, challenges to access food (because of financial constraints), issues of hunger and poverty, are not explained by food shortages or food availability decline (at least it is not the case for this study); they are embedded in social, political and economic factors that determine entitlements.

## **STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

As Mahia & Arce (2014) highlight, current immigrant poverty rather than immigrant unemployment is a major cause for concern; the number of people at risk of poverty in Spain (as highlighted above) has increased and the case of immigrants is worrying – their income is 40% lower than that of natives and they are more vulnerable in the labour market; often having limited access to welfare benefits or the support of family members, as may be the case of natives (ibid.). In a nutshell, the worrisome situation of poverty among immigrants does not only imply status precariousness for those that still must renew their residence permits but also precariousness for those that already have a stable residence status (Finotelli, 2014). Moreover, food is central to the

wellbeing of society and occupies a very important place in the migrant experience.<sup>29</sup> Many studies on immigrant populations in Spain have focused on the health aspects of the population and are mainly from a comparative analysis of health services utilization between the native population and the immigrant population with the goal of highlighting the group with more or less utilization of the health care services (Berra & Elorza-Ricart, 2009). Others have focused on inequalities in health care access (Pitkin, Bahney, Lurie, & Escarce, 2009), illness perceptions (Fuertes & Martín Laso, 2006; McDonald & Kennedy, 2004), and patterns of primary health care utilization (Calderón-Larrañaga et al., 2011). While numerous studies indicate a relationship between migration and food (Beebout, 2006; Brettell & Hollifield, 2000; Kasper, Gupta, Tran, Cook, & Meyers, 2000; Magnusson, Hulthén, & Kjellgren, 2005; Marte, 2007; M. Salazar, 2007) few have focused on the foodways of Sub-Sahara African immigrants in Spain; and the approach has generally been on changes in their food practices in host country and when they return to country of origin.

However, there is a relationship between the economic crisis, precariousness, and food insecurity (hunger) and health. *Food insecurity as used in this study is understood within these perspectives: difficulties for households to provide sufficient food for all members of the household at some time during the year due to lack of resources. It is used to denote uncertainty about future food availability and access; insufficiency in the amount and kind of food required for a healthy lifestyle; or the need to use socially unacceptable ways to acquire food.* Food insecurity is a social and economic problem of lack of access or assisted access to food due to lack of economic resources. This assertion is true, since there are many people living in regions that are primarily food secure (First World societies) but who are increasingly unable to buy their food normally in the market place, and are forced to look for alternative ways for acquiring food. The economic crisis causes poverty and socioeconomic inequalities with people affected unable to provide themselves with basic necessities, among which is food and health. Food insecurity has been highlighted to refer to when persons, families or communities do not have sufficient access (at certain times or all times) to healthy, nutritive foods that meet their food preferences and dietary necessities for an active and healthy life, because of physical and economic factors. It is within this context of precariousness, that a series of modifications occur in the food practices and livelihood strategies of those affected (the poor), in their endeavor to manage and mitigate the consequences of food insecurity (including hunger) in a short and/or long term. These livelihood strategies tend to have immediate and/or long-term negative impact on immigrants as well as native families and households' health and wellbeing. The specific strategies employed predetermine the kind of health risk involved.

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<sup>29</sup> See Richards 1932; 1939; Firth 1934; Fortes 1936; Du Bois 1941; Mead 1943; 1969; Powdermaker 1959

Considering the link between socioeconomic status and poverty, and income, and how the latter is directly linked to food (procurement, quality, quantity, preparation, consumption etc.), it is obvious that the foodways of immigrant groups in Spain be affected. More and more, immigrants are faced with situations where they must make rational decisions to find food security for both themselves and their families. Hence, despite endeavors to live with reduced or limited incomes (mainly because of loss of jobs in the economic crisis), many SSA immigrants in Tarragona and Lleida are faced with the everyday challenge of procuring food for themselves and for their families. Thus, propelled by the biological and cultural weight of food in society they are forced to devise strategies to mitigate these unusual effects of limited access to food. By mitigation mechanisms, I refer to the ways immigrants deal with situations of food shortage or limited access to food; how they mitigate the consequences of an immediate and unusual shortage in food.<sup>30</sup>

Additionally, in Spain, food insecurity consists in the management of risk associated with food consumption, distribution and consumers' health. The *Agencia Española de Consumo, Seguridad Alimentaria y Nutrición* – AESAN (Spanish Agency for Food Safety and Nutrition) clearly highlights this focus when it states that, 'we control the food products market to ensure compliance with current legislation. We manage and evaluate the risks to protect the health of the population and alert if necessary'. This may explain why in Spain people who had or have problems with accessing food – who could not provide food for themselves accessed food through food assistance programs provided by non-state institutions; i.e. not-for-profit voluntary organizations working within an organized framework with a social goal. These institutions might be Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), foundations, patronages and so on – Caritas (the Catholic Church agency for aid and development) and the Red Cross are the best-known examples in Spain. As Alemán Bracho (1993) highlights, these organizations are considered partners of public authorities receiving state aid in the form of subsidies or tax breaks. Thus, the social assistance services are jointly provided by NFP, NGOs foundations, patronages, private organizations (usually referred to as the third sector – *el tercer sector*) and the state. These services are provided for children, family and youths; the elderly; women; people with physical, mental or sensory impairments; alcoholics and drug addicts; ethnic minorities, especially gypsies; groups with antisocial behaviors – delinquents, prisoners, ex-convicts; marginalized groups, the poor and homeless; and other groups such as emigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants etc. (that is the poor, those at risk of poverty and social exclusion). They are mainly provided through two channels; general and specialized social services (Alemán Bracho, 1993; MSSI, 2014) in specialized centers such as day cares, reception

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<sup>30</sup> See, Davies S., 1996; Dixon, 2000; Hadley, Mulder, & Fitzherbert, 2007; Knueppel, Demment, & Kaiser, 2010; Lee & Frongillo, 2001; Nelson & Finan, 2009; Rose, 1999; Vásquez-león, 2009; Zizza, Duffy, & Gerrior, 2008.



centers, residences (home for the elderly), job training centers, therapeutic communities, and hostels and canteens. Moreover, funding for social services is provided from general state budgets from social security, autonomous communities and local corporations as well as from private collaborators.

This is the sector that took care of the needs of the poor (socially excluded) – those at risk of poverty and/or social exclusion; who used to consist mainly of homeless people – vagabonds, retirees (pensioners), and single parents (mothers). However, with the economic crisis in Spain, many people lost their jobs and witnessed substantial salary cuts which has heavily impacted on purchasing power. As the crisis prolonged, many from the middle class have progressively fallen from grace and now find themselves in the ranks of the poor and the needy, in the group of those in precarious conditions (the precariat) (Munck et al., 2012; Schierup et al., 2006; Standing, 2015). The implication for this is the rise in the number of people who now have to resort to 'assisted access' to food and other basic necessities. The increase in people who now resort to the tertiary sector implies fewer resources for a larger population in need. Also, efforts by the state to address the crisis situation led to the implementation of austerity measures that have in turn made things harder for the poor and at risk of social exclusion and poverty (the precariat group). There have been sizable reductions in the budget allocations to social security administration – job promotion, education and housing; and severe cut in state budget for social security benefits for children and families (91% cut since 2008). Social protection allocations to people with disabilities, the elderly, immigrants and dependents have equally seen a memorable decline – with reductions of 69%, 50%, 79%, and 26% respectively between 2008 and 2015 (MINHAP, 2015; Oxfam Intermón, 2014). This implies there is limited resources available to social service providers (NFP, NGOs, state institutions, private corporations etc.) – to take care of the needs (basic needs including food) of an ever-growing number of people in the Spanish society (especially immigrants). A group of the population, who are faced with the hard challenge of prioritizing on household expenses - and because the food budget is the most flexible in the household, it is usually sacrificed (cut) to subsidies other expenses such as health care, housing, and education. By large, the economic crisis situation has generated situations of hardships, precarious living for a growing number of people in the population [people I refer to in this research as the precariat as Standing (2015) highlights] who are faced with the everyday challenge of providing food for themselves and for their families; people who have to come up with strategies, mechanisms to mitigate the precarious conditions they find themselves in, as well as to access food for themselves and for their families.

For a society for which food issues was never conceived from the issue of access to food: lack of access to food because of lack of (or limited) resource, from a risk management perspective, it makes it more difficult for the state system to address the issue. Often, the affected (the precariat) is abandoned to his/her fate or the mercies of charity organizations such as the *Caritas*, *Fundació Jerico*, *Fundación Arrels Sant Ignasi*, the Red Cross and others. As Riches & Silvasti (2014) note, the state has shifted its responsibilities of ensuring the right to food for its citizens to the tertiary sector – charities. Given that this is the state of the issue in the country and with the economic crisis in the horizon, it is unclear what measures the state has taken to address this pressing issue (which it still doesn't want to acknowledge is an issue in the country), what is the tertiary sector doing about it, and what the people affected by the situation are doing about it? These are some of the issues addressed in this study. Moreover, the years of the Spanish boom presented opportunities for many Sub-Saharan as many other migrants to have a better life in the country; migration to Spain meant improved standards of living not only for the migrant but also for the family that remained in country of origin. As many SSA migrants I interviewed in this study narrate with a lot nostalgia, there were a lot of jobs for them in Spain in those years of the Spanish boom – the years before 2007 – especially the 90s; they had problems with choice of job and not lack of jobs – the construction industry – which was the basis of the Spanish economy employed many migrants. Another sector that employed many migrants was the agricultural sector, which needed work force especially in the harvesting season, in the food-processing sector as in the picking and packaging sector.

Therefore, many migrants, especially Sub-Saharan African migrants settled in cities in Spain where there was construction boom and huge employment in the agricultural sector – in cities such as Barcelona, Zaragoza, Lleida, Madrid, Bilbao, Valencia etc.). For many of these migrants, things worked out just fine for them, they were fulfilling their dreams of improving their living standards and that of their families both here and back in country of origin. They were indeed living in the 'society of abundance' – abundant food production and consumption, and had free access to the then universal health care system of Spain. Then the economic crisis hit hard the country and suddenly there was loss of jobs, salaries were cut, access to health care services was limited, precarious work contracts and conditions became common, and many immigrants began to lose their legal residence status. There was this issue of how 'the new poor' and the society as a whole would suddenly adapt from abundance to limitations (lack of access to the kind of foods we would like had we the resources it takes to get it). As Almodóvar (2003) puts it, *'currently, Spain suffers a reverse fear: of how to manage overabundance, not to become obese...now, her hunger is of health, since she is no*

*longer concerned about quantity but about quality...*' Hence, in Spain, need has ceased to motivate consumption, and it is now desire that moves Spaniards<sup>31</sup>.

The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) reports that though there has been significant increase in the world's total population, still, enough food is produced to provide over 2,800 calories a day (i.e. by large more than the minimum required for good health) to everyone, and about 18% more calories per person than in the 60s (IAASTD, 2008; Mousseau & Mittal, 2005). Thus, abundance, not scarcity best describes the current supply of food in the world (Lappé, Collins, & Rosset, 1998). If abundance characterizes the world's food supply, then there should not be hungry people in the world. This is not so, however, there are still over 795 million hungry and malnourished persons in the world<sup>32</sup> with one in every four children experiencing hunger<sup>33</sup>. During the past 10 years<sup>34</sup> about 29,000 households experienced hunger in Spain. Of course, there are still millions of hungry people in the world, several households that experience hunger in Spain. As DeRose, Messer, & Millman (1998) highlight, hunger is not all about limitations in food production and availability or supply, hunger can be experienced even in situations where food is available (even in abundance or overabundance, as in Spain), where there is no food shortage (Newman, Crossgrove, Kates, Matthews, & Millman, 1990; Riches, 1997; Riches & Silvasti, 2014).

So, it seems with the economic crisis on the horizon, a growing part of the population in Spain has shifted (or is shifting) from worrying about quality – what it desires (as when in abundance), to worrying again about quantity – about access to food since abundant food and food availability in the country does not translate into access for every individual and households in the country – especially access to the kind of food considered appropriate for health and wellbeing.

This growing section (emerging category) of the population (i.e. the precariat) with increasing difficulties to access food include migrants, refugees, the unemployed, pensioners, the underemployed, the working poor, and single parent families to name a few. Moreover, why I focus on Sub-Sahara African migrants is because of the ways they are particularly affected by the crisis situation in the country, precarious living conditions and food insecurity. How they are particularly affected by the state's unpreparedness to manage an issue it was not prepared for; an issue that was never conceived from a food access perspective but rather from a food safety perspective. So, how do SSA migrants manage to put food on the table for themselves and their families – how have

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<sup>31</sup> Vincent Borrás Català, lecturer, sociology of consumption, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (LVG, 06.10.2003, p.35)

<sup>32</sup> See FAO, IFAD, & WFP, 2015

<sup>33</sup> See Oxfam 2015 report

<sup>34</sup> See Ayala & Gilsanz 2011

they adapted from situations of abundance to situations of lack of access. What strategies are employed by the state and the tertiary sector (NFP) to address this growing issue; what are the implications of the entire management process, as well as the 'newly' adapted food practices for the health of the SSA migrant group? These are the main issues this research seeks to address.

### **Addressing Social Needs in Spain: an overview of the evolution of social action in Spain**

There are different ways of addressing social needs in Spain; through spontaneous or informal systems of assistance usually from family, friends and neighbours; or through private social organizations – i.e. not-for-profit voluntary organizations working within an organized framework with a social goal (third sector of social action). As Alemán Bracho (1993) highlight, such organizations may be of varying nature such Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), foundations, patronages and so on – Caritas and the Red Cross are the best-known examples in Spain. Another form of social assistance is through service systems – usually assistance through for-profit organizations and services companies. A system frequently used for the provision of certain services such as care for the elderly, care for infants. However, leadership in social assistance provision has traditionally been on the state (mainly through the church) (Casado & Guillén, 1994).

Understanding social assistance provision in Spain entails an understanding of the historical evolution of social action in the country. It is not simple. For jural reasons and the pre-eminence of Roman law in the regions of the old Aragon Crown, the evolution of local policies is different. In any case, it developed in different stages. The first phase of the development of social action in the country was based on local charities, implemented right up to the middle ages and which had a civil government. In a second step, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, social action was placed under liberal beneficence that is an organization or activity geared at achieving concrete gratia benefits of mere subsistence for the needy through public and private funding (Nombela, 1967; Martín, 1967). In 1883 Spain, there was the creation of the Commission for Social Reforms (*la Comisión de Reformas Sociales*) to study all issues around social problems. The commission's endeavors resulted to the enactment of several social laws becoming as such the seed, which would later become social and welfare laws (Alemán Bracho, 1993).

By the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the *Instituto de Reformas Sociales* (Institute for Social Reforms) and the *Instituto Nacional de Previsión* (Institute of National Welfare) were created, and social security measures emerged during the first half of the century – were established as an organized public social protection system. Hence, between 1944 and 1986 Spain was characterized by the coexistence of beneficence (charity), and social security.

**Current provision of social services in Spain:** the 1978 Spanish constitution provides an express mandate for public authorities to perform a promotional role for the social welfare of the population: article 1<sup>o</sup> of the constitution states that 'Spain is a social and democratic state of law which advocates freedom, justice, equality and political pluralism as superior values of the judiciary system'<sup>35</sup>. Also, article 9<sup>o</sup>.2 states that 'it is the responsibility of the public authorities to promote real and effective conditions for the freedom and equality of individuals and groups to which they belong; to remove barriers to their full participation of all citizens in the political, economic, cultural and social life of the Spanish society'<sup>36</sup>. In addition, article 148.20 states among other competencies that autonomous communities can establish 'Social Assistance' measures (VV. AA, 1981). Social services in Spain are means or measures to try to cover economic and social imbalances in the society with the goal of providing quality of life for all and through a collective (joint) welfare. The 1985 *la Ley de Bases de Régimen local* (Local Governance Law) supports social services provision to citizens in Spain: article 25.2.k. of the law states that municipalities are empowered by the state and autonomous communities to 'provide social, promotion and reintegration services'<sup>37</sup>. Article 26.1.c. also notes that 'municipalities with over 20,000 inhabitants have to provide social services in any case'<sup>38</sup>. Also, article 36 states that 'municipal councils are competent for the provision of public services of supra-municipal, and supra-regional character'<sup>39</sup>.

Social services laws started being approved in autonomous regions in Spain from 1982 (Alemán Bracho, 1993). Current social services in the country are organized under two main regimes – general (*comunitarios*) social services and specialized (*especializados*) social services. The former constitutes the basic structure of the social services system (first level of care – closest to the user), with the goal of achieving better living conditions for the population through an integrated and multifaceted approach. Its area of implementation is in social work – also understood as the framework for the effective provision of services. General social services are situated in social services centers where information, assessment, orientation and advice; social cooperation, promotion of associations, promotion of community life; home care; social conviviality and reintegration<sup>40</sup> services are provided (Garcia, 1988). Specialized social services on the other hand

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<sup>35</sup> «España se constituye en un Estado social y democrático de Derecho, que propugna como valores superiores de su ordenamiento jurídico la libertad, la justicia, la igualdad y el pluralismo político».

<sup>36</sup> «Corresponde a los poderes públicos promover las condiciones para que la libertad y la igualdad del individuo y de los grupos en que se integra sean reales y efectivas; remover los obstáculos que impidan o dificulten su plenitud y facilitar la participación de todos los ciudadanos en la vida política, económica, cultural y social».

<sup>37</sup> «Prestación de los Servicios Sociales y de promoción y reinserción social»

<sup>38</sup> «Los municipios con población superior a 20.000 habitantes deberán prestar en todo caso Servicios Sociales»

<sup>39</sup> «Son competencias propias de la Diputación la prestación de servicios públicos de carácter supramunicipal, y en su caso supracomarcal»

<sup>40</sup> That is alternatives to detention or referral to specialized social services

are those directed to specific groups in the population, who because of their conditions or circumstances require special or specific care.

Specialized centers such as day cares; reception centers; residences (care homes); occupational training centers; therapeutic communities; hostels and canteens, have been created to provide social services to the population. Funding for social services provided is mainly from the general state budget (through social security, autonomous communities, and local corporations) and from private and personal contributions or donations. Planning, coordination, supervision, and control of the services is the responsibility of the autonomous communities (regional and local administration), while management, implementation and service development is left to local corporations. Within this context, *Ayuntamientos* (city councils) and *Diputaciones* (county councils) play a very important role in social services provision to – they are the nearest services to the citizens (Perdomo, 1989). Formerly, the basis of social services provided by the Spanish state were through the *Ministerio de Asunto Sociales* (Ministry of Social Affairs), which was later changed to the *Ministerio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social* (Ministry of Labour and Social Security) in 1988. Currently, it is the *Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad* – MSSSI (Ministry of Health, Social Services and Equality) that is the basis for social services provision by the state.

## **AN OVERVIEW OF THE THIRD SECTOR IN SPAIN**

Generally, the third sector has been identified by the characteristics of a residual definition, i.e. all that is not the public sector, nor the for-profit sector; a distinct sector from the state and the market. However, there seems to be no unique way of understanding this sectorial distinction because there are a variety of denominations to which it is associated, sometimes indiscriminately and/or sometimes by error. These include social economy, non-profit sector, third sector of social action, voluntary sector, and civil society. Interesting understanding of the non-profit sector (third sector) in Spain has basis in the John Hopkins Comparative Non-Profit Sector Project (JHCNSP) structural-operational definition, which identifies five key characteristics non-profit organizations must share (Salamon & Anheier, 1997):

1. Organized, i.e. institutionalized to some degree in terms of their organizational form or °system of operation;
2. Private, i.e. institutionally separate from government;
3. Non-profit-distributing, i.e. not returning any profits generated to their owners or directors but ploughing them back into the basic mission of the agency;
4. Self-governing, i.e. equipped with their own internal apparatus for governance; and;

5. Voluntary, i.e. involving some meaningful degree of voluntary participation, either in the operation or management of the organization's affairs

This structural-operational definition encompasses organizations, which may fulfil a variety of functions; it does not focus attention exclusively on institutions providing public goods, or efficiently and effectively supplying private goods, or on organizations, which offer positive externalities for society. According to the (Plataforma de ONG de Acción Social & Plataforma del Tercer Sector, 2015), there has been general decrease of Third Sector of Social Action (TSAS) in the last years caused by the impact of the current financial and social crisis in the economic and social area, after 25 years prolonged period of growth in the sector (ibid:1). Nonetheless, the crisis was not immediately felt in the third sector; on the contrary revenues generated by the sector increased by 3,8% between 2008 (€16,824,5 million) and 2010 (€17,467,5 million). Also, there was a growing presence of third sector organizations of social action from 28,790 in 2008 to 29,746 in 2010. A growth that seems obvious with the growing demand for social services by the population following the crisis situations. A situation depicted by the 2012 and 2015 report of the Third Sector – there was a total of about 53 million direct provision of assistance in 2013, i.e. 11,1% more than in 2010. In broader terms, there was a 25% increase in direct provision of assistance since the crisis situation in 2008 to 2015 (Plataforma de ONG de Acción Social & Plataforma del Tercer Sector, 2015).

Thus, in addition to the issues the TS is already addressing, with the economic crisis there has been the introduction of new priorities, emergencies while causing at the same time reductions in available operational resources for the sector. As Vidal (2013) notes, this has led to great changes both in the social context and in the TS – there is need to reframe the organizational frame of the sector. The 2008 GEC interrupted the glorious decade of economic growth in Spain (1997-2007) during which there was a solid and steady growth of the country's GDP and employment: the crisis has produced devastating effects in Spain (Krugman, Pascual, & Esteve, 2009), especially for the economy to the point that it is uncertain when any sign of recovery would come (Torrero Mañas, 2008). As Shiller (2009) writes, the most profound effects of the crisis have been on the financial and real estate sector (which was the backbone of the Spanish economy). As the financial system crumbled, it deterred loans vital for maintaining corporate economic activity (Parra, 2014). With the high indebtedness of families and increasing unemployment, consumption has significantly decreased. More importantly, at least for the TS, limited incomes have caused significant delays in the compliance of obligations by the public sector, creating strong feelings of insecurity in the TS – among organizations that traditionally have collaborated with the public sector (the state) (Obeso

& Homs I Ferret, 2009). In addition to these economic effects are social effects resulting from increased poverty from unemployment. Laparra & Ayala (2009) indicate that families with children, single-parent families, young people, and immigrants are the groups most affected by the economic crisis in Spain because they face the crisis from an extremely frail (vulnerable) situation.

According to the Survey on Integration and Social Needs of the FOESSA Foundation (*Encuesta sobre Integración y Necesidades Sociales de la Fundación Foessa – EINS-FOESSA*), there has been a drastic deterioration of social cohesion during the past 8 years in Spain – there is a notorious rise in social exclusion, that is progressively severe and widespread. As highlighted in the 7<sup>th</sup> Report on Exclusion and Social Development (Fundación FOESSA, 2014)<sup>41</sup>, only one in every three persons in Spain is fully integrated in the society (i.e. 34,3%) – some 16,5 points lesser than in 2007. These new processes of exclusion and growing social differentiation are causing that there be more demands for assistance in the population. Thus, there has been increased demands for the different services offered by organizations of the TSAS. An interesting characteristic of these increasing demands for the services offered by organizations of the TSAS is the change of the profile of those demanding assistance (beneficiaries).

Not only has the economic crisis had specific effects on the Spanish economy, it has also had an impact on social organizations (TS) because of the increase in the demand for its services but also for the difficulties in accessing loans (subventions, credits); the progressive reduction of revenues from the public sector and social works of the saving banks or the delay in payments. According to Fundación Luis Vives (2012) eight out of every organization of TSAS claim to have financial problems, four out of every ten have liquidity problems and financing problems affect an additional 20% more organizations in 2010 than it did in 2008 (ibid.). Also, the *Encuestas de Plataformas de ONG de Acción Social - POAS* (Social Action NGOs Platform Survey) 2015 indicates that the amount of income of the organizations of the TS reduced by 14% in 2008; and that although their revenues increased 47%, it does not offset (compensate) the 22,4% decline in the revenues (funding) from the public sector and 30,2% from the private sector (Gallego & Cabrero, 2015). Thus, the GEC has far reaching effects for the TS (Hanfstaengl, 2010; Parra, Porta, & Ruiz, 2011; Report of Observatorio del Tercer Sector, 2010). A challenge that has come at a time when the sector is still in a state of growth and consolidation putting into place new strategic and structural measures (Parra et al., 2011).

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<sup>41</sup> VII Informe sobre exclusión y desarrollo social en España



It is important highlight here that the end of Franco's dictatorship in Spain marked the onset of democracy in the country, which allowed many people to be committed to social courses through the creation of specialized non-profit organizations. During this same period, there was a modernization process in the public administration, which led to the creation of a new autonomous structure that was closer to the public, and began to form social policies. It is the combination of these two events (creation of new social organizations) and a modern public administration with modern social policies, that gave way to an encounter (partnership) between the state (public administration) and social organizations (TS) in meeting growing social needs, and to collaborate in the construction of an incipient welfare state (Vidal, 2013). Hence, the development of the third sector in the last 25-30 years in Spain was characterized by this public-private partnership. As the sector gained visibility, social dimension and presence, it obtained political recognition, which were made visible in some judicial documents like in the Laws of the Social Services (*las Leyes de Servicios Sociales*) of some autonomous regions; as well as participation in the elaboration of a series of sectorial Strategic Plans (*Planes Estratégicos Sectoriales*). Therefore, the number of non-profit organizations increased during the years of economic growth in Spain (1997-2007) as there was a significant increase in public revenues, which resulted in the transformation of the welfare state and favored the growth of the TS. The sector obtained significant subventions (funding) from the public and private sector; and established solid partnership basis with the state and private companies in the defense of social interests (de Castro Sanz, 2010). In the context of this economic boom in there was abundant public resources available to the public sector for social services and the private sector came in as suppliers of infrastructure and equipment (especially in the sector devoted to childhood, elderly or disabled care) (Cayo Pérez-Bueno, 2010).

The growth of the TS, which was beginning to caress a certain degree of consolidation and diversification that would have enabled it gain new social relevance and a solid establishment (with a wider social basis and good governance), was abruptly slowed down by the economic crisis. One of the areas where the impact of the economic crisis has been particularly felt in issues directly related to the activities of the TS and its objectives is the increase in the demand for social needs (basic needs) (Fundación FOESSA, 2008). In 2008 Caritas reported that demands for food and other basic needs increased by 89,6% from 2007, while demands for assistance to pay rents and mortgages increased by 65,2% (ibid). As highlighted previously, there has been significant increase in unemployment rates and considerable decline in the purchasing power of families. In addition, the number of persons at risk of social inclusion and poverty has increase, and many who already initiated integration processes – largely thanks to the guidance and support of organizations of the TS – have experience a regression and complications in the process following the crisis. Added to

these groups are those who lack minimal family support, and employment income. Areas of the TS most affected by the economic crisis are social and labor integration (because of a significant rise in unemployment); the fourth world<sup>42</sup> and poverty (because of important increase of people at risk of social exclusion); youth and childhood (because of decline in employment opportunities for young people, and in family resources for some activities and services); immigration (because of the effects of unemployment suffered by the group). Also, the new group (new profiles) of people at risk of exclusion – for example, persons that had never been unemployed and with limited resources to search for jobs are likely to push the traditional groups (those often unemployed) to be at risk of being displaced from social assistance. Public services are equally overwhelmed with increased demands for social assistance, and this is mounting more pressure on the non-profit sector, which it should be recalled are collaborators with the state and not its substitute.

The economic crisis has rigorously affected the public sector, cutting available revenues at a time when there is growing need for social investment. These cuts have affected the central, autonomous, and the local administrations who are implementing vigorous cuts in social services rather than exploring other alternatives. For example, the central government is responding to urgent needs through a rather tactical and short-term approach instead of applying a strategic and medium-term approach to the issues. For the central administration, a series of austerity measures is the easiest way out of the crisis situation – it has reduced collaborative support or services to the TS. There has also been delay in the payments of subventions or contracts by the public sector, which causes many operational difficulties for the TS to function normally.

Another effect of the economic crisis on the TS has been a reduction in productive activities in the sector. This is the case of specialized employment centers (Parra, 2010; Martinez, 2011) and social enterprises providing jobs for marginalized groups (Fundació un Sol Món, 2007). There has been a decline in the activities of these enterprises within a short timeframe with impacts felt by those enterprises that depended on private companies to subcontract services. It is in this line that CEPES<sup>43</sup> (2011) reported fifteen social economy companies stopped their activities in 2008, losing 40,000 workers and putting at stake the job of 25% of its employees. Loss of productivity in the context is explained by the fact that the activities of non-profit organizations is in the sectors greatly

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<sup>42</sup> This is an extension of the three-world-model, used here to refer to sub-populations in First World countries but with living standards of those of a Third World or developing country – sub-populations socially excluded from the global society (McFarlane, 1993).

<sup>43</sup> Confederación Española de la Economía Social (Spanish Confederation of Social Economy)

affected by the crisis – construction, recycling, and social enterprises that employ vulnerable groups.

Despite these effects caused by the economic crisis on the sector, organizations of the sector are in general less indebted compared with those in other sectors, because they are used to operating with limited resources and to a high degree of organizational flexibility. Somehow, these characteristics of the sector serves as a setoff that allows them to continue to provide services to the public despite the challenges and changes in context.

### **Contextualizing this investigation from a broader research project: 'eating in times of economic crisis; new contexts of eating and health in Spain'**

Many socio-anthropological studies have tried to characterize the ways of eating in industrialized societies, where there has been an abundance and diversity of food for much of the population. These studies have emphasized on the gastro-anomic nature of 'modern kitchens' and on the successes of food particularities - increasingly personalized and autonomous choices for the individual. Others have questioned the scope of the medicalization of daily diet, asserting that the modern food system is both rational, culturally speaking and that it presents an excellent "health status" in relation to earlier periods (Gracia, 2005). However, some studies highlight that the democratization of food consumption is not real; and that the form, content, or differences in food practices have not disappeared; that there continue to be significant dietary/nutritional differences associated to socioeconomic variables, (especially social class<sup>44</sup>) (Atkins & Bowler, 2001; Fischler, 1995; Poulain, 2002; Warde, 1997).

Findings from two projects of the DAFITS: "The emergence of obese-genic societies" (2009) and "Indigenous women, food sovereignty and sustainability" (2010) on situations of social inequalities that directly affect food practices and social practices, in their turn manifested through emergencies/rise in health problems, revealed that socioeconomic status, age, gender or ethnic origin explain prevalence of diseases and make obesity the most paradigmatic case in Spain and Mexico (Gracia, 2014). Findings from these two studies indicate that the origin of diseases associated to food depend less on individual responsibility and more on the complex and dynamic social fabric where several forms of discrimination / inequalities occur (Gracia, 2009; Gracia, 2010). As the findings of these research project note, there is a great difference between the opportunities to feed oneself, and to manage health, with respect to socio-demographic (i.e. socioeconomic

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<sup>44</sup> Generally, in anthropology social class is understood as a relationship to the means of production; to refer to a group of people thought of as a unit because they are similar in terms of social and/or economic factors (Hann, 2002).

status, age, gender or ethnic origin) and other micro and macro-structural determinants (access to food, food distribution, food price, income, social networks etc.).

The results of these research projects, as well as findings from other socio-anthropological studies of the relationship between food and health status, constituted the basis for the formulation of the major research project from which this study is conceived: "*Eating in times of economic crisis: New contexts of eating and health in Spain*". This major research aimed at:

- Understanding why there is increasing interest in the impact of food insecurity in the last years in Spain;
- Knowing if some of the already consolidated benefits of the global food system are not being inverted.
- Understanding the extent to which the current economic crisis in Spain constitutes a turning point in the ways of thinking about and eating food (foodways), for people living in precarious conditions.
- Knowing the kind of food resources and strategies put in place to meet daily livelihood, as well as the actions deployed at the level of the State and/or civil societies to guarantee the right to food (access to food).
- Generating a fruitful debate on the paradoxes of the current food system, as well as offer reliable data that can be used by authorities and experts of the country to improve public policy on food and nutrition.

While the major research project focused on the Spanish population, this research particularly focused on SSA immigrants in Tarragona and Lleida (Catalonia Region). If food security in Spain was until recently associated with food safety chain and risks minimizing measures, its impact is increasingly being considered in the last years as something impossible to guarantee access to sufficient food resources, and secure the livelihood and welfare of part of the population. Despite the relative abundance of food, at the beginning of the 21st century, the right to food is not guaranteed in Spain. It is for this reason that some of the positive trends of the food system such as the progressive democratization of food and the reduction of social differences in consumption, considered as already consolidated, might be experiencing a contrary result (Gracia, 2014). As Antentas & Vivas (2014) indicate, the global economic crisis has accentuated the situation of food insecurity, causing an increase in precariousness in many groups and deterioration of their diet with impact on health. This situation is influencing livelihood and adaptive strategies that affect the daily diet and health of those concerned.

The profile of groups in process of precariousness has been diversifying and now includes very heterogeneous populations: from the long-term unemployed, pensioners, or single-parent mothers, to emancipated and unemployed youths; groups that consists both autochthons and migrants. The position for many the migrant population on the social scale is that of precariousness in general and is exacerbated in times of lack (shortage, scarcity). Having mostly held jobs with poor working conditions in sectors such as construction, catering, agriculture and domestic services, many migrants began losing their jobs during the years of the crisis (Colectivo IOÉ, 2012). In addition to this are other constraining factors among which is their dependence on wages that are generally lower than that of the autochthon population, additional burdens because of the larger size of their families and remittances to their families back home, limited social networks when compared to the autochthon population, and problems with access to healthcare following changes introduced by the 16/2012 health law (Vizan, 2010).

As Kershen (2002) highlights, aside the nutritional aspects of food, food practices (foodways) reflect the social position and identity maintained or changed within a social, political and economic context. Therefore, it is to these determinants that the situation of economic crisis in migration is added. In the current economic crisis situation, strategies employed by immigrants to access, provide, and consume food tend to be key in understanding the changes in their food practices. The GEC has affected individuals, families, governments and policies (which in turn affect individuals and families), the distribution of wealth and wellbeing, and social equalities (Quintana & González, 2009). It is characterized by rising unemployment rates and increased job flexibility. Unemployment rates in Spain have been particularly alarming with a rise from 18,0% to 24,5% between 2009 and 2014<sup>45</sup>. It is worth noting that many the unemployed in Spain are young people under 25 years old; and that there have been wages cuts, reductions in working hours that have led to lower income (Ebner, 2010).

Unemployment implies low income and, income (per capita income) is associated with health; the level of per capita income determines health status. The economic crisis eventually affects health through changes in the concentration of economic power (Babones, 2008; Leigh, Jencks, & Smeeding, 2009; Lynch et al., 2004). This is true when we consider that economic growth increases life expectancy in a non-lineal form, while mortality and other health indicators are the result of the law of diminishing return and income inequalities within countries (Leigh & Jencks, 2007; Preston, 1975; Rodgers, 1979). With unemployment and low income, the economic crisis causes

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<sup>45</sup> Spain was the country with the most unemployed population in the European Union zone (Eurostats, 2015). The unemployment rate for the second quarter of 2015 was 22,37% (INE, 2015).

poverty, impoverishes many families; one of its immediate effect is a change in dietary (nutritional) patterns, which given the relative price structure of food products, can paradoxically lead to obesity in impoverished families.

Some studies have noted a relationship between poverty and lack of education and obesity; and between diet quality and socioeconomic status (Darmon & Drewnowski, 2008; Drewnowski & Specter, 2004). Ebner (2010) highlights that in times of economic crises, living standards decrease and a number of people (particularly, the poor) are not able to afford adequate living conditions; are unable to meet the minimum standards for proper living conditions and sanitary needs. This is because food becomes unaffordable (i.e. the consumption of fresh food decreases; and people get into cheap diets rich in salt, sugar and fat); governments make choices that do not prioritize health; currencies are devaluated and could lead to increase in the price of pharmaceuticals and make access to health care difficult for the poor; and increase private expenditure on care because health care is less affordable. The health system may become unable to counterbalance the effects of the crisis, as it could be handicapped by cuts or reduction of allocated health care budgets. This has been the case in most Central and Eastern European countries since 2009 when they announced revisions and cuts in their health care budgets (WHO, 2009). This has also taken place in Spain with recent health sector reforms. The reviewed Spanish health law saw the exclusion of certain groups (like, illegal immigrants) from benefiting access to care services; it introduced the privatization of care; and increased prices for pharmaceutical products.<sup>46</sup> It is important to look at what impact the introduction of the 16/2012 health law has for health of (illegal) immigrants; that is, to verify how protective or damaging it is for the health of the population; and how it may condition new dietary patterns within the population (immigrant groups). Some studies note that immigrants more than host populations face potential health risk irrespective of their legal status; as well as unique economic and social factors in the labor market (e.g. Kandula, Kersey, & Lurie, 2004).

A 2010 “Right to Food and Nutrition Watch” reported that the financial crisis exposed systemic problems of the Spanish socioeconomic model; it notes that the poverty rate during the years of the “Spanish economic miracle<sup>47</sup>,” remained unchanged at around 21% (the second 3 highest EU area), showing poverty to be a structural problem in Spain<sup>48</sup>. The financial crisis it notes, was

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<sup>46</sup> Real Decreto-Ley 16/2012, de 20 de abril (<http://www.boe.es/boe/dias/2012/04/24/pdfs/BOE-A-2012-5403.pdf>)

<sup>47</sup> Years of economic boom in Spain, from 1959 to 1974 following the introduction of reforms in the form of development plans that encouraged foreign investment and public investment in infrastructure.

<sup>48</sup> Fundación FOESSA, “Desigualdad, pobreza y privación” en V Informe sobre exclusión y desarrollo social en España 2008, ([www.foessa.org/Componentes/ficheros/file\\_view.php?MTAxNDA%3D](http://www.foessa.org/Componentes/ficheros/file_view.php?MTAxNDA%3D))

aggravating the situation, and poverty rate was on the rise. This led to soaring calls for help which witness changes in the type of help demanded as in the profile of those who were in need (the “new poor”). The most widespread and intense demand for help was for food, followed by aid to cover housing costs. The profile of those relying on aid, before the crisis was predominantly immigrants, pensioners and persons at risk of social exclusion, but it changed to include entire middle-class families, with one of whom had lost their job. The Spanish Federation of Food Banks, Caritas, and the Red Cross estimated that more than 1.5 million people suffered from hunger in Spain in 2008 and warned that due to the crisis the demand for food increased by fifty percent in 2009 (Caritas, 2009). According to a study by *La Caixa*, about 30,000 families with children live in hunger in Spain; half of the poor can no longer purchase medication nor follow any medical treatment. It highlights that four out of every 10 persons live below the recommended 8,000€ per year and that, 60,000 minors of age have frequently been or are hungry. The study concluded that the minors ate almost nothing during the day and never had dinner at night (Gatnau, 2015).

### **OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:**

Migration has always been and is still a natural and a growing worldwide human phenomenon. And despite the ever-constricting obstacles enforced in western nations (particularly in the EU) to citizens from developing countries, the number of people who leave their countries in search of improved lives outside their country continues to increase. Europe has for the past two three decades been a key destination for many migrants (especially illegal migrants who arrive in precarious boats at the European coast), especially those from Asia and Africa. Those who have arrived in the last decade have been welcomed by the economic crisis situation that hit hard on the continent since 2007 and many EU states are still suffering the effects of the crisis (high unemployment rates, decline in the purchasing power of households, reformed healthcare systems etc.). While understanding why people migrate is important, questions that concern this study have to do with what happens with immigrants (specifically Sub-Sahara Africans) once they are settled in their new society (i.e. Spain). The purpose of this study is to explore the links between migration, economic crisis and food in Sub-Sahara African immigrant groups in Tarragona province – Spain. The overall goal of this study is to contribute to a better understanding of the role migratory experiences (trajectories); previous and/or similarly lived precarious conditions play in the foodways (and coping strategies) of Sub-Sahara African immigrants in a context of economic crisis in Spain.

*Objective 1:* To examine Sub-Sahara African immigrants’ motivations for migrating from country of origin to Europe (Spain), and make evidence the migratory trajectories involved in the process.

*Objective 2:* To illustrate the 'integration'/adaptation process of SSA immigrants in the Spanish society.

*Objective 3:* To analyze changes in the culinary/food practices of SSA immigrants caused by migration and the economic crisis.

*Objective 4:* To examine the contexts of food insecurity and hunger in Sub-Sahara African migrant groups in Tarragona and Lleida and highlight the strategies employed by the group to alleviate the effects of the economic crisis on their culinary/food practices.

*Objective 5:* To question the appropriateness (moral and economic) of institutionalized food assistance as solution to growing food insecurity in Lleida and Tarragona.

## **SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

The focus of this study is on the relationship between the economic crisis in Spain, and food insecurity (hunger) in SSA immigrant groups, and how this ultimately causes changes in the food practices of the groups, as well as health. The broader study of the food practices of SSA immigrants (both prior the migration and after the migration), and their sociocultural and socioeconomic integration in the host society, as well as their various migratory trajectories to Spain was relevant. It implied a relationship with their strategies to mitigate the risks to precarious conditions (food insecurity), and notions or concept of a healthy diet, the economic crisis and health. Therefore, a micro level analysis of the food practices within SSA migrant households was set in a broader context by a contextual analysis of their migratory trajectory, social environment, and socioeconomic status in Spain (Tarragona, province). At the household level, the focus was on the analysis of the day-to-day foodways of the SSA immigrant group.

This dissertation thus aims at contributing to this growing area of research by exploring the relationship between migration, economic crisis and food (coping strategies to food insecurity). It highlights the various ways SSA immigrants in Tarragona Province use their socioculturally mediated capacity (gained from previous experience in the society of origin and through their migratory trajectory) to influence the effects of an immediate and unusual shortage of food, resulting from reduced or limited financial resources (i.e. the economic crisis and consequently unemployment). The findings should make an important contribution in this field of research as it offers some important insights in the relationship between migration and food with a focus on Sub-Sahara African immigrants, who constitute an important (but often forgotten) segment of the population. Precisely, it offers some important insights in the relationship between SSA



immigrants' migratory trajectories (experience) and coping with the effects of immediate and unusual shortage of food. It sheds light on the strong links between immigrants' prior set migration objective and resilience to precarious conditions.

Through engagement in the ethnographies of the day-to-day life of SSA immigrants, a thorough investigation of what they do in order to access sufficient and culturally accepted foods, and the socioeconomic, migration experiences and social environment mechanisms that buffer them, this study shows how important it is to explain how households (immigrants) achieve food security and even nutrition security (health), and contributes to the existing literature on migration, food and the economic crisis.

## **OUTLINE OF THE THESIS**

This thesis presents the results of the research on the relationship between migration, the economic crisis in Spain (2008-2015), and the foodways of Sub-Saharan African immigrant' households in Tarragona province. It presents results on the factors that affect the foodways of SSA households; what SSA households do to ensure access to sufficient (and culturally accepted) foods – the coping mechanisms employed to manage the effects of sudden and unusual shortage of food. It also presents results on the role migration, the economic crisis, and access to food play in shaping SSA households perception/understanding of a healthy diet (both before and after migration) and what effect this has for their health.

Chapter 1 aims at putting the research in context. It consists a discussion on the issues of food in the migrant experience, food insecurity, migration, the economic crisis in Spain and eating (food). It also includes discussions on why I got interested in the topic on migration, the economic crisis and foodways and in the group under study – SSA immigrants. The chapter also provides insights on the relevance of the research, the objectives it seeks to achieve, as well as the onset hypothesis of the research.

In chapter 2, I review the literature in regard to food (eating) in the migrant experience; that is the literature on migration (migration process of Sub-Saharan Africans to Europe/Spain), and foodways (acculturation or modifications of food habits, food items and the process of substitution, structure and patterning of meals and eating, the social organization of eating, cooking), the levels at which change in foodways can be observed in migrants new environment; with focus on the role of the economic crisis in Spain.

The third chapter is concerned with the research design, methodology used for data collection and analysis of results of this investigation. It also provides the theoretical considerations and conceptual framework of the study. Because of their important role in generating livelihood and food security for both themselves and their members, households (and individuals) are chosen as the unit of analysis.

Chapter 4 and 5 present the findings of the research, focusing on the four key themes that run through the investigation: migration process, foodways, and the economic crisis, coping strategies. The chapter uses primary data from fieldwork to present the food practices of SSA migrants in Tarragona province, the transformations, modification or acculturation in the food habits of SSA migrant community in the province. It also presents findings of the changes that have occurred in the foodways of the group because of the economic crisis that hit Spain since 2008. The contexts and situations of food insecurity and hunger in SSA migrant communities and coping strategies employed by SSA migrants to counter the risks to their food security are also explored and discussed in this chapter. Fieldwork data are also used to discuss SSA migrants' perceptions of 'the economic crisis' and the notion of a 'healthy diet' vis-à-vis their health.

Chapter 6 presents the results of my research design on food insecurity and hunger in the study population. It explores some methodological considerations regarding the assessment of individual and/or household food security and presents results (responses) to the household food security questions. The chapter emphasizes on the inappropriateness of such methods in measuring food security and hunger. In addition, it presents an analysis of SSA households with assisted access to food supply in state and non-state food distribution institutions (specifically, *Fundació Arrels* and the Social Inclusion Services of the City Council of Lleida – *Ajuntament de Lleida*). It examines households' affordability scenario concerning access to the Spanish healthy or balanced food basket, based on estimates for a Spanish Healthy Food Budget (SHFB) suggested by Carrillo Álvarez et al. (2016). In addition to these, it examines four case studies to denote how SSA immigrants in Lleida and Tarragona put their human agency at work to mitigate the effects of the economic crisis on their food security. The case studies also capture the changes that have occurred in SSA culinary practices because of migration, and because of the economic crisis, they highlight those aspects of SSA immigrants' culinary practices that have more or less remained the same and those that have experienced changes. The last but one section of the chapter provides a critical analysis of how the food security and hunger question is approached by state and non-state institutions; it highlights passiveness on the part of state institutions vis-a-vis the issue. In the last section of the chapter, I present an overview of the nutritional status of SSA immigrants.

My final thoughts draw together the key findings of the investigation and includes a discussion of the implications of the findings to future research into migrants' foodways in the context of economic crisis in developed countries.

## **CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK, FOOD AND MIGRATION; FOOD INSECURITY AND HUNGER IN THE 'SOCIETY OF ABUNDANCE'**

### **Introduction:**

The goal of this chapter is to connect the main theoretical frameworks of this research to the discourse of food insecurity and hunger to trends like the economic crisis and migration. Specifically, I expand on the bodies of literature that have informed my approach to studying food insecurity and hunger in specific sectors (particularly migrants) of the populations of developed nations: the political economy approach; the food regimes/systems approach; the precarization approach; entitlement concept; and the capabilities approach. In addition to discussing the literature in these respective bodies of approaches, I provide an overview of the construction of food security in international policy development, with a critique of its shifting definitions and scope of concern. I also provide an aggregate history of hunger both at the international scenario and specifically from Spain; through an analysis of the impact of the economic crisis and austerity measures implemented to curb the effects of the crisis. It is argued that these measures have rather made worse the economic and social conditions of an already vulnerable group in the society; and that many people in the Spanish society are increasingly finding it difficult to access the type of food they would like if they had the resources.

### **MIGRATION AND FOOD**

Food has long been a question of great interest in a wide range of fields and particularly in anthropology; as Counihan & Van Esterik note: 'because food touches everything, is the foundation of every economy, a central pawn in political strategies of states and households, and marks social differences, boundaries, bonds, and contradictions; the development of research interests in food is as old as anthropology' (Counihan & Van Esterik, 1997). Several studies of food have reported its centrality to the wellbeing of society and the important place it occupies in the migrant experience, whether in the past, present or in the future. Humans have always been propelled since prehistoric times into movements to procure food for themselves, and for their families (Kershen, 2002).

As Zavella (2011) writes, 'to evoke the ambiguities and indeterminacies that are involved in the process of migration... [and] to disrupt western – centric, assimilationist framework and remind us that migration is not necessarily linear but processual and contingent upon circumstances' (ibid: xiii-xiv), I will use the term 'migrant' instead of 'immigrant' throughout this dissertation in referring to my research group or study participants. Many researchers have thus, highlighted the relationship

between migration and food; that is migration and the foodways of an immigrant population in the society wherein they are settled; and the food practices of both the immigrant population and the host population (Calvo, 1982; Kaplan, 1999; Kershner, 2002; Satia, 2003; Visocky, 2011). Evidence from such studies emphasize migrants change towards a 'westernized' lifestyle, particularly towards the adoption of a 'western diet', – that is adopting the eating patterns/food choices of the new environment (Negy & Woods, 1992; Satia et al., 2001). Factors such as high education and income, longer residence in the host society, being married, employment outside the home, fluency with the language of the host society, are highlighted to result in an increased experience of mainstream culture and consequently acculturation (Satia 2003:75).

Exploring the relationship between food and culture is not new in anthropology; anthropologists have long studied it. The central role of food in many cultures led early anthropologists (Du Bois, 1941; Firth, 1934; Fortes, 1970; Powdermaker, 1960; Richards, 1932; Richards, 1939) to study food and write short pieces on the foodways of the studied societies. For anthropologists, food or eating systems are like ritual systems or myths, codes in which patterns of culture are embedded; through its analysis, information about how a culture understands some of the basic categories of its world can be gained (Meigs, 1987).

Many recent studies of food in the discipline have been carried out with immigrant groups and primarily focused on the food cultures of these groups, and on other topics like food memory and identity<sup>49</sup>. There has been an increasing interest in the current years in changes in the health status (diseases and illness like asthma, obesity, high blood pressure, diabetes etc.) of immigrant groups after migrating into western societies and adapting to (acculturate) to western diets<sup>50</sup>. As Visocky (2011) notes: '...new studies (precisely in the U.S.) examine healthcare concerns immigrants now face after their cultural adaptations to the westernized diet, bringing about illness and diseases such as obesity, asthma, diabetes, high blood pressure, followed by a host of other life altering and threatening conditions prevalent among these minority ethnic groups'. Emphasis in this research interest (immigrant groups, acculturation to western diet and health changes) seems to be mainly on the obesity problem. Many research in the US and other countries have focused on the obesity problem as they explore the dietary patterns, physical activity and perceptions of relationships between lifestyle and health of immigrant (minority ethnic) groups (Magnusson, Hulthén, & Kjellgren 2005, quoted in Visocky 2011:5). The consumption of more calories than what is

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<sup>49</sup> ex. (Donnelly & Mckellin, 2007; Goodkind & Foster-Fishman, 2002; Osypuk, Diez Roux, Hadley, & Kandula, 2009).

<sup>50</sup> ex. (Beebout, 2006; Brettell & Hollifield, 2000; Kasper, Gupta, Tran, Cook, & Meyers, 2000; Magnusson, Hulthén, & Kjellgren, 2005; Marte, 2007; M. L. Salazar, 2007).

expended in each day has been pointed out as cause of most of the obesity problem in many of the studies (ex. Bleich, Cutler, Murray, & Adams, 2008); and physical activity is recommended to counteract the growing trend in developed sectors.

In a study conducted by Osypuk, Diez Rouz, Hadley, & Kandula (2009) on immigrant neighborhoods in four US cities, it was shown that immigrant neighborhood residents' health status is influenced by socioeconomic status, level of acculturation, poverty and food insecurities, and the quality of the neighborhood social environment. Socioeconomic status and poverty must do with income (individual or household income); and income is directly linked to food (procurement, quality, quantity, preparation, consumption etc.). Not so many immigrants make it up the economic ladder, they tend to be poor and make rational decisions to move (migrate) to find economic opportunity and security (Kershner 2002). For many immigrant groups, their foodways, diet is determined by what their money can buy.

## **FOOD (IN)SECURITY**

The next section of this chapter, presents a critical review of the food (in)security concept. It notes the conceptual changes that have occurred are deliberate manipulations to serve or further neoliberal ideologies concerning problems of world hunger. At the end of the analysis in the section, I present a definition of the concept as understood and used within the limits of this research.

Commenting on the changing global context of first world hunger, (Riches & Silvasti, 2014) write that, 'the seemingly permanent crisis of precarious living and economic livelihoods for surplus and marginalized individuals, families, and populations' (ibid, 4). This surplus and marginalized individuals, families, and populations, (among whom I include migrants), can simply be interpreted as a product of the economic crisis, since it is increasing social inequality, income differentials, or the number of people using alternate food acquisition sources (e.g. food banks); or as there is prevalence of hunger and undernourishment, in first world societies. It is important to accentuate that unlike implied in the context of developing countries, to be food insecure in first world societies does not naturally mean undernourishment, but it means difficulty for households or persons to access or provide sufficient food for all members of the household or for the person at some time during a year, because of a lack of resources (Nord, Coleman-Jensen, Andrews, & Carlson, 2011). Thus, first world hunger is different from undernourishment in developing nations. Food security/insecurity concept is often preferred by many researchers to the concept of hunger because of the difficulty of conceptualizing hunger. The concepts of hunger and food

security/insecurity as used in this research informs food poverty<sup>51</sup>; they are both aspects of food poverty, which is mainly an issue of access to healthy food and its affordability (Riches & Silvasti, 2014).

Hunger and food insecurity are two terms often used interchangeable by multilateral and internationally influential organizations (World Bank, the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization – FAO) to define access to food and to respond to the issue global hunger. These organizations often develop definitions of food security in relation to geographic scale, using individual, local, national, and global levels (Allen & Hinrichs, 2007; World Bank, 1986). Several researchers have examined the definitions of the concept as used in international policy documents. They have problematized the concept, and they argue that the definitions and scope of food security have material, economic and political outcomes in particular places; serving to further embed neoliberal ideologies as defining the problem of world hunger and guiding the responses to it (Jarosz, 2011). Jarosz argues that the scaled definitions of food security have changed from the FAO's early emphasis on the attainment of food security at international and national levels, to a micro-level emphasis on households and gendered individuals. These changes have economic, material, and political implications and outcomes on the wellbeing of the population and upon the structures of production, consumption and distribution that characterize the global food system.

A thorough revision of the widely read and influential annual publications of the World Bank and the FAO<sup>52</sup>, as well as studies related to agricultural development and food security, tell how the food security concept comes to epitomize neoliberal ideologies and the accompanying political geography of food<sup>53</sup>. The FAO is the first global organization to employ the term 'food security'. The publications, recommendations and actions of the World Bank (alongside the International Monetary Fund - IMF and World Trade Organization - WTO) and the FAO are significant in international food policy discourse. As Goldman notes, the World Bank sets the prevailing agenda in understanding and responding to poverty and hunger in the world via its leading programs and

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<sup>51</sup> Food poverty refers to situations wherein households do not have enough food to meet the energy and nutrient needs of all their members (i.e. household-level hunger) – and depending on patterns of intra-household distribution, at least one member of a food-poor household is always hungry but, potentially, all members are (DeRose et al., 1998).

<sup>52</sup> Specifically, the FAO *the State of Food Insecurity in the World*, series.

<sup>53</sup> The World Bank and the FAO are the two most dominant international-multilateral organizations directly involved in international food security policy. With the IMF and WTO, the World Bank regulates global finance and trade (Harvey, 2005). The World Bank emphasizes investments in industrial and agricultural development through market integration and trade liberalization (Weis & Weis, 2007). Meanwhile the FAO provides information and makes recommendations to governments regarding agriculture, fisheries, and forestry and fosters international cooperation (Shaw, 2007). Concomitantly the FAO organizational mission is to alleviate and eliminate world hunger.

development agenda (ibid, 2005). An analysis of the FAO's publications reveals both discrepancies and confluences with the World Bank's development rhetoric and programs (Jarosz, 2009).

The food security concept is central in the World Bank and FAO publications, which express an institutional definition of the term, and a particular historical era. As Midgley (2013) writes, 'each of these definitions reflect the changing international political emphasis and policy developments of the time' (ibid:425). FAO and World Bank publications show changes in the scope of international food security, from an emphasis upon the international level of world regions and nations, to a focus on poor households and individuals. These international food security policies focus on the poor: on the individuated acquisition of food in the global market as the response (or desired response) to hunger. In this way, socioeconomic inequality within and among nations indicates that food security is dependent upon the global markets and individual's purchasing power and productivity. Also, the approach acknowledges that poverty and hunger are two sides of the same coin. It understands food uniquely in terms of a commodity (Jarosz, 2011).

The term food security first appeared in UN documents, but the most important definitions and changes are found in the World Bank discourses of the 1980s. In 1948 members of the UN General Assembly reached an agreement and established fundamental rights for every human, including the right to an adequate standard of living, including the right to food (article 25<sup>54</sup>) in what was adopted as the Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948).

Until the first World Food Conference in 1974, no clear definition of 'food security' existed. However, the conference culminated in the Universal Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition, and a definition of the term emerged from there (UN, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 1974). According to Leathers (2004), the term initially referred only to grain production and the distribution of grain to Africa, mainly because the price of grain escalated in the 1970s as world grain supplies hit the lows. Consequently, the 1974 World Food Conference defined food security as; '*availability at all times of adequate world food supplies of basic foodstuffs to sustain a steady expansion of food consumption and to offset fluctuations in production and prices*' (FAO, 2004).

Another FAO publication in 1979<sup>55</sup> described food security as a global problem demanding better distribution of the world's food supply by reducing disparities in income and landholdings. The scope of food was set up at the national level and construed as, '*developing national self-reliance to meet*

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<sup>54</sup> This article was further developed in Article 11 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1966 (United Nations, 1948)

<sup>55</sup> The Struggle for Food Security (FAO, 1979).



*the needs of developing countries and their growing populations'* (FAO, 1979:9). Hence, countries were encouraged to establish regional food reserves to draw from in times of national shortfalls – national cereals stocks were encouraged (FAO, 1979:33). Emphasis in this publication and resulting food policies was on national self-reliance in grain reserves, even along the global scope (Jarosz, 2011:122). To implement national programs of food grain storage and self-sufficiency, the World Food Council was formed. Meanwhile, there were reservations from the world's largest grain producing countries<sup>56</sup> about this plan, and eventually, it abandoned. It is important to note how the market-driven development strategy of these grain-producing countries overthrew the endeavors of poor countries in setting-up grain reserves for their food security.

The earlier definitions of food security highlighted above emphasized food availability, however, in 1983, the Food and Agricultural Organization of the UN revised its definition of the concept and broadened it to emphasize *'both physical and economic access to food to meet dietary needs'* (FAO, 1983). In the FAO's 1983 publication – *Approaches to World Food Security*, international food security is emphasized to rest upon the stockholding of major exporting countries. Food security in this publication is situated in the Global North and tied to the capital accumulation strategies of states and of transnational grain companies (Jarosz, 2011:123). In this 1983 publication, food aid is conceived as 'freedom from hunger' in the sense that, accumulated grain surpluses in Western Europe, Australia and North America were imported via what was labelled 'development through food' (FAO, 1983:7).

In a few years after this FAO 1983 publication, the World Bank published; *Poverty and Hunger: Issues and Options for Food Security in Developing Countries* – (1986), wherein an influential definition of the term is provided. In this World Bank publication, food security is defined as *'access by all people at all times to enough food for an active and healthy life'* (World Bank, 1986).

In concrete terms, food insecurity is redefined as 'a lack of individual purchasing power', and financing investments that directly raise incomes of the poor became the high priority (World Bank, 1986:50). In this publication, the scale of food security is changed from a national focus, to the micro-level of individuals – particularly the hungry in the 'developing world'. As solution to the problem, the World Bank advocates 'acceleration of economic growth through structural adjustment policy and investment, poverty alleviation, and the coordination of food aid with other forms of economic aid (World Bank, 1986:vi). In a nutshell, the definition of food security in this publication is a matter of achieving economic growth and alleviating poverty and not a matter of

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<sup>56</sup> The US, Canada and Australia

national self-sufficiency or increase in food production as in the earlier definitions (in the 70s). Food insecurity is defined in terms of the inability of nation states and individuals to purchase the food they need – lack of purchasing power (Jarosz, 2011:125). In this same publication, food security is further described at local levels in relation to household; ‘food security is achieved only if all households can buy food’. The publication further associates food security with development and argues that problems of agricultural development cannot be defined by food security alone. Hence, food security came to describe a broad range of development issues... (Jarosz, 2011:126; World Bank, 1986:13).

In this context, food security is perceived, conceptualized not differently from prevailing development issues and is envisioned as requiring the same remedies of trade liberalization, structural adjustment, and integration into the global market to meet national food needs (see Jarosz, 2011:126). In this new definition, food is completely commodified and food security becomes both individualized and an object of cost-effective choice for developing nations. As Jarosz (2011) argues, ‘although this definition of food security recognizes the important link between hunger and poverty, it expands food’s status as a commodity and emphasizes the acquisition of capital and increased income as essential aspects of food security; making it a neoliberal response to hunger, in the sense that a person can eat if he is able to (or can) buy or grow adequate food. Thus, food security now comes to be dependent on personal income, markets and upon the workings of the globalized food system (ibid:126). The focus of food security is thus turned to those identified as poor; who become the focus of food security interventions and oversee alleviating their hunger by making more money (ibid.:127).

In this definition, we see a complete change of focus in the food security discourse and the political economy of hunger – a focus on individuals’ lack of purchasing power or access. This is a focus on the construction of a scale, that informs of neoliberal approaches to hunger – a focus on individual’s income rather than the political, economic and social constraints reproducing poverty across sectors (ibid., 127).

In 1988, the World Bank published *The Challenge of Hunger in Africa: A Call to Action* (World Bank, 1988). This World Bank 1988 publication defined food security as; ‘an ‘input’ critical for economic growth as well as an ‘output’ of that growth’ (World Bank, 1988:5). On basis of this definition, economic growth is preferred (privileged) over hunger eradication if nations acknowledge that some anti-hunger programs are not cost-effective. The most cost-effective and efficient way of responding to shortfalls in food, according to the World Bank is by food storage through private traders, rather than government owned and regulated grain stocks (World Bank, 1988:10) as

advocated by the FAO in its 1974 publication. In this context, 'food aid' becomes necessary and essential to address lack of food purchasing power. The 1988 World Bank publication (report) further identified women and population growth as key to achieving food security in Africa. (World Bank, 1988:6).

In the 1996 World Food Summit – Rome, Italy, two more dimensions were added to the definition of food security: the concept of 'safe and nutritious' food commensurate with dietary needs; and the concept of 'food preferences' required for an active and healthy life (FAO, 1996). This FAO definition reflected the World Bank's – food security meant increasing food production for the world's hungry and establishing policies that enable them to grow or buy the food they need (Jarosz 2011:129). The FAO's (*World Food Summit: Renewing Global Commitment to Fight Hunger*) thus defined food security as: 'access (both physical and economic) at all times to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to meet dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life – for the entire world'. Food is positioned alongside peace and stability on the global agenda whilst the conditions and social relations of production and reproduction across scale is omitted or simply not considered in the food security discourse. The focus of the FAO (as well as the World Bank) to food security issues is now upon agriculture as a driver of economic development with the economics of food aid and trade as dominant responses to world hunger. Moreover, the responsibility for access to food is now transferred from the state (FAO, 1979) to the individual, either through the market or their own labour (ibid, 130). Meanwhile, the FAO 1997 *Rural women and food security* publication, identifies and genders women's contributions to food security, asserting women's role as 'essential to food security' and recommending that they be brought more firmly into rural development initiatives, through integration into development strategy (Kabeer, 1994, quoted in Jarosz, 2011:130).

Globalization and governance, have recently served to redefine food security at the global level, suggesting another shift in definition and scale (Jarosz, 2011:131). However, the focus on global governance notably omits the issue of hunger in wealthy countries as focus is mainly on the global South. Also, it leaves the broader issues of world hunger and global poverty unacknowledged. For instance, the FAO's 2004 *The State of Food Insecurity in the World* progress report on one of the main Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of halving world hunger by 2015, highlights that efforts to reach this goal had fallen short, and that more people were malnourished in 2000-2002 than in 1995-1997 (FAO, 2004). The World Bank's '*Enhancing Food Security in Afghanistan*' report on the contrary, does not mention the impacts of war, disease, displacement etc. upon agricultural production, access to credit and deterioration of infrastructure – factors all too often rarely

considered nor mentioned in the definitions of food security, especially in Africa and elsewhere. The FAO's response to the issue of food security now, is to 'scale up action to scale down hunger' (FAO, 2004:32) – that is the development of large-scale programs that augment productivity, provide infrastructure, manage forest and fishery resources, and develop markets. As Jarosz notes global governance according to the World Bank and the FAO perspective imply 'large-scale programs reminiscent of mainstream development programs and discourses' (ibid, 2011:132).

Also, agriculture was conceived as an instrument for development, as evidenced in the World Bank's 2008 Annual Report - *Agriculture for Development* (World Bank, 2008) wherein agriculture is conceived as the key to augmenting food supply, nutritional quality and rural incomes. This investment in agriculture is conceived as essential to food security. An important turning point here in food security policy discourse is in the fact that it is now agriculture and not trade that is accentuated for attaining food security, and focus is brought back to the national level (Jarosz, 2011:133). In the report, technological innovation via genetic engineering and resource conservation and sustainable development are set as objectives while self-sufficiency and domestic subsidies are rejected (World Bank, 2008:112). Agriculture is identified as a public good and is announced as involving new players in an era of global governance (Jarosz, 2011:133).

In 2009 the FAO published its *The State of World Food Insecurity in the World*, in which more emphasis is placed on a 'right to food approach' (FAO, 2009:2) defined as people's control over resources which allow them to produce or obtain access or entitlement to food as well as improved governance at the international, national and local levels. It is suggested that this is perhaps the most hopeful and significant food security policy discourse that diverts the emphasis on technological means and market-based solutions to increasing productivity (Jarosz, 2011:134). This approach is a key response to world hunger within the FAO publications since its outset, a position not unanimously accepted especially by wealthy countries like the US who oppose the human rights approach to food.

Overall, the analysis of the concept of food security show several definitional shifts and focus, laying a firm foundation for the criticisms that have emerged; the concept has been qualified simply as a political and vague construction. Defined differently over the past four decades, the definitions of the concept have mainly reflected the changing international political emphasis and policy developments of the time (Midgley, 2013).

Shifts in focus and definitions of food security are noted in the FAO's 1974 (World Food Summit), 1979 (Struggle for Food Security, publication) and the World Bank's 1986 (*Poverty and Hunger: Issues*

and *Options for Food Security in Developing Countries*) and 1988 (*The Challenge of Hunger in Africa: A Call to Action*) publications. Jarosz (2011) highlights that, the concept becomes construed in terms of market exchange and capital accumulation through the establishment of scale at the level of poor people in the African and South Asia region (ibid.:128). Hunger on its part, is constructed from a World Bank perspective (via its policy study on food security) as an issue of development that can be alleviated through economic growth and countries (and individuals) ability to respond to hunger; buying food within the global food system in which trade in grain is dominated by wealthy nations and controlled by a handful of large agribusiness firms.

Thus, the World Bank identifies individuals and groups most vulnerable to food insecurity and advocates for increases in revenues, both at individual and national levels through domestic agrarian economies to globalized agriculture, as the right response to hunger. The UN and World Bank publications (e.g. IFAD 2006 '*Food security, poverty and women: lessons from rural Asia*' report) reinforce this conceptualization and focus of food security. The IFAD report asserts that change in scale in food security is necessary if national sufficiency could bypass the poorest (IFAD, 2006:1). An assertion that has been criticized for not taking into consideration the political and economic mechanisms that favor and hinder individual and household food security (Jarosz, 2011:129; Scoones, 1998; Swift & Hamilton, 2001).

Except for the FAO 1979 publication, *The Struggle for Food Security*, conceptualizations and the focus of the food security discourses throughout the decades of the 1980s (e.g. FAO, 1983; World Bank, 1986; 1988) and 1990s (e.g. FAO, 1996; 1997), at the global level advocate economic growth, augmenting agricultural productivity and targeting the poor – especially women – as the way out of hunger. In the decade of the 1980s, what we see is a disconnection of food security from national self-sufficiency as conceived in the 70s. Also, we see how women's labour is perceived as critical for food security at the micro level of the household, on arguments that they hold vital roles as farmers and caregivers (Jarosz, 2011:130). Thus, 'the problem of hunger is individualized and rendered an economic and technical problem' (Li, 2007); and by the end of the 90s, food security is practically identical to neoliberal development discourses that emphasize competitive entrepreneurial individuality, deregulation of international trade, an economic definition of poverty alleviation, and the privatization and downsizing of social services (Goldman, 2005; Peck & Tickell, 2002). Therefore, in the decades of the 90s, food access is defined in terms of individuals and nations' abilities to pay for it in the global and corporate controlled marketplace. A policy conception of food security that diverts analytic attention from the social relations of production and reproduction that shape food security.

Numerous revisions and definitions of food security have emerged since the FAO's 1974 and 1979 definitions; (Hoddinott, 1999) and (Maxwell & Frankenberger, 1995) estimated there were more than 200 definitions of the food security concept. The definition of the concept has shifted over time – from that of national levels of production to a multifaceted issue comprising access, control, governance, gender, poverty, and human rights across geographic scale in line with emerging conceptualizations and connections between hunger, poverty, economic development and growing levels of socioeconomic inequality within and between nations.

Therefore, there are varying definitions and focus of food security as a concept, and it is important to note that as pointed out in the different publications of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the World Bank and the United Nations International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), the concept is mainly focused on the poor and most vulnerable in developing countries. Originally, it was never conceived from the perspective of the wealthy nations.

However, as it became increasingly obvious that people could face challenges in accessing food in wealthy countries though they are food safe, the need to conceptualize food insecurity to suit the context of the developed world arose. Considering the definitions of food security as progressively defined in the context of global hunger, mainly by multilateral organizations (IFAD, FAO and the World Bank): 'physical and economic access by all peoples at all times to sufficient, safe and nutritious food, which meets dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life' (FAO, 1996); a definition reiterated in the Declaration of the 2009 World Summit on Food Security (FAO, 2009), food insecurity was conceptualized to refer to situations when, 'the availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods or the ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways is limited or uncertain' (Anderson, 1990; Wunderlich & Norwood, 2006). Food insecurity as used in the context of advanced industrialized societies is experienced when there is; uncertainty about future food availability and access; insufficiency in the amount and kind of food required for a healthy lifestyle and; the need to use socially unacceptable ways to acquire food. The concept as measured in these wealthy countries depicts a social and economic problem of lack of food due to lack of resource or other constrains<sup>57</sup>. However, it is important to recall that issues of food insecurity are conceived from a food safety perspective; that is from a risk management perspective about food consumption, distribution and health (Gracia, 2012).

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<sup>57</sup> See, Egbe, 2015; Habicht, Pelto, Frongillo, & Rose, 2004; Quandt & Rao, 1999; Radimer, Olson, Greene, Campbell, & Habicht, 1992; Wolfe, Frongillo, & Valois, 2003.

Wunderlich and Norwood (2006) report that because food insecurity is a household-level concept and hunger an individual-level concept, the term 'hunger' should refer to a potential consequence of food insecurity that, because of prolonged, involuntary lack of food, results in discomfort, illness, weakness, or pain that goes beyond the usual uneasy sensation when one has not eaten for some time (ibid.:48). This was already highlighted by Anderson (1990) who indicates that '...hunger is a potential, although not necessarily a consequence of food insecurity' (ibid:1575). This assertion stems from suggestions of the conceptual definitions of hunger; especially that referring to hunger as, 'the uneasy or painful sensation caused by a lack of food, the recurrent and involuntary lack of food (Anderson 1990:1576). Also, it is argued that the definition refers to the whole problem of food insecurity, the social and economic problem of lack of food (Anderson 1990). Therefore, though a concept distinct from food security / insecurity, hunger is an indicator and possible consequence of food insecurity that can be useful in characterizing severity of food insecurity (Wunderlich & Norwood, 2006).

It is important to note here that though 'First World' hunger is different from undernourishment experienced in developing regions; mainly because food insecurity is a problem of developing countries (Riches & Silvasti, 2014), there are reports of growing undernourishment in the world's developed regions, particularly between 2011 and 2013, with a registered 15.5% increase (FAO, 2013a). Meanwhile, some scholarship suggests the FAO estimates for undernourishment in developing regions are nevertheless likely underestimates when compared with the people in need of food aid in developed nations like the USA where 17.6 million (i.e. 14.5%) households were food insecure in 2012 (Coleman-Jensen *et al.*, 2014). Thus, to be food insecure in 'First World' societies' perspective does not imply undernourishment, but means households have difficulties at some time during the year in providing enough food for all their members due to lack of resources – that is, they are food poor (Nord *et al.*, 2011).

Food insecurity as used in this study is understood within these perspectives: difficulties for households to provide sufficient food for all members of the household at some time during the year due to lack of resources. It is used to denote uncertainty about future food availability and access; insufficiency in the amount and kind of food required for a healthy lifestyle; or the need to use socially unacceptable ways to acquire food. Food insecurity is a social and economic problem of lack of access or assisted access to food due to lack of economic resources. This assertion is true since there are many people living in regions that are primarily food secure (First World societies) but who are increasingly unable to buy their food normally in the market place, and are forced to look for alternative ways for acquiring food.

## HUNGER

Robert Kates and the Feinstein World Hunger Program Faculty at Brown University formulated a 'hunger typology' that is based on a three-tiered example of hunger causation and consequences. The framework allows for diagnosing hunger vulnerability of regions, households, and individuals (that is hunger occurrence), as well as for the type of problems leading to hunger. It measures or indicates hunger from *food shortage*, *food poverty*, and *food deprivation* and identifies the causes of hunger from food shortage, food poverty, and food deprivation.

In their book *Who's hungry? And how do we know? Food shortage, poverty and deprivation*, DeRose, Messer & Millman (1998) note that because the real problem of hunger does not necessarily lie at any one of the three levels of the social organization (that is, regions, households or individuals), efforts to reduce or alleviate hunger need not be focused primarily on one type of intervention. Hence, through the 'hunger typology' attention is kept on hunger, even when food is abundant. This is the entry point for this investigation – identifying hunger and explaining its causes for SSA migrants in 'food secured Tarragona and Lleida'.

Keeping with the definitions of food security/insecurity<sup>58</sup>, people who are unable to access food through the normal (socially acceptable) channels, but use alternative (socially unacceptable) mechanisms (such as food banks, charitable food aid, soup kitchens etc.) are not unavoidably hungry; they either lack the social and economic resources (ability) to acquire food or do not always necessarily know how they will manage to provide for their families and themselves the next sufficient, nourishing and culturally acceptable meal for an active healthy life (Riches & Silvasti, 2014). This implies they are food poor<sup>59</sup>, and as Riches and Silvasti note, this *'does not exclude the likelihood of hunger, especially as a sign of absolute poverty in First World nations'* (ibid, 2014). This is an important point for this research; given that the food budget is the most flexible part of the budgets of poor and vulnerable people (low-income earners). When the food budget gives way, individuals and families easily become and remain hungry and need immediate assistance, which the food security model does not do enough to solve (the issue of hunger).

Because I highlight that a part of the population in Spain (a food secure 'first world' country) has difficulties acquiring food through socially established and accepted channels, forcing them to use alternate channels; and that the difficulty to access food resources does not necessarily imply this part of the population is hungry, it however does not exclude the probability of hunger (that

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<sup>58</sup> see, FAO, 1996, 2009; Anderson, 1990.

<sup>59</sup> An indicator and potential consequence of food insecurity



resulting from lack of economic resources to access food – i.e. food poverty). It is important to examine the concept of hunger itself – definition, types, causes and consequences and situate what hunger implies in this research.

### **Explaining hunger: definition, causes and consequences**

Newman *et al.* (1990) asked a question that we are still asking almost two and half decades later, ‘why does hunger persist in a world of plenty?’ They note that the history of hunger is embedded in the history of plenty (*ibid.*, 3). Thus, hunger is still the great question of our time; it is a current problem of a global nature and disturbing intensity. As a construct, hunger is difficult to define and document, and is an intrinsically private issue; its experience and effects are personal, embodied and usually silent – except in extremes (Dowler & Lambie-Mumford, 2015a:411). In other words, the experiences of hunger and its immediate consequences are individual in nature. Nevertheless, they affect the functioning of the social aggregations within which it occurs as well as of hungry individuals themselves.

Though not a novel construct nowadays, hunger was not always understood in these terms. Before Castro (1952), issues of food scarcity, food security was a taboo because they evoked an anxiety that was overwhelming to study and face – even in the field of anthropology, it was perceived as the ‘frightening human affliction’ that no one had the nerve to address (Scheper-Hughes, 1992). Thus, when cultural anthropology entertained the subject, it was often phrased in evolutionary terms ‘a symbol of positive contribution to long-term adaptation’ (*ibid.*). It is Castro’s publication (1950, 1952) that broke grounds and challenged the long-standing taboo of addressing issues of starvation and undernutrition; breaking down hunger into types similar to those Amartya Sen would later highlight – linking famine with sporadic episodes and hunger with chronic malnutrition and stressing that malnutrition was uniquely dangerous because of its weakening effects on the organism, which increased the likelihood to contract diseases like tuberculosis, pneumonia, dysentery, and typhoid fever (Castro, 1952). Castro argued that long before hunger was perceived as a serious health problem worldwide, it had been ‘from time to time the most dangerous force in politics’ – a political sensitive and evocative concept. Hunger was in fact, a factor contributing to the unrest that culminated in the French Revolution (when a large crowd of hungry women from the poor neighborhoods of Paris charged the parliament House demanding bread), yet no one dared confront it (instead politicians escaped the scene) (*ibid.*,)

Nancy Scheper-Hughes (1992) writes that the sudden direction towards interest in issues of hunger was curiously linked to white European starvation in concentration camps during World War II. She highlights that although ‘many black and brown peoples worldwide had been suffering long

before this highly visible event, it was Bergen Belson's liberation at the end of the II World War that was the turning point in finally overcoming the taboo of hunger' (ibid, 130). She notes that hunger was unique and distressing to the Allied Forces that freed the victims of starvation at the camps, and that when doctors did not know the most appropriate or effective way to treat the thousands of people in the last stages of starvation, scientists began to take interest in the subject; and for the first-time reports and essays were published on the subject based on statistics gathered at the national levels (ibid.).

The term 'hunger' lends itself to a much less precise and universal interpretation. With the discovery that people frequently did not have enough food to eat, per the accepted cultural norms, a conceptual crisis was created, and there was need for a theory to describe and measure hunger. One of the first authors to study the construct, Castro, defined hunger as the lack of any of the forty or so food constituents needed to maintain health Castro (1952:x). However, Castro's interest in the study of hunger was in child nutrition – the constitution of their diets and the specific type of malnutrition present in the population of South America (particularly Brazil). He studied the degree of hunger in this part of the American continent, dividing South America into two parts: regions facing qualitative deficiencies in diet and regions encountering quantitative deficiencies in diet. Quantitative deficiencies must do with the number of calories consumed per day – which as de Castro highlights was not what was most detrimental for the health of South Americans. Qualitative deficiencies that inhibit the production of necessary amino acids that contribute to the proper growth of the individual was more detrimental for the health of South Americans. That is protein deficiencies was significant throughout the continent – diets low in foods that come from animals. Serious protein deficiencies brought about substantial height retarded growth of individuals. Castro highlights that 'the human waste resulting from hunger is considerably greater than that from wars and epidemics put together' (ibid., 1952:5). Castro is criticized for neglecting to discuss the global circumstances under which the issue of hunger emerged.

In the 1990s, Amartya Sen evaluated the nature of hunger, and separated it into two distinct categories: famine and endemic hunger; a distinction that has been important in understanding the approach to address the issue of hunger. According to Sen, 'famine is transient, yet violent, and devastates populations, causing acute misery and widespread death. It occurs when people lose their entitlements to food'. This means they do not have the land or means of producing food for themselves, the income to buy food, or access to state programs of wage or food distribution. Endemic hunger, which he also labelled endemic deprivation, is not as blatant as famine, but far

more resilient; it gradually weakens populations and involves sustained nutritional deprivation on a persistent basis (Sen, 1990:7-9).

Several other authors since Castro (1952) and Sen (1990) have approached hunger in varying perspectives; (DeRose et al., 1998) note that 'hunger is produced when need outstrips food availability'. Nevertheless, the determinants of both need and availability are complex: they are controlled by forces both proximate to and quite distant from the individuals they affect (ibid, 2). Hunger is also perceived as the consumption of a diet inadequate to sustain good health and normal activity, growth, and development (Millman & DeRose, 1998:20). Also, Millman and Kates understand hunger as 'an inadequacy in individual dietary intake relative to the kind and quantity of food required for growth, for activity, and for maintenance of good health (Millman & Kates, 1990:3). Holben (2005) enlisted many definitions of hunger from various sources, and altogether they can be placed into four groups (definition):

- A motivational drive, need or craving for food;
- An uneasy sensation felt when one has not eaten for some time;
- Discomfort, illness, weakness, or pain caused by a prolonged, involuntary lack of food, and
- The prolonged, involuntary lack of food.

The first two groups of the definition of hunger refer to a natural phenomenon that all human beings experience on regular basis; the third to the consequence of food insecurity and the fourth to the problem of food security itself (Wunderlich & Norwood 2006). Hence, the third definition implies a resulting discomfort, weakness, or pain because of a prolonged, involuntary lack of food due to lack of economic resources. In other words, when we report that we have experienced hunger because of lack of food, it is direct indication that we have, certainly, experienced hunger in the sense of discomfort, illness, weakness, or pain caused by a prolonged, involuntary lack of food (the third definition). It is in this regard that it has been suggested that the term hunger be understood as referring to a potential consequence of food insecurity that, because of prolonged, involuntary lack of food, results in discomfort, illness, weakness, or pain that goes beyond the usual uneasy sensation (Anderson 1990; Wunderlich & Norwood 2006).

History reveals that the causes of hunger are diverse, its conditions assorted, its consequences multiple and that efforts to impede or mitigate it comprise a primary, continuing strand of human history (Millman & Kates, 1990). Hence, there is a chain of causation of hunger: the growth of human population, social organization and technologies, the natural environment, the interrelations between populations and their environments, economic specialization, and surplus appropriation. These chains of causation often lead to specific situations with food supply or failure of access to

supplies (the immediate causes of hunger) to hunger for individuals, groups, or entire populations (Millman & DeRose, 1998; Newman et al., 1990).

Newman *et al.* (1990) provides a conceptual framework to link hunger to its broader context in nature and society via three levels of interacting hunger situations: regional or societal, household, and individual (ibid:9). They examined how the locus of causations and human responses changes between levels over time and how the context widens. Newman and colleagues thus situate the central causes and persistence of hunger in entitlement loss or failure, highlighting hunger as a product of food shortage, as well as caused by broader socioeconomic forces (ibid.). Robert Kates (1986) formulated a similar conceptual framework for analysing hunger and hunger-related policy making – the ‘hunger typology’ that is based on a three-tiered paradigm of hunger causation and consequences that draws on methods of food production/famines research, entitlement theory, and nutrition/nutritional anthropology. The framework allows for the diagnosing of hunger vulnerability of regions, households and individuals (i.e. hunger occurrence) as well as the causes. It measures or indicates hunger resulting from food shortage, food poverty and food deprivation; and, identifies the causes of hunger from these typologies. (DeRose *et al.*, 1998).

One of the advantages of the ‘hunger typology’ is that it keeps attention on hunger even when food is abundant, as well as on how hunger is avoided even when food is scarce (or inadequate). Unlike the anthropological approach to food systems, hunger is categorized into three different levels of social analysis; a categorization that provides a way of problematizing hunger, as well as highlight the levels of analysis of the construct as approached from different disciplines. The three levels of analysis correspond to the international concepts of food scarcity, food insecurity and nutritional insecurity. In this investigation hunger occurrence (incidence) and its causes (particularly hunger from food poverty) among SSA migrants in Tarragona and Lleida is identified.

It is important to note here some terminological remarks because the term ‘hunger’ is not absolute and admits a classification with which is associated or acquainted anything that comes close to its confines. The word includes two different assumptions that are important to differentiate given that one may occur independently of the other, and the sense in which it is used in this study should be made clear. The term is currently used to refer to the sensation that accompanies and translates the aggressive organic need to eat experienced by every human being (having or experiencing hunger). But, at the same time, the term ‘hunger’ refers to the biological state of imbalance resulting from the partial or integral non-satisfaction, or the symptom of the biological state produced by insufficient food (suffer hunger).

In this investigation, I use the term to refer to the second definition and I equate it or compare it to that of food insecurity (hunger here is equated to poor nutrition in a colloquial meaning, it should be made clear that technically, they are not the same) (see, Clay, Shaw, & Singer, 1987). Hunger is the lack of access to adequate / sufficient food, both quantitatively (based on the calories consumed) and qualitatively (per the nutritional value).

Hunger should be understood in this sense because if it is associated to appetite, then we will leave out the so-called cases of poor nutrition, such as eating foods that satiate but that are insufficient from a caloric and nutritional view point, or diets varied in nutrients but with excess fat. Hence, hunger or poor nutrition may be the result of insufficient energy intake or consumption (i.e. the quantitative meaning) and or the lack of proteins or micronutrients (qualitative meaning) – this implies that the person who does not have sufficient food to eat and he who does not eat adequate food are both malnourished (Christiaensen & Tollens, 1995.). Consequently, in order not to suffer hunger, man needs a minimum intake of calories<sup>60</sup>, this is like fuel in the form of food, without which man suffers from; quantitative hunger, energetic hunger, global hunger or undernutrition, which can result to death. In addition to energy, man must procure several substances, essential for growth and renewal of his tissues and a good balance of the human body. That is, some forty or so essential chemical constituents (Castro, 1952) whose prolonged lack or failure results to disruptions in the body or partial hunger, specific hunger, nutritional deficiencies or poor nutrition. The main essential chemical constituents include proteins (found primarily in meat, eggs, milk, but also in some plants and certain fruits); carbohydrates (sugars, starches); lipids (fats); different minerals (mainly iron, calcium, sodium and iodine); and vitamins.

The causes of these qualitative deficiencies can be energetic (undernutrition, eating little), or not (over-nutrition, eating too much), because, contrarily to what it may look like in the onset, even in developed countries, more cases of partial hunger combined with a calorie surplus are increasingly detected. Nevertheless, in most cases of undernutrition, both energy and protein ('protein-energy malnutrition') and not only proteins as formerly considered are often missing (DeRose *et al.*, 1998). Apart from protein, many other micronutrients can be lacking. The main micronutrient deficiencies are the lack of iron, iodine and vitamins; iron is indispensable for transporting oxygen in the blood, however, it is the most common deficiency today mainly affecting women in reproductive ages particularly in South Asia and Africa. Micronutrient deficiencies or hidden hunger (FAO, 2002)

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<sup>60</sup> A calorie is the energy needed to raise the temperature of 1 gram of water through 1 °C - now usually defined as 4.1868 joules

causes high levels of diseases and disabilities, limitation of mental and physical capacities, shortens life and reduces productivity etc.

Hunger has thus been described based on components (nutrients) missing in the diet (food). In addition to this approach, other criteria have been developed to classify or categorize situations of starvation (hunger). One of the most accepted criteria deals with the duration of the state in time. First, endemic hunger (or chronic hunger or simply hunger) should not be mistaken with famine (transient or accidental hunger), because the first is a phenomenon that is more profound and difficult to determine. Current statistics about the state of hunger in the world are startling and only confirm that international efforts at eradicating hunger are ineffective, insufficient or inappropriate. The FAO in its traditional *'The state of food insecurity in the world'* for the year 2015 subtitled *'Meeting the 2015 International Hunger Targets: taking stock of uneven progress'* notes that hunger remains a challenge for almost 795 million people worldwide with 780 of these people found in developing regions and 15 million in developed regions. Also, it notes that over one in nine people in the world suffered from hunger in the period 2014-2015; that 10.9% of the global population was undernourished in the same period 2014-2015. Furthermore, the organization highlights that social protection systems are an important tool in the fight against hunger (FAO *et al.*, 2015).

Analyzing the so-called 'geography of hunger' (Castro, 1952:25-50), the Special Rapporteur of the Commission of Human Rights on the Right to Food notes that Asia is the continent most affected by undernutrition (L. Allen & Gillespie, 2001: v-vii). However, Castro (1952) had highlighted an almost total coincidence between the map of hunger, underdevelopment, and colonization; almost all of Europe, the US, Canada and the former USSR were ignoring hunger that was scourging Africa, Asia and Latin America. Castro notes that; 'colonial powers maintained an economy of commercial type dominated by them in the territories under their control, on the one hand, extracting raw materials necessary for their industrial or economic expansion; and on the other hand, selling the goods they manufactured to these territories, thus preventing them from practicing or development their own processing industries, for fear of competition. Economic dependence created and maintained in settlers' countries is, largely responsible for chronic hunger suffered today by the populations of these countries (McMichael, 2009b; Newman *et al.*, 1990; Schanbacher, 2010; Uvin, 1994) it is not about judging colonialism as a whole, but to substantiate that the global economy as was established by the great powers in the course of the last two centuries, retains underdeveloped countries in a vicious circle of misery and hunger. Of course, colonization is not the only factor explaining global or collective hunger, otherwise how do we explain that wealthy nations experience this evil?

Hunger is not an issue of developing or underdeveloped countries but it is also true that it is in these regions that its incidence is acute. According to the FAO 2015 *The State of Food Insecurity in the World*, report, the highest burden of hunger occurs in Southern Asia where as many as 281 million people are undernourished; also in Sub-Sahara Africa, one in every four people or 23.2% of the population are hungry (FAO, 2015). However, this abyss that used to separate wealthy nations that swim in abundance, from poor nations that struggle to survive, seems to be dwindling as increasingly, hunger is becoming a daily experience for a growing part of the populations of these wealthy nations. *In the context of a 'developed nation', hunger is understood as a condition that is both separate from malnutrition and lies within the broader, sequential phenomena of food insecurity* (Andrews, Bickel, & Carlson, 1998). *It is an indicator and potential, albeit not necessary consequence of food insecurity; a manifestation on a continuum of increasing food insecurity relative to need – a potential albeit not necessary consequence of not having enough food relative to need.*

### **Some specific causes of hunger**

“(n)ingún factor exterior hiere tanto al hombre como el alimentario. El hambre, en efecto, no lo marca solamente en su cuerpo, sino en su alma: lo “deshumaniza”. Un hombre que tiene hambre no es, no puede ser, un hombre libre; es el prisionero de su hambre, no tiene sino un deseo, un pensamiento, un fin: comer. Después, si el hambre se prolonga, cae en una profunda apatía y pierde, poco a poco, todo deseo, aún el de alimentarse” (Castro, 1952)

According to Castro (1952), hunger is exclusion – exclusion from land, income, jobs, wages, life and citizenship. That when a person gets to the point of having nothing to eat, it is because all these other things have been denied the person. A situation he describes as a modern form of exile. (ibid.). Messer (2013) notes that hunger, which is a pervasive, subjective condition that defies easy definition, has shifted from localized seasonal food situations where chronic hunger and undernutrition has become more common. Sen (1981) and Malthus (1965) through their arguments on the causal relationship between hunger and food production, provide two different approaches: first, a reductionist (food availability decline) approach that inversely associates hunger and production (Malthus, 1965). Second, a constructive (food entitlement) approach that associates hunger to multiple factors that prevent individuals and households from accessing food (Sen, 1981).

It can thus be said that there are several possible causes of hunger, and that hunger can occur even in situations in which there is no food shortage but, in which food is abundant. Also, though the causes of hunger may be numerous, it also specific to every individual or household, and depends on the specific context in which it is experienced. As Sen (1999:164) writes, *'entitlement failures that lead to famines can arise from a variety of causes. In attempting to remedy famines and even more, to prevent them, this diversity of causal antecedence has to be kept in view...'* These factors that causes hunger are often

classified into; structural processes and immediate or unfolding causes (see, Newman *et al.*, 1990; DeRose & Millman, 1998). Together, the factors are linked to various sorts of conditions and events: natural disasters, technological failures, as well as other economic, social and political factors<sup>61</sup> (Dirks, 2011). As DeRose & Millman (1998) note, hunger is produced when need outstrips food availability, but the determinants of both need and availability are complex: they are controlled by forces both proximate to and quite remote from the individuals they affect (*ibid.*, 2)<sup>62</sup>. Structural processes explaining hunger denote the existence of pre-existing vulnerability and can be linked to hierarchical appropriation, environmental fluctuation, population growth and so. These processes may lead to an increased susceptibility to hunger, and are often typified by poverty and endemic hunger. Au contraire, immediate causes of hunger are usually episodic in character and can be linked to natural disasters, conflicts and wars, economic crisis, resource poverty and so on. The severity of their effects on the individuals and households experiencing it depends on the prior structural circumstances on which they operate.

Therefore, no single factor can explain the cause of hunger, but rather, a combination of factors – including household economic and individual social concerns about access to food. And because hunger can occur even in situations of abundance – when there is no food supply decline (Foster & Leathers, 1999; Millman & DeRose, 1998; Sen, 1981); it implies the main causes of hunger<sup>63</sup> is not food production decline, but rather a lack of access to food due to the weak possessing power of individuals and households. In this perspective, Sen's concept of entitlements (as well as the capability approach) that views hunger (and poverty) as a phenomenon caused by a multiplicity of factors is appropriate as an explanatory model for hunger in the context of this study (developed nation – Lleida and Tarragona). The real causes of hunger are embedded in the factors that influence the right to food access or entitlements.

About the entitlement concept used in this study, the structural factors explaining hunger – poverty- is explored, as well as the immediate causes. I will also present an assessment of the consequences of these causes in the solutions to the issue.

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<sup>61</sup> Such as wars, class differences, market downfalls and so on.

<sup>62</sup> Like Newman *et al.* (1990), DeRose & Millman (1998) distinguished three levels of social organization to consider the causes of hunger and thereby avoid the Malthusian perception of hunger as a single, simple problem. Thus, they distinguished three levels of analysis of hunger causation: at regional, household and individual level, corresponding to hunger resulting from food shortage, food poverty and food deprivation respectively. These three situations of hunger, are causally linked: a reason for food deprivation is food poverty, and a reason for food poverty is food shortage.

<sup>63</sup> Particularly, in the context where this study is carried - Spain, where access to food is earned and symbolized by the 'right of access', determined by endowment – specifically work and land ownership.



## **Poverty, the principal cause of hunger**

The relationship between hunger and poverty is an interesting one; for instance, not every poor person is hungry, but almost all hungry people are poor. As Pinstруп-Andersen & Sande (2007) highlights millions of people live with hunger and malnourishment because they simply cannot afford to buy enough food, cannot afford nutritious foods, or cannot afford the farming supplies they need to grow enough good food of their own. Hunger is thus often viewed as a dimension of extreme poverty – a manifestation of poverty (Weisfeld-Adams & Andrzejewski, 2008). Though they are both different forms of deprivation, hunger and poverty are expressly related to each other. Since poverty is directly related to hunger, it is important to examine the concept, to underline how it causes hunger (malnutrition). However, before examining this multidimensional concept, it is necessary to delimit the scope as used in this study, clarify its relationship with hunger, and explore the multiplicity of factors that explain poverty, especially as they are factors, which in turn cause hunger.

According to a UN statement signed by the heads of all UN agencies, poverty is fundamentally;

‘... a denial of choices and opportunities, a violation of human dignity. It means lack of basic capacity to participate effectively in society. It means not having enough to feed and clothe a family, not having a school or clinic to go to, not having the land on which to grow one’s food or job to earn one’s living, and not having access to credit. It means insecurity, powerlessness and exclusion of individuals, households and communities. It means susceptibility to violence, and it often implies living on marginal or fragile environments, without access to clean water or sanitation’ (United Nations Statement, 1998).

According to Sen (1981) is the perfect breeding ground for the loss or weakening of entitlements – it is the main cause of loss of rights to access food. Thus, he advises that, ‘in analyzing the causation of famines, it is important to study the general prevalence of poverty in the country or region involved...focus must be placed not only on the endemic poverty of the people involved, but also on the special vulnerability of those whose entitlements are particularly fragile when there are economic changes...’ (ibid:171-172). This is because poverty experiences and its magnitude can inform on the incidence and poignancy of hunger experienced by individuals and households in a region or country. Many individuals and families are usually trapped in the cobwebs of poverty, finding it almost impossible to come out of it, as it deprives them of several basic needs and they are susceptible to hunger, disease and even death. Aue, Roosen, & Jensen (2016) highlight that poverty is still present in many developed countries like Germany; many people in developed nations suffer from relative poverty (mostly defined by low-income status).

Poverty is noted not to be a self-defining concept, there are several approaches to the definition of poverty: it has been defined as lack of command over commodities in general (Watts, 1968); lack

of command over some basic goods such as housing and food; lack of 'capability' to function in each society (Sen, 1985). The World Bank attempted a synthesis of the various definitions of poverty; 'poverty means either **lack of command** over commodities in general (i.e., a severe constriction of the choice set' (Watts, 1968), or 'a specific type of consumption (e.g., too little food energy intake) deemed essential to constitute a reasonable **standard of living** in a society, or **lack of 'ability'** to function in a society' (World Bank, 2001).

This World Bank definition notes some key concepts – lack, inability, and standard of living. **Lack** denotes an individual's lack of command over economic resources; for example, a person may be considered poor if he lacks basic food or shelter or alternatively if he lacks income to buy these basic necessities. **Inability** denotes capability failure to participate in a society – a concept developed by Sen (1985) where the individual has a space of 'functionings', which are either what a person can do (realized functionings) or the set of alternatives he has (real functionings). This space may be very basic (food, shelter) or complex (freedom, self-respect, social inclusion, and so on). Inability to achieve these functionings makes the individual poor. **Standard of living** denotes what poverty depends on – for instance owning a car, or TV – that is what is deemed to constitute a socially acceptable standard of living by a given society at a given time. For example, in a society where most people own Cars, the use of public transport may be a signal of poverty. Poverty may also depend on how this standard of living is measured, that is the variable or the set of variables used to 'capture' the standard of living (Bellù, Liberati, & Bo, 2005).

Though, there is no universally accepted definition because poverty is a complex phenomenon influenced by several factors and often studied from different perspectives. Thus, the interpretation and study of poverty is not an easy task given that there are several methods of measuring it and, as there exist several methods of defining the phenomenon. Therefore, based on the perspective adopted and the aspects of interest, specific or several approaches can be used; and amongst these broad varieties of approaches, poverty is usually viewed in terms of objective and subjective poverty. Studies of objective poverty use information gathered through variables assessed through direct observation by the researcher. A technique that allows for a high level of objectivity (many of the variables often used by researchers of objective poverty is income and household expenditure). On the other hand, analysis of subjective poverty is often based on individuals and households' perception of poverty.

In addition, depending on the scale or reference used to set thresholds, poverty could be approached in terms of relative and absolute poverty. However, some static dynamic studies incorporate an important dimension to poverty – the duration in poverty and in this way,

distinguish between transversal and pervasive or long-term poverty. Other basic analysis of poverty, primarily based on the impossibility of access to specific basic needs provide a distinct understanding of poverty – lack of access to certain basic needs can cause social exclusion (the lack of social integration). These studies understand poverty to be much related to social exclusion and are often referred to as multidimensional deprivation. The multidimensional approach therefore defines poverty in very precise technical terms (e.g. income, family status, health conditions etc.) that facilitate its measurement; – which is less precise, but that helps see poverty in relations to its causes, its context, its consequences and the ways it is related to a phenomenon that can be influenced. Townsend (1979) was the proponent of the multidimensional approach based on concepts of deprivation and social exclusion. He introduced a deprivation index that describes poverty as a multidimensional phenomenon and analyses whether essential items (goods or practices of everyday life) are missing due to financial restrictions. Hence, a household is defined as deprived if a given number of items is missing, where the necessary amount is oriented on the common standard of living in society (Aue *et al.*, 2016).

An analysis of poverty as absolute or relative poverty can be done using the objective approach. Absolute poverty refers to the situation in which there is severe deprivation of basic human needs, including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information. It depends not only on income but also on access to social services' (United Nations, 1995). It refers to a set of standards that is the same in all countries and, which does not change over time. The concept of absolute poverty is strongly related to misery.

Relative poverty situates the phenomenon of poverty in the society as an object of study. Based on this perspective, a person is considered poor when he finds himself in a situation of clear economic and social disadvantage in comparison to others around him (his community). The relative poverty approach is much related to the notion of inequality; the categorization between those who are poor and those who are not depends on the level of development of the specific society studied, and cannot be translated to a different society. As such, relative poverty refers to a standard, which is defined in terms of the society in which an individual lives and which differs between countries and over time. That is, a population earning less than a set quantile (standard) of the national income may be considered as poor.

Because poverty is not a static phenomenon, peoples' condition can change over time and they may pass from being poor to not being poor or vice versa. Reason why it important to have dynamic studies of poverty that examine these transformations and transitions, analyzing populations over long periods, not solely during specific years, and in isolated ways. It is in this

context that the so-called pervasive or long-term poverty analysis are done. Based on the recommendations of the European Statistics office (EUROSTAT), a person in a European Union country is said be subject to poverty in pervasive ways if he is classified as poor in the last year and in at least two of the previous three years. The long-term poverty approach avoids that transitory poverty situations<sup>64</sup> are considered. Long-term poverty analysis is generally conducted from the relative income poverty perspective. Defined from this unidimensional indicator (i.e. income, income), poverty (i.e. income poverty) refers to income below a 'minimum subsistence' or 50 or 60 per cent below median. For instance, the European Union, refers to income poverty as the at risk of poverty rate, which uses a threshold of 60 per cent of median net-equivalence income based on the OECD modified equivalence scale (Atkinson *et al.*, 2002; Dennis & Guio, 2003). This implies income-based measurements are commonly used to describe income poverty or the proportion of the population at risk of poverty (Nolan & Whelan, 2007).

However, it is important to note here that information on income may be insufficient to determine the degree to which a person is at risk of deprivation. This is because some households may be able to maintain an acceptable standard of living though on a low level of income; because they may experience income poverty either only temporarily or may have other resources – e.g., savings or gifts.

In addition to the several approaches often used in poverty analysis as enumerated above, there are several other concepts that define, describe and measure the phenomenon. Amongst these approaches are the basic needs approach; the wellbeing approach; the inequality approach; the human rights-based approach and the capabilities approach. Here I will focus on the capabilities approach developed by (Sen, 2001) because of its relevance to this study. The *basic needs approach* understands poverty as scarcity of resources and opportunities to satisfy basic needs. It was developed by the International Labour Organization (ILO) in the 70s and 80s and considers the availability of public goods as well as services in a community, when defining and assessing poverty. The concept has been applied and further developed by (see, Alkire, 2002).

The *wellbeing approach* understands poverty as a multidimensional lack of resources and conditions to achieve satisfaction of physical, social and psychological or self-actualization needs. According to (Allardt, 1976) wellbeing is not the sum of 'having', 'loving' and 'being'; more of one of these components of wellbeing cannot replace scarcity of the others.

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<sup>64</sup> Which in most cases do not cause changes in the living conditions of households.

The *inequality approach* understands poverty as a process whose essential root causes are embedded in inequality, insecurity, vulnerability, discrimination and exclusion. Hence the methods of solving poverty are linked to more equal opportunities, decent work, economic and social security, empowerment, non-discrimination and making social and economic institutions more fair and accountable (United Nations, 2005; World Bank, 2006).

The *human rights based approach* understands hunger as violation of basic rights and fundamental freedoms. It holds the criteria for poverty and deprivation into the non-attainment of universally agreed, unalienable human rights standards and principles as the ultimate benchmark to be reached for all<sup>65</sup>.

According to the *capabilities approach* poverty and deprivation are understood as a lack of prerequisites for self-determined life. That is, as 'lack of capabilities' to manage one's life (the capabilities approach). Developed by Amartya Sen (2001), capabilities refer to means for achieving good life, to avoid and escape deprivations, and to realize one's potential. It refers to both external resources and options and human capital embedded in the person himself. The OECD multidimensional poverty concept is an example of the application of the capabilities approach. For instance, the European Commission defines people as poor;

'if their income and resources are so inadequate as to preclude them from having a standard of living considered acceptable in the society in which they live...they are often excluded and marginalized from participating in activities (economic, social, and cultural) that are the norm for other people and their access to fundamental rights may be restricted...' (OECD, 2001).

Thus, the capabilities that enable people to avoid poverty escape poverty and achieve their life goals are: economic, human, political, sociocultural and protective capabilities (OECD, 2001:37-40<sup>66</sup>). This study focuses on approaches of relative poverty – particularly for its relevance to the context in which the study is carried (OECD country). The causes of poverty are multidimensional, specific to the individuals it affects and its avoidance, or escape entails the provision of capabilities (economic, human, sociocultural, and protective).

In most cases poverty, may be chronic (most part of or through lifetime), cyclical (during phases of life; e.g. children, elderly...), or seasonal (when income fall below the poverty line during certain months of the year or due to external natural disasters).

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<sup>65</sup><https://www.thl.fi/documents/189940/263914/WHAT+POVERTY+IS.pdf/41b2ce48-7309-4d9d-9327-21fb9c571517>

<sup>66</sup> <http://www.oecd.org/dac/povertyreduction/2672735.pdf>

### Causes of poverty as causes of hunger

Castro (1952) argues that if hunger is caused by poverty and not by factors related to production or food availability, it goes without saying that the real causes of hunger are the set of social, economic, and political factors that in turn cause poverty (ibid, 1952:51-2). This assertion perfectly fits Amartya Sen's concept of entitlements that recognizes that hunger and famines as the result of factors pertaining to the economic, political, and social context that determines entitlements and the exercise of access rights (Cohen & Reeves, 1995; DeRose *et al.*, 1998; Sen, 2009). Many studies have shown that the problem with hunger is not a technical one, it is more than just the result of food production and meeting food supply demands. Thus, conditions and events of varying sorts can contribute to the development of hunger. This may include technological failures (e.g. destructive farming practices); natural disasters (e.g., droughts); as well as several social, economic and political factors (e.g. conflicts and wars, economic crises, class inequalities and so on).

Messer (2013) highlights that there has not been any world food shortage in the past decades and that since the 1960s the world in aggregate has produced more than enough food to feed everyone a nutritionally adequate basic diet. She notes that much of these productions are diverted to livestock (i.e. non-human) end users and what is left of it is not equitably distributed. In addition, access to food within countries is restricted by socioeconomic inequalities and poverty (ibid: 380). Hence, though most food crisis occur in countries in Sub-Sahara Africa<sup>67</sup>, Iraq, Afghanistan, North Korea, Haiti<sup>68</sup>, and South Asia<sup>69</sup>; it is not because there is any world food shortage, but mostly because the people in these countries are food poor and lack access to balanced food and nutrition because of economic reasons (ibid.). Moreover, the situation is not particular to countries in the Global South only; many economists have expressed worries that the numbers of food insecure people will increase everywhere in the world due to economic downturns<sup>70</sup>, livelihood failures, sharply increasing food commodity prices and disruptions to productions and markets because of climate change, conflicts<sup>71</sup> and foreign direct investments (Messer, 2013).

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<sup>67</sup> The largest numbers in protracted food crisis occur in Sub-Sahara Africa (FAO, 2010).

<sup>68</sup> Which are countries with analogous histories of political and economic violence, repression or instability, and natural disaster.

<sup>69</sup> All these countries constitute about 1/6<sup>th</sup> of the world's population and are indeed the target of the 1996 World Food Summit and the UN MDGs efforts to halve absolute numbers and proportions of the world hungry.

<sup>70</sup> Like we are already experiencing in Europe, and particularly in Spain, since 2008.

<sup>71</sup> Political-economic sanctions in the markets – as what happened in Spain with Spanish farmers experiencing great losses following Russian ban on imports from Spain as response to its sanction in the European trade market for its involvement in the Ukrainian crisis.

As Messer writes, 'problems with food distribution, entitlements, as well as what people are eating'<sup>72</sup> do not guarantee a substantial reduction in hunger. Food crops diverted to animal feed or fuel reduce staple food crops available for direct human consumption and in the process, raises food prices. Thus, whether there will be enough food to feed everyone in the world depends very much on proportions of grain-fed animal foods in future diets, and on the cultural as well as economic choices individuals, households and countries make about food resource allocations (Messer, 2013).

People who do not own the food they produce or who do not produce food themselves, their ability to acquire food in the market depends on their income (earnings), the prices of food in the market, and their other non-food necessary expenditures (such as housing, health, education and so on). As Sen highlights, the ability for these people to acquire food depends on economic circumstances – production of other commodities, employment and wage rates; depend on their earnings to acquire food in the market; must use the market to access food (ibid, 2007:164). Hence, it is not surprising that quite often; accrued economic circumstances generate hunger, a situation made worse by the globalization processes of the economy, given that state's ability to cope with the needs of the more vulnerable groups of the population is weakened. Consequently, two types of economic factors that influence access to food can be identified: internal (that is those within the national food system) and external (that is those related to the world food order). Examples of these internal factors include issues such as unemployment, loss of an important part of the active population, increase in the purchasing power of certain occupational groups or groups of the population (or increase in demand) and the loss or reduction of the activities of a group of the active population (caused by or because of economic changes or relocations, or because of cyclical fluctuations). Most of these situations lead to considerable drops in income, and all suppose an increase in food prices and a defect in the social security systems, as well as poverty. Another important economic factor is the absence of diversification of sources of growth and income.

On the other hand, external economic factors that cause poverty and hunger are more complex. Generally, the causes of hunger and poverty regarding external factors is explained by a global economic model that stresses on economic solutions – a global economic model that supports a form of food security that is deficient for curbing global hunger and alleviating poverty. It is a concept understood through the developmental theory and the policies of global organizations such as the FAO and IFAD, as well as through the trade arrangements of the WTO and the poverty

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<sup>72</sup> Since the 1940s, plant breeders and agronomists are using tools of green revolution, bio-revolution, genetically modified seeds and so on in production.

reduction strategies of the World Bank and the IMF (Schanbacher, 2010:21). Critiques of this economic model hold that the Bretton Woods organizations (World Bank, IMF, and WTO) contribute to structural conditions that limit the realization of both food security and food sovereignty, and reducing poverty and hunger (see, McMichael, 2000; Schanbacher, 2010). The UN Special Rapporteur Jean Ziegler also highlights these discrepancies;

“There are profound internal contradictions in the United Nations system. On the one hand, the UN agencies emphasize social justice and human rights. ... On the other hand, the Bretton Woods institutions [the World Bank and the IMF], along with the government of the United States of America and the World Trade Organization, oppose in their practice the right to food ... emphasizing liberalization, deregulation, privatization and the compression of state domestic budgets—a model which in many cases produces greater inequalities.” (Jean Ziegler, 2002:4).

As DeRose & Millman (1998) highlight, ‘...vulnerability to hunger, its social distribution, and corrective response clearly have a political dimension...’ War and political upheavals usually tied to the history of colonialism; create instabilities and insecurities both vital for subsistence, economic prosperity and growth. This is because without these conditions, natural resources cannot be exploited and there will be no work and benefits of work. Farmers and other investors or entrepreneurs cannot invest under these conditions. Most wars and upheavals occur in the poorest countries of the world. Also, the national debt of a country<sup>73</sup>, can cause poverty and hunger since such policies force these countries to open their markets to foreign investors and businesses, and increase competition with local producers. This situation will undermine the potential development of local economies and subsistence production may be undermined and may cause hunger and poverty. Therefore,

‘...the explicit or implicit promise of food security comprises an essential aspect of the social contract between political leaders and their constituents. An end to hunger cannot come about without political leaders who make ending hunger a priority and devote resources to this end (Barraclough 1989). Politicians are important social actors shaping the economic, social, and cultural framework for community organization (DeRose & Millman, 1998:5).

Especially because hunger situations ultimately, are amenable to political solutions, because their existence and persistence are due to political causes (DeRose *et al.* 1998:187-8).

Many social factors explain hunger and poverty; discrimination and social inequality. Inequality though a completely different thing from poverty, can foster widespread poverty through excluding groups with social status from accessing the tools and resources to sustain themselves. ‘Inequalities in income distribution and access to productive resources, basic social services (such as health care,

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<sup>73</sup> Like those imposed on many developing countries by the structural adjustment policies of the World Bank and the IMF



education), opportunities, markets, and information are on the rise in the worldwide and often heighten poverty' (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs – Division of Sustainable Development, 2003). Often, countries where inequality is prevalent exhibit poor social indicators for human development, insecurity and anxiety. Inequality prevents the poor from moving out of their socioeconomic status, and limits access to opportunities that can provide the means to breakout from poverty. Other social factors that may cause poverty and hunger are gender discrimination, and poor knowledge of nutritional needs due to precarious nutritional education (see Cohen & Reeves 1995).

Apart from political, economic and social factors, there are several other factors that may cause hunger and poverty: factors related to the environment, to production (agricultural and food policies, food shortage), to population (the relationship between demographic growth and population growth; rural urban exodus – massive migrations) and to arm conflicts (displacements, refugees' crisis) (see, Nuñez, 1998).

### **Consequences of hunger**

The Sindic de Greuges de Catalunya <sup>74</sup>(2013) has noted the presence of malnutrition in many children – a situation arising in recent years because of economic crisis. Malnutrition that was present in a more punctual way before the crisis now seems to be on the rise and is exacerbated by the growing economic and social precarization of families and the intensification of poverty. For example, situations of child malnutrition caused not only by the availability or unavailability of food to provide to children, but also by inadequate cooking conditions either because of difficulties in accessing a kitchen or lack of energy (light, gas) supply at home because of unpaid bills (Sindic de Greuges de Catalunya, 2013). The Sindic de Greuges report generated a great controversy – it was strongly criticized by the Government of Catalonia and by the Director of the Department of Health of the Government of Catalonia, Mr. Boi Ruiz. It was also strongly debated by pediatrics and academicians who argued that the report exaggerated the prevalence of malnutrition in the region and that it was impossible that malnutrition be experienced as reported in the region. Meanwhile, the Barcelona City Council had 2,865 cases of child malnutrition detected in colleges in the province<sup>75</sup>. However, the controversies that was generated after the publication of the report on child malnutrition report, it is important to highlight that the government of Catalonia (*Generalitat de Catalunya*) later recognize there were 660 cases of child malnutrition related to poverty

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<sup>74</sup> The Ombudsman of Catalonia

<sup>75</sup> [http://ccaa.elpais.com/ccaa/2013/06/05/catalunya/1370463373\\_728987.html](http://ccaa.elpais.com/ccaa/2013/06/05/catalunya/1370463373_728987.html)

in the region; and the parliament approved the decision to develop a protocol to detect child malnutrition during the first half of 2014<sup>76</sup>.

Also, hunger causes a great deal of human suffering – both physical and emotional; and aside the human costs, chronic malnutrition has economic costs as well. Deficiencies (de Onis *et al.*, 2000)<sup>77</sup> in vitamin A, protein, iron, and other micronutrients can cause prolonged impairment, hence reducing productivity of human capital<sup>78</sup>. Third world hunger constitutes a problem of an international nature. Although it has an immediate impact on the health and the future of persons suffering hunger (Osmani, 1998; Dower, 1998), it also affects families (impoverishment, family dispersion, migration), and the social order, and regions and countries (depopulation, economic loss, social conflict). In this way, hunger ceases to be a personal/individual misfortune, and becomes a barrier to the development of countries that suffer it (Ziegler, 2002), and the stability of the international community; prevents those that are able to work, reduces productivity, increases demographic growth (DeRose and Millman, 1998), encourages absenteeism in school and child exploitation, and affects the economic conditions of developing countries, provoking a vicious circle of poverty, disease and conflict that ends up compromising all states and the international community.

As highlighted by the WHO, ‘in addition to the human suffering, the loss in human potential translates into social and economic costs that no country can afford’ (WHO, 1996). We are faced with a relentless phenomenon. Though people try to avoid it and endure it by setting up physical strategies or mechanisms of resistance– coping mechanisms, even at the cost of health, finally, they are wrapped in hunger and marked by its effects on health and the psychological state. The difficulty of escaping the bleak spectrum is because of the complexity of its causes and scope of its consequences, uncovered thanks to advances in the sciences and experiences of the last thirty years. At the individual (personal) level the pejorative, physiological effects of hunger (malnutrition) are many and vary per the nutrient(s) deficient (or in excess) in the diet and the age, health, and reproductive status of the individual (DeRose & Millman, 1998:6). Also, we must note that food shortages can easily be identified, but likewise remain ‘hidden’, without revealing its existence through external symptoms in the individual’s health, but do not cease to be detrimental for this.

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<sup>76</sup> [http://www.ara.cat/societat/parlament-instaurar-protocol-malnutricio-infantil\\_0\\_1050495138.html](http://www.ara.cat/societat/parlament-instaurar-protocol-malnutricio-infantil_0_1050495138.html)

<sup>77</sup> Malnutrition has been associated with ten to forty-five per cent increase in the incidence of diarrhea.

<sup>78</sup> Vitamin A deficient children are two to four times more susceptible to respiratory disease and twice as susceptible to diarrhea. Costs to the national health system due to poor nutritional status of mothers are substantial. Various illness is noted to be the cause of approximately 1.1 billion days’ loss of work time (Babu, Gajanan & Sanyal, and 2014:141).

Concretely, the physiological consequences of hunger, include the short, mid and long run; it increases the risk of contracting disease, leads the population into weakness, apathy, irritability, lethargy, produces weight loss<sup>79</sup>; provokes difficulties of concentration; and reduces the capacity/ability to work. High-energy intake and poor eating habit, leads to a completely different bundle of problems: obesity, heart diseases, certain types of cancer, diabetes, hypertension, and other types of chronic diseases. The economic crisis is reported to be potential cause of growing obesity rate in the child population in Spain; as many families are losing their purchasing power, they begin to buy cheaper foods with higher caloric density, and reduce extracurricular physical activities because of reduced family budgets<sup>80</sup>. In addition, hunger deprives man of his freedom:

‘...no external factor hurts man as much as food. Indeed, hunger does not only affect his body, but also, his body and his soul: it dehumanizes him. A hungry man is not, cannot be, a free man; he is a prisoner to his hunger, does not have, if not a desire, a thought, a goal: to eat. Then if the hunger prolongs, he falls into a profound apathy and little by little, loses all desire, even that of eating’ (Castro, 1952:22-23).

The combination of all the effects nurtures a cycle of hunger and poverty in the family, and make worse the problem: there is less productivity while demand for medical care is increasingly becoming a socioeconomic burden for the individuals suffering from its effects and even for the country. There are vulnerable subjects on whom starvation, for instance, leaves a greater mark. Anemia resulting from iron deficiency is the cause of 20% of the deaths in mothers in Asia and Africa, and iodine deficiency increases the incidence of abortions and stillbirths. In children, it makes them more likely to become less productive adults, disadvantaged, and future victims of poverty and hunger. This is because it slows down or disrupts their physical growth (atrophy, rickets, weakness); causes blindness (as a result of Vitamin A deficiency, which also implies increased vulnerability to infectious diseases); reduces their socialization and interaction with the environment, which is important for their learning and maturation; produces problems in mental development (DeRose & Millman, 1998:10); reduces their intellectual capacity, and leads to higher rates of school failures and mortality from measles, diarrhea, malaria, meningitis, and respiratory diseases. And in many cases, malnutrition often traps them from birth. Their mothers also

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<sup>79</sup> First, body fat reserves are consumed, then the body mass and the muscles and even the organ tissues, it later leads to atrophy and cachexia, and eventually leads to death.

<sup>80</sup>[http://www.heraldo.es/noticias/sociedad/2012/09/28/la\\_crisis\\_puede\\_causar\\_aumento\\_obesidad\\_205820\\_310.html](http://www.heraldo.es/noticias/sociedad/2012/09/28/la_crisis_puede_causar_aumento_obesidad_205820_310.html)

malnourished (during pregnancy or childhood) bring them to the world marked by starvation, with low birth weight, increased risk of mortality, and with no chance of good nutrition<sup>81</sup>.

The United Nations Administrative Committee on Coordination / Standing Committee on Nutrition (ACC/SCN), reporting on the scope and gravity of the life-cycle of malnutrition, highlights that it is closely related to adverse social and biological factors which may combine to influence the nutrition and reproductive performance of women in ways that may critically affect their offspring while still in the womb and have consequences for the life-cycle of the next generation. The ACC/SCN report summarizes the seriousness of the complex interrelationships noting that:

‘... malnourished mothers, particularly in Asia, are producing low-birth-weight babies who are not only immediately at risk but also become stunted as young children, with a double handicap of physical and mental limitations. In some societies, this affects half of the population, with new evidence that in Asia poorly growing girls grow into malnourished adults who then in pregnancy pass on the long-term impact of their own poor development during fetal life to the next generation’ (Economic and Social Council, Commission on Human Rights, quoted in (Latham, 1997)<sup>82</sup>.

In summary, the effects of hunger emphasize the seriousness and complexity of the phenomenon and shape it as a global problem. The international community has reacted to the issue largely thanks to the factual statistics of both the number of malnourished people, as well as for their concentration in certain regions of the globe and the effects on them. Still, why are governments, societies and individuals concerned about hunger? The reaction is because of moral and/or economic and legal impulses (convictions, reasons).

First, either derived from religious beliefs or personal ethics, moral and humanitarian reasons can cause an individual to be concerned about the fate of the most disadvantaged – the poor and hungry (Foster & Leathers, 1999:233-34). It is an ethical obligation of charity. On the World Food Summit of 1996, several personalities highlighted this ethical and moral concern for hunger in their declarations. See for example Boutros Boutros Ghali, (former UN SG) speech at the 1996 World Food Summit, Roma - Italy<sup>83</sup>.

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<sup>81</sup> Malnutrition of mothers limits their ability to breastfeed (guarantee for baby’s health and development), and likewise, they cannot access other alternative foods and breastmilk substitutes.

<sup>82</sup> Updated study on the right to food, submitted by Mr. Asbjørn Eide in accordance with Sub-Commission decision 1998/106

[http://www.fao.org/eims/secretariat/right\\_to\\_food/eims\\_search/details.asp?lang=en&pub\\_id=217987](http://www.fao.org/eims/secretariat/right_to_food/eims_search/details.asp?lang=en&pub_id=217987)

<sup>83</sup> ‘...the problem of hunger is not only an economic, social or political issue, but also an ethical and moral one. For hunger is a direct affront not only to the physical integrity but also to the very dignity of the human person. Hunger is an insult to the fundamental values of the international community. And we understand a society would be doomed

The then Director General of the FAO, Jacques Diouf pleaded the case for concern about hunger at the 1996 WFS thus;

‘...firstly, because we all belong to one human race, each of us with the same rights and obligations, where each person is all persons, to cite the Argentine writer Jorge Luis Borges; Secondly, because the advance of communications has turned today's world of 5.7 billion men and women of all ages into a planetary village; Thirdly, and especially, because the platonic ideal of the just state is deeply ingrained in the hearts of all human beings, for as Confucius taught us, a person of virtue places justice above all else...the Rome Declaration submitted for your approval draws from universal principles that are rooted in ethics. It reaffirms the right of everyone to have access to safe and nutritious food. It considers intolerable that more than 800 million people throughout the world, and particularly in developing countries, do not have enough food to meet their basic nutritional needs. It pledges our political will and our common and national commitment to achieving food security for all... with an immediate view to reducing the number of undernourished people to half their present level no later than 2015’ (FAO, 1996).

Secondly, addressing hunger has its economic understanding, in terms of productivity, which is called the cost of hunger. From there, the attainment of the WFS’ objective of halving the number of malnourished people by 2015 is economically quantified: would give a value of \$120.000 US. So, it is important to act because it is in everybody’s interest. To stop the divisions in humanity, and help developing countries break the vicious cycle of poverty is not only an action (performance) derived from charity but also a task imposed by egoism (Castro, 1952).

Lastly, if we consider the existence and consolidation of a right, ending hunger has a legal translation. In this sphere, the fight against hunger ceases to be a voluntary activity and becomes a legal imperative. Although it may have no economic interest, or no moral or ethical implication, there is a legal obligation to ‘act’ (Foster & Leathers, 1999:234-5). Since hunger (malnutrition) constitutes an infringement of a legal interest protected by international law, hunger (malnutrition) must be combatted.

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to shame and dishonor if, at the end of the twentieth century, there persisted what His Holiness has so appropriately called "the structures of famine". We are aware that much effort lies before us. For the scandal of hunger persists. Even today, one person in five suffers from hunger! Eight hundred million people suffer from chronic malnutrition! And 88 States, almost half of which are situated in sub-Saharan Africa, know the pangs of chronic famine and malnutrition! At this very moment, 200 million children of under five years of age are suffering from malnutrition and food deficiencies. This is inadmissible! It is totally unacceptable to see certain parts of the world staggering under an abundance of food, while other parts lack essential foodstuffs. It is quite intolerable to see certain countries wasting or destroying food, whereas others cannot provide their children with even elementary needs... the problem of hunger is not only a problem of production. It is also a problem of distribution. It comes as a rule shock to our conception of equality and social justice... It is my hope that the World Food Summit will provide the occasion for a new and general mobilization against hunger. In drawing the attention of everyone to the threats posed by hunger and malnutrition to nations and to vast areas of the planet, the World Food Summit clearly places the problem of hunger among the foremost present and future priorities of the international community...’ (FAO, 1996)

## APPROACHES TO HUNGER

'The enormous expansion of productive power that has taken place over the last few centuries has made possible, for the first time in history, to guarantee adequate food for all. It is in this context that the persistence of chronic hunger and the recurrence of virulent famines must be seen as being morally outrageous and politically unacceptable...' (Sen, 1987:5).

Sen (1987) pointed out that there have frequently been famines, situations of starvation and hunger that were not the result of low or diminished food output and availability. He argues that the real issue with hunger is not mainly the question of overall availability of food, but is also an issue of its acquirement by individuals and families (*ibid.*).

Because the causes of hunger are numerous, its conditions various, and its effects multiple; its root causes repose in the natural environment, the growth of human populations, their social organization and technologies, and the interrelations between populations and their environments (Newman *et al.*, 1990: 3). It is on basis of this that some authors suggest that an explanatory model of hunger (its causal structure), should be viewed in the context of food systems, in entitlements failures, as well as on the causal structure of hazards (Newman *et al.* 1990:3-4). Others have suggested that because there is a complex relationship between hunger at different levels of the social organization, it should be approached from a 'hunger typology' that distinguishes food shortage, food poverty and food deprivation at the level of the region, household and individual respectively. In this way, attention is placed on hunger even when food is abundant and when it is scarce (DeRose & Millman, 1998:1-2). Within this framework, hunger is viewed as produced when need outstrips food availability; and the determinants of both need and availability are complex, and are controlled by forces both proximate to and quite far from the persons they affect. Viewed from this perspective the authors highlight that hunger, in food shortage, is produced when supplies within some bounded region are less than the amount needed by the region's population; in food poverty, occurs when a household is unable to obtain enough food to meet the needs of its members; and in food deprivation when the nutrients consumed by an individual are less than he or she needs (*ibid.*, 2).

Some authors have concluded that theories of hunger and famine have shifted from an emphasis on the environment and demographic causes, to economic and sociopolitical causes (Baro & Deubel, 2006). (Devereux, 1993) grouped existing hunger and famine theories into three main groups: Food Availability Decline (FAD) theory, Food Entitlement Decline (FED) theory and; Political Economic Explanations. Like Devereux notes, there is no single and complete theory of hunger, they all vary per the ideological differences and interests of the researcher / author. Though

I provide a resume of some of these theories, my focus in this section of the conceptual framework of hunger is mainly on the food systems approach, Amartya Sen's entitlement theory, and the food precarization theory (which has everything in common with the political economy of food) as an explanatory framework for hunger.

### **Population and food production (the Food Availability Decline) theory**

Thomas Malthus (1965), Karl Marx (1986) and Esther Boserup (1966) viewed the causes of hunger and other human miseries from the relationship between population growth and the growth of production. Marx and Boserup however, strongly dismissed Malthus' reasoning of the causes of human misery. In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, Malthus focused his essays on limits imposed by the natural environment on population growth. Malthus hypothesized that population can grow exponentially and the means of subsistence only arithmetically; and concluded that the necessary balance between population growth and subsistence could be maintained either by 'preventive checks' (e.g. fertility limitations) or by 'positive checks' (e.g. mortality including famine, warfare etc.). Malthus' argument is since hunger and other forms of human miseries are unavoidable consequences of population growth on limits of productive capacity.

Marx (1986) on the contrary strongly disagreed with Malthus' thesis, he didn't see the root causes of hunger and other forms of human misery in the relationship between population growth and growth of production; rather it is in the relations of oppression and exploitation tied to the organization of production – the capitalist mode of production. Marx argues that within the capitalist mode of production the rapid accumulation of capital reduces the need (demand) for labor and creates a comparative surplus of labor – what he called the 'industrial reserve army'<sup>84</sup> sentenced to unemployment or underemployment, low wages, miserable conditions, and persistent hunger. According to Marx's argument, the organization of production excludes some from full participation and thus generates a hunger-prone group. Centuries after Marx's theory, hunger and other forms of human misery are still very much explained by the capitalist mode of production (capital accumulation or profiteering, private ownership, commodity production, domination of wage labor). Moreover, social scientists have picked up Marxist ideologies about the organization of work, and are talking about precarious work, analyzing the processes that push certain categories of workers – particularly migrants into insecure and exploitative jobs (Castles, 2015:58) – (to be discussed in this chapter's section on the precarization theory).

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<sup>84</sup> This is an important concept to note and I will elaborate more on it in my analysis of the precarization theory later.

Population growth is a force favoring the adoption and diffusion of technological innovation; this is the basis of Boserup's view of the relationship between population growth and food production. She argues that a larger population is maintained at similar standard of living by hard work because of technological progress (that is in the short run), while in the long run, it produces real augmentations in per capita production. Therefore, Boserup writes that instead of bolstering poverty, population growth may contribute to rising living standards (Newman *et al.* 1990:8).

Marx's contribution to the analysis of the population growth and production relationship is important in the sense that it emphasizes the consideration of factors other than increasing production (food availability) as solution to the issue of hunger and other forms of human misery; however, Marx' focus was still in the demand of production – on the mode of production (the economy). He saw the problem in the organization of the economic system. This is relevant to the present investigation; however, its focus is strictly economic and at national or global level. Amartya Sen's concept of entitlement failures as an explanatory model for hunger shifts the focus from food availability, towards the ability to command food. The framework emphasizes on the household and individual level of analysis.

### **Entitlement (Food Entitlement Decline) theory**

Amartya Sen expounds some of the implications of production and distribution systems for consumption possibilities, and thus for hunger. Hunger and famines are not always the result of a decline in food availability and food output for the economy. Amartya Sen (1981) argues that the real problem with hunger is not that of overall availability of food, but its acquirement by individuals and families. Entitlement in the context of hunger refers plainly to the access to food enjoyed by a household because of its socially recognized right to control certain resources (Sen, 1981). Therefore, understanding hunger entails looking at the determinants of command over commodities, including food; that is what commodity bundles (including food) can individuals, households make their own (*ibid.*,7). According to Sen, a person's entitlement represents the set of various alternative commodity bundles that he or she can acquire using the different legal channels of acquirement open to someone in his or her position.

The actual command over food that different sectors of the population (e.g. migrant groups) can exercise depends on the set of legal and economic factors, including those governing ownership, transfer, production and exchange. And this ability to command food is determined by what the person owns (endowment) and the different alternative bundles that can be obtained through exchange entitlement (exchange entitlement mapping). Exchange-based entitlements refer to those that allows a person to buy a commodity with the cash he owns. Newman *et al.* (1990) argue that



one of the causes of entitlement failure and thus, hunger is food shortages resulting from higher prices. This is because 'fluctuating terms of trade governing the exchange of one resource for another, alter the relative access of different groups to food supplies, so that even if the sets of resources they control are unchanging, the food supplies to which these sets give them access may not be' (Newman *et al.* 1990:5).

The relative access of different groups of society to food supplies are altered by fluctuating terms of trade governing the exchange of one resource for another (Newman *et al.* 1990:5). Production-based entitlement is that based on ownership of what one produces using his own resources or using other resources through mutual agreed trade conditions. Ownership based entitlement refers to the sale of one's own labor in exchange for commodity; a person's ability to work is about the only substantial asset he owns, and if he fails to secure employment, then the means of accessing or acquiring food (through getting a job, earning an income and buying food with that income) fails. In addition to failing to secure a job, the person will likely fail to secure the means of subsistence, especially if the laws of the region or country do not provide any social security arrangements (e.g. unemployment benefit) or if it is provided but the person is not eligible for it. Inheritance and transfer entitlement refer to one's right to own resources that are willingly given by others in the form of inheritance, remittances, gifts, food aid and State transfers in the form of pension food or social security (Sen, 1981). As Sen Writes, 'a change either in a person's endowment or in his exchange entitlement mapping may reduce the person to starvation, making it no longer possible for him to acquire any commodity bundle with enough food'. In this investigation, I show how SSA migrants have not only loss their substantial asset (own-labor, ownership of the ability to work), but how they are further subtly excluded from available social protection system in Spain (an issue that I will describe further in this chapter).

Access to food is not solely an issue of having enough to eat, but rather, a matter of having sufficient access to entitlements (Sen, 1981). Entitlements refer to a set of assets over which a person or household can establish command, and which enable the acquisition of food within the legal, political, economic, and social arrangements of the community in which a person lives, including the use of production and trade opportunities (FAO, 2002; Sen, 1981). Therefore, food production and availability alone do not determine access to food; there is need for some minimum level of individual or household assets and entitlements, which either enable or undermine a person's access to food.

### **The food regime approach (political – economy analysis)**

This approach places hunger and people's need for food within a larger context, food system, focusing on the complex relations among the production, distribution, and consumption of food. The approach goes beyond looking at hunger as commonly an agricultural problem, or a nutrition problem, or an exchange problem. For instance, food shortages may be entrenched in the political and economic structures that create insufficient labor and exclude other local opportunities to earn income and attract food from other areas (e.g. subsistence farming). Furthermore, food shortages may also be explained by ecological degradation, or policy failure (whether state or international, or market economy or developmental policies). Interestingly, there is no shortage of food in the world today, on the contrary, global food production has constantly surpassed population growth, and there is more than enough food to feed everyone (Angus, 2008). According to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), though there has been a significant augmentation in total population, enough food is produced to provide over 2,800 calories a day to everyone (i.e. by large more than the minimum required for good health), and about 18% more calories per person than in the 60s (IAASTD, 2008; Mousseau & Mittal, 2006). In this view, we can say that 'abundance, not scarcity best describes the supply of food in the world today' (Lappé *et al.*, 1998). Since this is so, why then do people (individuals and households) lack sufficient access to food resources, why do persons suffer or experience hunger?<sup>85</sup>

If there is enough to feed the world, why are there over 795 million hungry and malnourished people in world<sup>86</sup>? Why one in every four children goes hungry<sup>87</sup>? Alternatively, why do 29,000 households in Spain suffer or experience hunger (i.e. during the past 10 years)<sup>88</sup>?

Friedmann & McMichael (1989) proposed the food regime framework for understanding hunger. The approach shows how the political and economic ideologies of the capitalist society shapes agriculture and food and thus, cause hunger. The food regime analysis is typically a Marxist approach to theorizing food systems. It links international relations of food production and consumption to forms of accumulation, and broadly distinguishes periods of capitalist accumulation (*ibid*, 95). The analysis of food systems provides coherent political economic and political ecologic analysis of food (McMichael, 2009b). The approach considers important questions such as;

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<sup>85</sup> This question has been the focus of research and policy in the past decades (e.g. Barrett, 2010; Headey & Fan, 2008; Maxwell & Frankenberger, 1995; Renzaho & Mellor, 2010; Webb et al., 2006).

<sup>86</sup> See FAO, IFAD, WFP 2015 statistics

<sup>87</sup> See Oxfam Intermón 2014 report

<sup>88</sup> see Ayala & Gilsanz, (2011)

- Where and how is (what) food produced in the international economy of capitalism?
- Where and how is food consumed, and by whom? What types of food?
- What are the social and ecological consequences of international relations of food production and consumption in different food regimes?

Proponents of this analytic model argue that the current food regime<sup>89</sup> poses a fundamental threat to the survival of a substantial proportion of inhabitants of the planet (especially those who do not participate in the global marketplace); and to the ecology of the planet (McMichael, 2009). This is because the primary objective of the capitalist food regime is profiteering for the investors; and its ability to satisfy human nutritional needs on a sustained basis is a secondary and essentially irrelevant consideration (Bodley, 1996:113). This assertion is explicit in the goal of the FAO to enable small-scale farmers to compete in global markets and not necessarily to produce goods for local economies (Schanbacher, 2010:29).

La Via Campesina (2008) accentuated that price mechanisms all over the world were being dismantled as part of neoliberal policy package; and that this exposed farmers and consumers to extreme price volatility, and resulted in the substitution of food reserves for corporate 'food security' through the liberalization and broader integration of the world food market – transmitting price increase. As such, national food reserves have been privatized and run like transnational companies that act as speculators instead of protecting farmers and consumers.

As McMichael (2009) argues, 'the politics of the world food system is essentially an institutionalized corporate structure of agri-food relations that feed the rich and not the world'. The food system of First World Nations (such as Spain) is deficient for a section of the population (the poor, unemployed, pensioners, immigrants, '*desahucios*'<sup>90</sup> – i.e. the evicted) who lack sufficient economic and material resources (income / entitlement) to always purchase the kind of food they like, in the quantity and/or quality they consider adequate, and for over a long period. Unfortunately, for this section of the population, as well as for the rest of the population, the capitalist food regime is now the vehicle for reform of the system of international trade in foodstuffs – organizing world food production and consumption relations via unsustainable monocultures, terminator genes, and class-based diets<sup>91</sup>. It is important to highlight here that there is a growing section of the population

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<sup>89</sup> What McMichael calls the corporate food regime, although there are disagreements on the status of the concept of a third food regime, disagreements that are not exclusively definitional or empirical.

<sup>90</sup> These are usually 'vulnerable' families, people, evicted by force for non-payment of mortgage or rent. In most cases the houses (properties) had been acquired during the Spanish Real Estate boom (1997-2007).

<sup>91</sup> Through its 'development project' – an exclusive global process premised on eliminating the social gains of citizenship and of national development (McMichael, 1999:22).

in Spain<sup>92</sup> consistently resorting to food banks and other organizations for food (Caritas, The Red Cross, and FESBAL Report, 2009). This fast-growing section of the population and the growing demand for food aid from both state and non-state organizations heralds the situation of food insecurity and hunger in the country. It also suggests a possible problem with the food system of the country. Clearly, these problems are not linked to food production decline, rather it is a problem of distribution and lack of access to sufficient or adequate food due to lack of resources. In the next sub-section, I present an overview of the food systems in Spain and its relation to hunger.

### **The Spanish food system: characteristics and main components, 1950 - present**

In general, it can be considered that the cohesive functioning of the current Spanish food system (taking into consideration agriculture, industry, trade and distribution contributing in the chain production of the final good/produce) coincides with the end of traditional agriculture (Naredo, 1971); although the start of the agrofood system occurred slowly in the country – at the end of the fifties and early sixties (Langreo & German, 2010). In the 1950s, the economists John H. Davis and Ray Golberg elaborated a concept of agribusiness in a collective publication of both authors (Davis & Goldberg, 1957). The concept became the basis for a new procedure to investigate the agricultural economy, systematic study of the industrialization phase of the agricultural development within the food economy; as well as a basis for solving specific issues of the development of this economy segment. Davis & Golberg (1957) defined this classic concept as, ‘the sum of all operations involved in the processing and distribution of products produced on a farm, i.e. production operations on a farm, storage, processing, transport and sale of agricultural commodities and items made from them. Thus, agribusiness essentially encompasses today the functions which the term agriculture denoted 150 years ago’ (ibid:2). According to this definition, agribusiness involves:

- Supplying sector of inputs for agricultural and food industry (specialized, engineering industries, chemistry, energy, etc.),
- Agricultural primary production,
- Feed industry,

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<sup>92</sup> According to a study by *Fundación FOESSA* (2011), 39,5% of 72,425 families with children assisted by the CaixaProinfancia program (a program to help fight against child poverty) of the Caixa Foundation in 11 Spanish cities (i.e. about 29,000 households) are hungry or have frequently suffered from hunger during the past 10 years. (Ayala & Gilsanz 2011)

- Services for agriculture and food industry (supplies, purchasing, maintenance, improving and seed production, breeding services, applied research, education, consulting, etc.),
- Food production and other processing industry
- Food trade and public catering

The major issues articulated by Davis and Goldberg was that the food system needs to be viewed/considered as an integrated system. Their novel agro-industrial analysis integrated industry and distribution to the food system. (Germán, 2009) highlights that Davis and Goldberg's concept of agribusiness was greatly influenced by the Leontief's input-output analysis and national accounting analysis. By the end of the 60s, the agribusiness concept had disseminated across Europe through the works of French economists Louis Malassis (1973) who propagated the concept as agrofood economy/system. The concept applied to the study of (i) the whole production complex (analysis of its internal structure and its relations with the rest of the economy: which implies studying at the same time its importation-exportation transactions as well as the industries and services that are linked to it); (ii) of a production chain; but also, (iii) the study of food consumption. Malassis (1997) subsequently integrated the terminology into the broader food system (FS) concept. The food system is defined as the organization of societies for the production and consumption of food: food systems study includes the study of the agrarian sector, food industries (FI), food distribution (FD), catering, importation-exportation transactions, associated industries and services, as well as food consumption. As German (2009) writes, '...the food system of a country is a mesosystem, a subset of the national economy'. Segments of the food system within this mesosystem maintain stronger relations among themselves than with the rest of the economy (Caldentey, 1998).

At the end of the fifties and sixties, agricultural holdings (farms) began to increase expenditure in inputs (machinery, fertilizers, fuels...); increase dependence on energy not generated from farming; resort to the financial systems seeking for loans; and decrease the level subsistence or products meant for short-haul markets, significantly increasing the quantity of products dedicated to industry and wholesale business chains that grew significantly and were able to supply an increasing demand in the context of growing incomes and consumption, of mass migrations from the rural communities to the industrial centers within and outside Spain (ibid.).

The agrofood / food system was introduced in the 70s in Spain (Juan i Fenollar, 1978), but its implementation was quite limited until recently: both in terms of analysis (research) and about the political economy. As Langreo & German (2010) highlight, some important processes with regards

to specific productive subsectors occurred between the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in Spain, which led to a linkage between the agricultural sector and the industrial sector or business enterprises, which were sometimes distant from local know-how (knowledge). For instance, there was the development of a complex sugar beet cultivation (a non-traditional crop) across Europe that was characterized by supply difficulties from America. It was cultivation supported by the state and developed in a necessary collaboration between industry (which was the real promoter of its cultivation) and farmers, and with strong state support<sup>93</sup>. These processes in specific productive subsectors had common and divergent components (Barciela & di Vittorio, 2003). The cultivation of some crops / subsectors like the sugar beet sector was done in close collaboration of the agricultural and industrial sectors, under the hegemony of the latter sector, which makes the decisions concerning the seeds, does the technology transfer and establishes contractual agreements with the farmers. Thus, as Azcárate & Langreo (1995) highlight, these linkages explain the subsequent inter-professional development in the industrial (food industry) sector.

From 1950 - 1985 there was the transition from a traditional agricultural sector towards industrialized agriculture/animal husbandry (increasing use of inputs from outside the sector; increasing processing of agricultural products before reaching the consumer) sector in Spain. The agricultural sector was increasingly integrated with the food industry leading to the consolidation of asymmetrical relations of vertical coordination supported by the predominance of family farms in the agricultural sector (Germán, 2009). These asymmetrical relations of vertical coordination were exemplified in the development of the complex Spanish breeding (livestock) sector, which began in the mid-50s and early 60s. Its development was the result of a strategic decision to produce meat intensively on basis of imported cereals. This development is the cause of some of the major changes in the Spanish food system: changes in breeders (ranchers), the production location, volume of production, cost of production, changes in breeds, introduction of food science etc.; changes in diet – supply of cheap meat – first, poultry, then pork, and later beef – and promoted its consumption in the context of growing incomes; changes in relations within the food system – vertical integration and more flexible vertical<sup>94</sup> coordination – industry became the leader of the breeding chain and in technology transfer in the sector; changes in the meat industry, with very steep growth of private slaughterhouses against the traditional model of municipal slaughterhouses

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<sup>93</sup> For more on the developing of specific agricultural subsectors and their link to the industrial sector (see, Camilleri, 1976; Garcia, 1988; Martín, 1992; Saralegui, 1982)

<sup>94</sup> Verticality was first occurred between feed and breeding companies, and later and especially, in the poultry and processing industry (Germán, 2010).

conceived as public service; changes in cereals policy<sup>95</sup>; changes in oil policies – the beginning of sunflower cultivation (girasol) and start of oil production, especially the importation of soy for feeds and the development of a soy oil industry which shaped the remaining oil policies of Spain<sup>96</sup>. These relations were also supported by the role (leadership) of family farms (cooperatives) in the agricultural sector (Serrano, 1994).

The food industry has been a very heterogeneous/dual subsector, with a small and medium size manufacturing and restructuring process. In this period (1950-1985) there was minor industrial census, employment and the largest firms gained grounds, causing a growing of different branches per levels of concentration (the most concentrated were fats and oils, sugar and beer) (Germán, 2009). There were processes compatible with the diversification and growth of food production. The more importance ones by branches were the milling-bread-bakery industry chain and the meat chain. However, the former was losing grounds while the latter was gaining predominance (Germán, 2009). These profound transformations were also experienced in the dairy sector in the 60s and 70s, which coincided with a sharp rise in the consumption of liquid milk. For example, there was increased increase in production, development and diversification of the dairy industry; setting up of large dairy regions (locations) diversification of the range of end products, in Frisian cattle rearing (Azcárate & Langreo, 1995; Langreo & Rama, 1989).

It is important to note that growing internationalization in Spain during the 60s and 70s was supported by foreign investors (multinationals), especially from the USA and led to the integration of feed manufacturing in animal husbandry, and new produce – dairy products. The inadequacy of the business tax (*Impuesto sobre Actividades Económicas* – IAE) on new goods facilitated this internationalization. Zuñiga & Soria (1980) highlight that foreign capital investment occurred in the segment of large businesses with preferential orientation towards the internal market. Thus, Spain maintained a positive balance of trade in the food industry in a context of negative food (and agriculture) balance in the world, during this period (Germán, 2009).

Modern food distribution was thus, introduced in Spain in the mid-seventies, and by 1985 the market shares of supermarkets and hypermarkets reached 25% and 14% respectively; as the prominence of traditional food trade (businesses) was rapidly dropping (36%) during these years (Nielsen, 2007; quoted in Germán, 2009:17).

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<sup>95</sup> It led to the end of the preference for wheat, support for the cultivation of barley and maize on irrigated land, irrigation policies to increase the amount of cereals and animal feed, and there was the start of the importation of maize and soya... (Germán, 2010).

<sup>96</sup> For details on these developments (see, Langreo, 1990; Langreo, 2007; Pascual, 1993; Zuñiga & Langreo, 1992)

Spain's entry into the European Economic Society (EEC) in March 1986 marked significant changes in the Spanish food system in terms of both trade and investment. There were changes in price regulations and response system – Spain was developing programs that aimed at improving certain productive systems by increasing the productive capacity units, and was confronted with a restrictive productive policy. Also, Spain benefited from significant investments in structures, both agriculture and industry and wholesale (retail) trade and especially cooperatives. After the USA investments predominated the Spanish food system in the early 1990s, it was French and European multinational businesses that dominated it at the end of the 1990s. There has been direct foreign investment through the acquisition of large Spanish companies to leverage their local business networks. There has been an increasing control of Spanish food industries by foreign multinational businesses (a third of the food industry in 1993, and more than 55% of sales of the top 100 key businesses). Meanwhile there has been little Spanish presence in major European multinational businesses (Germán, 2009). The corporate concentration of Spanish food industry has a weaker relative power within its vertical relations with food distribution. There has been increased external flows of food trade surpassing the overall food (and industry) balance of trade deficit existing since the late 1980s (Rama & Calatrava, 2002). Spain has become a major supplier of fresh products to the EU (prepared fruits and vegetables, oils and alcoholic drinks) and imports processed products with gross value added (GVA). Thus, Spain is opened to the world market and world trade has become fast.

However, changes in *Política Agrícola Común* – PAC (Common Agricultural Policy) since the country's integration into the EEC, have completely impacted the Spanish food system, there has been a strong influence of corporate strategies at each stage in the production chain, especially in distribution. For instance, the Agrifood Inter-Professional Organization Act published in 1994 (based on the French model) responded to the need for the organization of the production chain on a collective level (Mariscal & Langreo, 2000). Also, cooperatives played an important role in the transformation of the Spanish food system; historically, the most important Spanish agricultural marketing cooperatives developed as a response to farmers' difficulties to access supplies of necessary inputs or to jointly trade their products (Moyano, 1984). Different cooperatives developed per subsectors and regions and at different times – development of Spanish cooperatives, especially in the oil and wine sectors occurred in the 50s and 60s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with the support of state mechanisms and vertical unions which addressed the division of labour within the production chains, in a way that the first processing industries were controlled by the producers and the industrial phase by traditional businesses (Germán, 2010). Research and development (R+D) equally played an important role in the transformation of the Spanish food



system. From the first development of the green which represented a huge increase in production, changes in working conditions, and a greater connection of agriculture to other economic sectors (machinery, agrochemicals, energy, trade and services); there has been further important industrial innovations that have allowed the transformation from a basically artisanal to large, complex industrial productions nowadays. Moreover, there has been innovation in transport and logistics and the development of information and communication technologies that have changed the way of work and management in the agricultural sector – instrumental in the development of trade and in the creation of a global food system. Biotechnology research today is opening a new scenario for both agricultural production and industrial transformations (ibid.).

As Germán (2010) writes, the development of information and communication technologies has led to the consolidation of trends such as the growing preponderance of corporate food retailers with centralized purchasing power, who impose their conditions on phases in the production chain, play a very important role in international trade and in determining consumption by placing one or more products in its production line. Large retailers have become the key players in the food system, reinforced by the rise of Distribution Brand (*Marca de Distribución* – MDD) and mid-term agreements with suppliers. There has been a rapid expansion of modern food distribution led by large retailers: supermarkets and hypermarkets, which have been in a growing boom (respectively, they controlled 42% and 18% of the sales in Spain in 2001). The growth of brand distribution – of products of large retailers duplicated in the 1990s. this solid concentration of large retailers is led by French capital: more than half of the hypermarkets in Spain in the mid-80s were French; and by the beginning of the new century, more than half the total of hypermarkets were controlled by two major French companies, *Carrefour* (38%) and *Auchan* (14%). By 2001, four major businesses (*Carrefour*, *Auchan*, *Mercadona* and *Eroski* controlled more than half the total sales of modern food distribution in Spain<sup>97</sup>.

The concentration of corporate food retailers' chains in Spain (e.g. *Mercadona S.A*, *Grupo Carrefour S.A.*, *Grupo Eroski*, *Distribuidora Internacional de Alimentación (Día) S.A.*, *Alcampo S.A. Grupo*, *Lidl sepermervados S.A.U.*, *Hipercom S.A*, *Grupo Auchan* and *Consum S. Coop.*), is the product of increased urbanization, transformations in farming practices and technology – fossil fuel dependence of industrial capitalism, and advancements in Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs). The Spanish 2013 'food consumption survey' conducted by the MAGRAMA<sup>98</sup> notes that retail

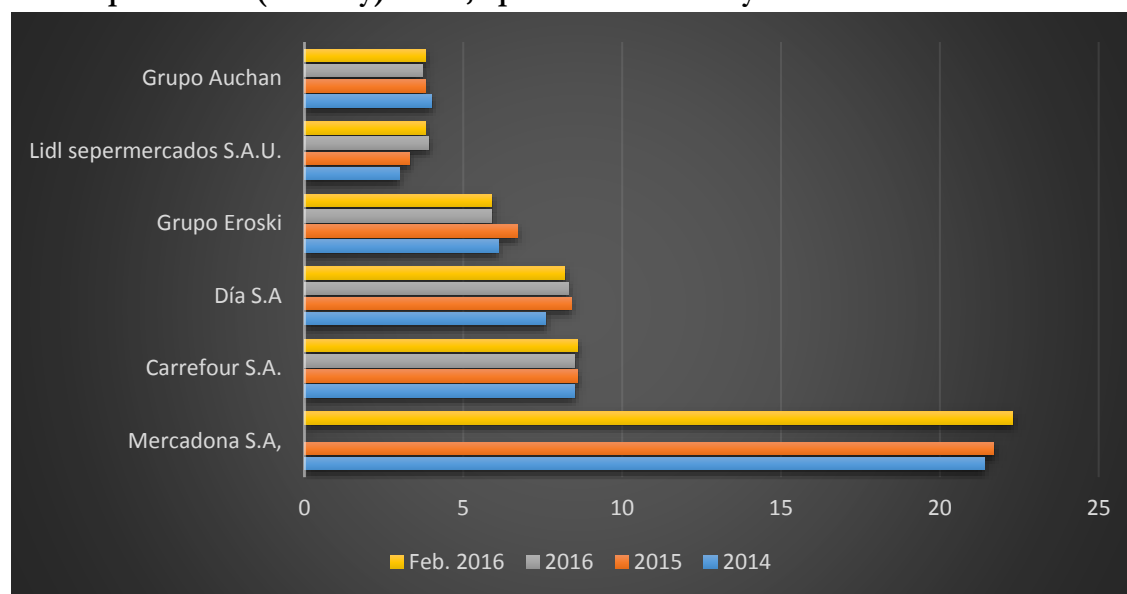
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<sup>97</sup> Whereas it was only 24% in 1991 (Germán, 2010).

<sup>98</sup> Ministerio de Agricultura, Alimentación y Medio Ambiente, that is the Spanish Ministry of Agriculture Food and Environment

chains (supermarkets) alone have 43.20% share of the total grocery market-share value in the country. Six retailers' chain (i.e. *Mercadona S.A*, *Grupo Carrefour S.A.*, *Grupo Eroski*, *Distribuidora Internacional de Alimentación (Día)*, *Lidl sepermercados S.A.U.*, and *Grupo Auchan*) – supermarkets, hypermarkets and wholesales, had 50.6% share of the grocery market in 2014, and about 1.9% more in 2015 (i.e. 52.5% share). Mercadona S.A. is the retailer chain with the largest percentage share of the grocery market – 22.3% (Kantar World Panel, 2016).

**Figure 12: Supermarket (Grocery) share, Spain 2014-February 2016**



Source: Kantar WorldPanel, 2016

The food system in Spain underlines both the material and epistemic relations of capitalism (Ritzer, 1996); its supermarkets are driven by the rational ideologies of efficiency, profiteering, competition and control. This is because the market is free and competitive and favors ‘rational’ businesses to take over failing supermarkets; because the capitalist businesses need to make profits to survive, and one of the ways to do so is to grow. Therefore, they have all decided to grow either by buying competitors and franchises<sup>99</sup> or by expansion through organic growth. *Supermercados Mercadona* has about 1,574 supermarkets all over Spain and is controlling 22% share of the market. Meanwhile *Grupo Lidl* is the supermarket that has gained most customers in 2014 (Kantar World Panel, 2016). Looking at the scramble for market shares by supermarket chains in the country – definitely, for profit maximization – feeding the population is arguably a secondary objective. Supermarket chains among many other players (like multinational agribusinesses, restaurants), give shape to the contemporary landscape of food in Spain.

<sup>99</sup> *Supermercados Días* has bought 450 supermarkets from ‘*El Árbol*’ retail chain in June 2014, and another 146 supermarkets from ‘*Grupo Eroski*’ in November of the same year and is gaining market shares (its market share has increased from 7.4% to 9%).

In summary, the analysis of the Spanish food system emphasizes on the fact that the food industry is not organized to feed the hungry but rather to generate profits for corporate agribusinesses (Angus, 2008:11). It notes that the enormous power exercised by large agribusinesses (food corporations) allows them to basically control the cost of their raw materials purchased directly from farmers, and keep prices at high enough levels to the public to enlarge profits (see, Buttel, Foster, & Magdoff, 2000:11). In addition, transnational agribusiness companies have devised a gigantic restructuring of global agriculture, changing the way food is grown and distributed around the world. They have done so directly, through their own market power, and indirectly through governments (Germán, 2009). These changes have had wonderful effects for the profits of the large agribusinesses (Germán, 2010) but at the same time, made hunger worse and food crisis inevitable (Angus, 2008).

These food policies that have been implemented, especially in this decade, have altered head-on the functioning of the food system and all its production chains; it has not only led to the sourcing of food over way-far distances – more robust and intensive cultivation in selected locals<sup>100</sup>; and the production of foods of generally lower nutritional value and poorer taste; but also to the displacement of a part of the population (particularly, the poor) from institutionalized food supply line (i.e. distributors like supermarkets, hypermarkets, convenient stores, grocery retailers, discounters, etc.) to alternate supply lines (soup kitchens, social kitchens, food banks...), mainly because of its drive for profits. Therefore, there are people in Spain who are no longer able to access food (adequate quantities and quality) from conventional established distributors (supermarkets); who are forced to resort to alternate, often nonconventional or culturally inconvenient ways. This part of the population develops other pathway through which to access food for individual or household 'food security'. For many of them, these pathways become their new realities – a part of their social, economic and political realities. Moreover, these unconventional pathways to access food are in part needed, not only because of the profit maximization ambitions of the global food industry (which is less concerned about feeding the hungry and the poor), but also because of the systematic problems with the welfare system of the societies<sup>101</sup>. Unconventional pathways to access food in western societies (Spain) have become the way for survival for the poor, especially for the migrant population, which is the most hit by the crisis. However, an important question to consider is, for how long will these alternative,

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<sup>100</sup> Usually, with detrimental implications for the environment.

<sup>101</sup> The economic crisis in advanced industrial societies such as Spain have negatively impacted the welfare system which is not able to provide safety nets for the many that have falling below the poverty line.

nonconventional pathways to access food (coping mechanisms)<sup>102</sup> of the households and individuals last. For how long is it going to sustain their food and nutritional needs; especially, if the crisis is prolonged? Essentially, these strategies address the consequences of a problem caused by a profit-driven food industry; and not the underlying issues that caused the problem in the first place (i.e. unemployment, poverty...).

The presence of food banks, charity organizations like *Caritas*, *Fundación Arrels Sant Ignasi*, *Fundación Jerico*, the *Red Cross* in first world nations such as Spain; and the growing number of people resorting to food aid at these institutions tell of the reality of a problem with accessing food (from conventionally established sources). Also, it tells of the failure of both the food system and welfare state to provide food security for a part of the population. The current Spanish food system benefits large retailers, distributors that constitute broad corporate empires, alongside large agro-biotech companies. In this corporate empire, consumers (especially, low-income households and individuals) and producers (small-scale farmers, peasants) have little or no power (resources) for guaranteeing survival and wellbeing. As Patel and McMichael (2009) write, 'the modern food system has become the architect not of a solution to 'food insecurity' but to an edifice that makes poverty and hunger more likely' (Patel & McMichael, 2009; Patel & McMichael, 2014).

#### *The evolution of food consumption in Spain*

The changes that occurred in the Spanish food system have led to an important increase in the population's consumption level and to notable changes in the dietary composition/intake (Cussó & Garrabou, 2007). Nutritional transitions in Spain paralleled demographic, industrialization, salarization, and urbanization transitions, as well as the incorporation of women into the labour market (Germán, 2010). The average caloric intake in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Spain tended to increase, but decreased again after the civil war and in the decade after the postwar. Thus, in the 50s the average caloric intake was higher than 3400kcal/day – values higher than physiological needs and cause of dysfunctions (Langreo & Germán, 2009). These increases were the result of the process of diversification, whose first phase was characterized by a concentrated diet on few foodstuffs (cereals, potatoes, and pulses – dried legumes). These food items, especially cereals represented about 61% of caloric intake in the country – cereals alone accounted for 48% of the caloric intake and 68% of proteins in the Spanish diet (Langreo & Germán, 2009). In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, caloric intake decreased and the consumption of dairy products (meat, eggs, milk etc.) in turn, became increasingly important. In the early 60s, the consumption

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<sup>102</sup> Which are temporal solutions to food insecurity, hunger.

of dairy products represented 33% of protein intake in Spain; and by the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, it represented 64% - a consumption higher than the recommended averages (Collantes, 2016). Garrabóu & Cussó (2009) note that the Spanish Mediterranean diet then maintain high intake of vegetables, fresh and dried fruits, olive oil, fish and legumes, situating it in a very favorable position regarding meeting the recommended standards of healthy diet designed by scientists.

However, during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the consumption of fresh and traditional primary processing products (example, sugar, flour) had gained popularity in the light of the growing importance of primary processing of non-traditional products, and products subject to successive processing (second and third processing) by the food processing industry, facilitated by an increasingly diversified food industry. Thus, prepared foods, service-foods (precooked, frozen...), as well as food consumption outside the home increasingly gained importance (Langréo & Germán, 2009). With this new panorama, the maximum heights of the quantitative consumption of food (measured in kilocalories) were reached in the last two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century during food expenditure were shifted to products of higher quality, higher gross added value, healthier and customized foods – that is the so-called functional foods (products in which vitamins, minerals etc. have been incorporated and that contribute to consumer wellbeing)<sup>103</sup>.

Therefore, current food consumption in the Spanish food system is driven by higher quality of the food products, gross added value to the product, healthier and customized foods/food products; a consumption that is characterized by the intake of fresh and traditional primary processing food, industrial processed food. These changes in food consumption in Spain have been accompanied by significant transformations in the food procurement habits (purchasing power) of the population; that is in turn largely conditioned by the predominant role of large retailers (retail distributors) at the detriment of traditional small-business and/or trade. In addition, such changes are associated with income – consumers' income, which is the catalyst to the consumption of foods that are healthier, fresher, of higher quality in the population – especially when household income is high.

The consumption of healthier, fresher, higher quality and customized food is challenging in the context of an economic crisis wherein there is limited income available to households (because of unemployment), low purchasing power and flexibility with the food budget vis-à-vis other household expenditures such as health and education. In this context, it is likely that households change their food practices to adapt to the new context, and this is one of the objectives this

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<sup>103</sup> For more on functional foods (see, Obe, 2001; Pascal, 1996; Roberfroid, 2000)

research sets out to achieve: to show the changes that have occurred in the food practices of Sub-Saharan African immigrants because of the economic crisis.

### **The precarization of labour approach (migration and precarity)**

In the preceding section, I have explained hunger from within the organization of the global food industry, noting that it is not organized to feed the hungry, but to generate profits for corporate agribusiness. I have also highlighted how these corporate agribusinesses have enormous economic and political power to control food price, keeping them at high enough levels to the public. I have also noted how this has changed the way food is grown and distributed around the world; and accentuated on how these changes make worse global hunger and inevitably the food crisis. Under this sub-topic, I explore how new labor migrations systems have emerged across the globe fuelled by unprecedented movement of capital, transnationalization of the corporate business, and the restructuring of national and regional economies (Schierup *et al.*, 2015a). This concomitant reconfiguration of the global labour market system and the (re)commodification of labor is contingent on informalization and the deregulation of labor markets, as well as a greater fragmentation of the labor process.

Research has shown that though workers everywhere are influenced by this process, migrants and racialized minorities constitute a disproportionate part of workers whose experience in the world of work is marked by precarity: in terms of informal labor, wage squeezes, temporariness, uncertainty, and pernicious risk (Munck *et al.*, 2012; Schierup *et al.*, 2006; Waite, 2009). It is argued that new structures of inequality and socioeconomic insecurity were incited in the disembedded phase of the Great Transformation<sup>104</sup>, dominated by financial capital and led to a new (emerging) global class structure (Standing, 2015). This emerging global class structure constitutes a casual workforce of what has been described as the 'precarariat' (Schierup *et al.* 2015). It is a class of workers

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<sup>104</sup> Guy Standing holds that we are during a Global Transformation, like the Great Transformation depicted by Polanyi: the painful framing of national market systems in two phases (Polanyi, 2001) – the disembedded and the re-embedding phase. Polanyi's embedded phase of the Great Transformation represented the triumph of 'laborism', which dismissed all work that was not labor as inactivity; and the performance of labor became citizenship (this meant labor has an exchange value and is or should be paid; work, which includes unpaid work in the community or the home, has 'use value'). Labor as the channel to citizenship, went with the central feature of the labor process – proletarianization. The embedded phase of the Great Transformation broke down in the 1970s, and neoliberalism triumphed in the 1980s, a global system based on open economies, liberalization of capital and labor markets, and institutions and regulations to promote 'competitiveness'. It is this vision that ushered the disembedded phase of the Global Transformation, when financial capital became predominant, and laissez-faire was systematically planned, dismantling old systems of regulation, social protection, and redistribution, leaving workers chronically insecure and allowing inequalities to grow. Also, with this phase was the beginning of the construction of a global market system, the commodification of every possible sphere of existence, including the firm itself. Labor re-commodification was characterized by a shift back towards remuneration through money wages, a cutting away of enterprise benefits for workers, and a shrinking of state benefits as 'rights' (*ibid.*, 83-85)

(Foti, 2005) described as 'hirable on demand, available on call, exploited at will, and fireable at whim'. Standing (2015) classified the new global class structure as consisting of the following;

- The *plutocracy* – made up of a small elite of foolishly rich global citizens without obligations to any nation state;
- The *salariat* – which is below the *plutocracy* and consist of those with employment security, salaries, and old-style career jobs, and an extending array of non-wage enterprise benefits;
- The *proficians* – which is proportionate to the *salariat* in terms of income and made up of those possessing technical or professional qualifications, moving from job to job and seeking no employment security or enterprise benefits;
- The *proletariat* or the working class – which is below the *proficians* and is made up of those in stable manual labor, mostly working full-time, with access to all forms of labor security;
- The *precariat* – it is below the *salariat* and *proletariat*, and is made up of a growing number of people living and working insecurely;
- The *lumpenprecariat* – which is at the bottom of the global class structure, and is made up of today's growing underclass.

My focus in Standing's classification of the new global class structure is on the *precariat*. According to (Berlant, 2011; Hall-Jones, 2009) the term is an amalgam of 'precarious' and 'proletariat'. Standing (2015) notes that the welfare states, and labour regulations developed by the International Labour Organization (ILO), and the social democrats at the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, were erected for and by the proletariat class. Hence, labour rights were conceptualized by trade unions for the proletariat class. Labour regulations and the central system of social protection (Bismarkian, Beveridge social insurance, combined with contribution-based enterprise benefits and duration-based earnings) were meant to stabilize labor and aimed at stabilized labor (ibid, 87). The idea was to assure work security and security for the worker. In this context, excess labor waited in the informal sector to be absorbed into formal employment.

Therefore, the *precariat* designates a certain historical moment that captures the emergence of a new global norm of contingent employment, social risk, and fragmented life situations – without security, protection, and predictability. Also, it is the predictable outcome of the labour flexibility policies of the OECD nations that began in the 1980s – the restructuring of the labour process (Standings, 2015:87). A condition of working and living for ever broader categories of workers; that rests on three decades of 'accumulation through dispossession' (Harvey, 2005). An 'accumulation by possession' that has swept away labor rights, as well as social rights won by peoples' movements during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries and guaranteed by states through social institutions and frameworks of citizenship. This class of the global class structure, the *precariat*, is

not defined by its employment insecurity<sup>105</sup>, but by the lack of occupational identity or narrative (Standing, 2015:87). It is not the underclass either, because it is wanted by corporations and needed by nation states to shape the labour process in their interest<sup>106</sup>. It is not a new or precarious proletariat, nor is it a precarious product of the proletariat (which is an essential part of global capitalism) wanted as mainstream labour – it is an emerging class in its right, with unique characteristics:

- Unique relations of production: insecure, unstable labor, with exploitation off workplaces as well as on them, outside labor as well as in it;
- Unique relations of distribution: reliance on money wages without secure non-wage or state benefits;
- Unique relations to the state: losing citizenship rights

Therefore, the precariat class or those in the class lack all forms of labor security or 'labor rights'. They have no control over time; have a weak entitlement to state benefits i.e. 'social rights', and their insecure situation is further weakened (made more insecure) by state action to take away rights, if their circumstances deny them access to benefits to which legally they should be entitled (ibid., 87). Socially, and economically, the precariat is anchorless (insecure), they do not belong to any well-established community enabling them access a network of reliable protection or to measure status or progress in life. And because they lack a sense of belonging to a community of practice providing a code of ethics, they are perceived to be opportunistic.

Disadvantaged groups among transnational migrants constitute the core of the global precariat (Standing, 2011). They are exploited both inside and outside the labor market, as those in it mostly perform a great deal of 'work-for-labor', which is unremunerated, unrecorded, but essential. Long hours of dangerous work, that is demanding, demeaning, and dirty, and in permanent fear of dismissal and potential deportation (Kundnani, 2007:62). For this group of workers, their situation, precarization, is reinforced by exclusivist migration policies, with the 'irregularization' of citizenship forged by a fragmented and disposal labor force for industry, agriculture, cleaning and domestic services (Nyers, 2010); and stringent measures and criminalization that throws them into situations of illegality and into the most precarious occupational ghettos of the informal economy (Koser, 1998; Schierup *et al.*, 2015a:3).

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<sup>105</sup> One of the distinctiveness of the precariat class is that those in it do not define their life by attachment to labor, nor its values or interests.

<sup>106</sup> To top up declining real wages while they slowly restructure the labor process under the patronage of 'labor flexibility'.



Various authors argue that the precariat class is in the making, and that it is proportionately largest in rich, advanced industrialized countries – a precarious workforce that is segmented and discriminated against through ascription of race, ethnicity, as well as gender through insertion into specific sections of the local and national labor markets (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Lugones, 2003; Márquez & Delgado, 2011; Standing, 2015; Toksöz & Ünlütürk Ulutaş, 2012).

As Standing (2015) notes, the precariat is very different from the underclass and the informal economy, and it is not homogenous. It may be made up of workers who have fallen out of old-style manual jobs who may be experiencing a sense of relative deprivation and status frustration as they compare their current situation with a previous norm or the past as lived by their fathers. It may also consist of migrants and ethnic minorities who may be experiencing less relative deprivation and status frustration because they can relate to lower standards of living before they and/or their predecessors (early generations of migrants) arrived. Schierup *et al.* (2006) point out that undocumented migrant workers, temporary contract workers, unrecognized asylum seekers, as well as many among the documented and settled migrants and their children, whose fundamental rights and opportunities in no way match the rights of citizenships they may formally have, constitute this new category of workers. Together, they form a composite 'flexible' global labor force, that is crisscrossed by ethnic and gender divisions of labor, a global migrant precariat for whom human rights, in terms of access to an inclusive citizenship, and in terms of employment is not guaranteed (Schierup *et al.*, 2015).

As Standing notes, the frustration of this group of the precariat may be in the fact that they feel deprived of, or denied a sense of the present, a home and a feeling of belonging (ibid, 2015:89). The fact that these precariat group may experience a less relative deprivation and status frustration explains why they may be politically passive, concentrating on survival and treating occupational insecurity as a new norm (ibid.). Another group that may consist the precariat include those individuals with high levels of formal education, those whose status frustration and sense of relative deprivation is a reflection or representation of the gap between what they were promised, and what they must endure. This group feels deprived by not having a sense of the future, and per Standing (2015) they are politically the most dangerous of the precariat class.

Contemporary migration is embedded in the process of segmentation and the precarization of the labour market worldwide. Migration and labour are two sides of the same coin, whose currency interpret the unacceptable conditions of systematic oppression against the working class, promoted by neoliberal globalization and its driving forces (Delgado, 2015). Neoliberal and capitalist world

system<sup>107</sup> has led to the expansion of their operations, and the establishment of monopoly capital as the central player. However, as Delgado (2015) notes, neoliberal globalization is facing a deep multidimensional crisis – a crisis of civilization with a potential catastrophic outcome (ibid: 28). A crisis to which the governments of developed countries, and international agencies promoting neoliberal globalization have failed to address its root causes. They have rather implemented limited strategies that seek to rescue financial and manufacturing corporations facing bankruptcy; implemented labour regulation and fiscal adjustment policies that have rather affected the living and working conditions of most of the population.

One of the measures of neoliberal globalization has been the use of cheap labour – lowering the cost of labour and taking advantage of the massive oversupply of labor, which has led to growing levels of unemployment all over the world but especially in developed, industrialized countries. Thus, the ‘freeing’ of labour through structural adjustment and labour-for-capital over the last two decades has more than doubled and led to the disproportionate growth of a ‘global reserve army’ of labour (Delgado, 2015). Foster *et al.* (2011b) note that this global reserve army of labour absorbs between 57 and 63% of the global workforce (ibid: 28-9)<sup>108</sup>. Hence, the reconfiguration of the global working class that has occurred in the last decades is the consequence of the advent of contemporary capitalism, which has in turn led to the creation of a dispersed and vulnerable proletariat attached to the global networks of monopoly capital whose labor protection structures have been dismantled. A background regime of job insecurity characterized by flexibility and precariousness has been created. Therefore, a new labor culture primarily managed through outsourcing strategies that cheapen labor cost, and create a permanent threat of dismissal.

Capitalist development thus consists of the super-exploitation of labor under circumstances where working conditions wear away the social wage and the welfare system excludes the subordinate classes from assessing basic social needs to such a degree that wages no longer ensure subsistence. It is this and other violations of basic labor and human rights that generate a situation of ‘systemic violence and human insecurity’ affecting most the world’s population (Delgado, 2015). Capitalist globalization, has thus led to the expansion of the global reserve army of labor, and with it an augmentation in new forms of poverty and a *precariat* working class with little or no hope or possibility of any, let alone, decent work – which is disabled or precarized through the process of

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<sup>107</sup> Which, mainly spins around the monopolization of production, services, finance, and trade, as well as the exploitation and environmental degradation in the process of natural resource extraction and land grabbing (Delgado, 2015).

<sup>108</sup> The International Labor Organization (ILO) pointed out that the number of workers in conditions of labor insecurity rose to 1,530 million in 2009, with 630 million receiving a salary of less than \$1,25 per day. That these workers were literally in situations of extreme poverty (ILO, 2011).

capital accumulation and economic growth. Thus, the precariat group is simply preoccupied with his daily strife to earn a livelihood; they are focused on survival and treating occupational insecurity as a new norm (Standing, 2015).

In a nutshell, the designation of the precariat is explicated by the articulation of precarious work and a precarious citizenship status (Goldring & Landholt 2011), instituted formally or informally across discriminatory and inherently racializing regimes of border control, welfare systems, labor markets regulation and political representation (Schierup *et al.*, 2015). Though mainly approached from a labour perspective (that is economics), the precarization of labour conditions and lives is also nutritional. This is in the sense that situations such as; informal labour, wage squeeze, temporariness, uncertainty, pernicious risk, exclusion from welfare system benefits and access to basic social needs (because of loss of citizenship rights, illegality, and criminalization), pushes the precariat into the most precarious occupational ghettos of the informal economy, and makes that whatever wages he gets (and God knows how he gets it) does not guarantee subsistence, nor does it guarantee access to food.

And, because food transcends disciplines this conceptual framework alongside the entitlement failure and political economy approaches to food, is considered in this investigation as the explanatory framework for understanding the perceptions and variations in precariousness in the Sub-Sahara African migrant group; to understand the survival mechanisms they employ to mitigate the effects of the precarious living conditions that affect their access to sufficient food.

## MEASURING HUNGER

The techniques and methods in which hunger is measured has intently been criticized since it underestimates the true scope of the problem (Clapp, 2014; Lappé, 2013). Several indicators are used to measure the prevalence of hunger; Millman and DeRose (1998) highlight difficulties in measuring hunger, at national, household and individual levels. They identified two sets of hunger indicators based on the definition of hunger<sup>109</sup>: the first set targets on the question of *whether people are getting enough to eat*. For this first set of hunger indicators, they note that there are significant difficulties both in measuring or estimating the diet and in defining the requirements against which it should be compared (comparison between the diet consumed and that required to sustain good health, and normal activity, growth, and development). The second set of hunger indicators targets the outcomes of hunger - malnutrition (identification of people whose intake is poor enough to have measurable consequences). For this set of indicators, they point out that it is not always clear

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<sup>109</sup> The consumption of a diet inadequate to sustain good health and normal activity, growth, and development (ibid.:20)

that inadequate intake accounts for the outcome that is measured (malnutrition) and argue that the measurements of malnutrition must always be compared with some standard of physical normality, which is most problematic with growth – because ‘normal growth’ encompasses a wide range of alternatives.

At the level of the FAO, hunger<sup>110</sup> measures rest on three main criteria: per capita availability of food, inequality in energy intakes and country age-sex specific energy (Masset, 2011). As Neiken (2003) outlines, the calculations pursue three steps: first, per capita calories estimates based on FAO Food Balance Sheets (FBS) are calculated; second, the distribution of calories in the population, estimated by calculating the coefficient of variation of energy expenditure and assuming a log normal distribution of energy consumption; and third, establishing a calorie cut-off point and counting the number of people who are undernourished. The Food Balance Sheets consist exhaustive examination of national food systems. (Svedberg, 2000) argues that food availability is a rather poor predictor of failure to growth, mortality and economic productivity; the index is not distribution-sensitive, effects of seasonal crises and droughts are not captured in estimates. Other issues with this FAO hunger-estimate approach is that the calorie cut-off point adopted follows estimates of minimum energy requirements calculated by the WHO for different ages and groups and it has been argued that their use results in a large underestimation of undernutrition in the world (Dasgupta, 1993; Svedberg, 2002). In 2002, the FAO organized an international scientific symposium to address the issues raised. Five main methods for measuring the prevalence of hunger were evaluated (FAO/FIVIMS, 2002).

### **FAO Indicator of PoU**

The first method, FAO indicator of the Prevalence of Undernutrition (PoU), is also referred to as population below minimum level of dietary energy consumption. The PoU is based on a comparison of usual food consumption expressed in terms of dietary energy (kcal) with minimum energy requirement norms. The part of the population with food consumption below the minimum energy requirement is considered underfed. That is the percentage of the population whose food intake is insufficient to meet dietary energy requirements continuously (FAO, 2012). Data on undernourishment measures food deprivation based on average food available for human consumption per person, the level of inequality in access to food, and the minimum calories required for an average person. The PoU indicator of the FAO is criticized for not considering many people (populations) who do not have adequate access to food, especially because many, if

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<sup>110</sup> Based on the FAO index of food energy deficiency, regularly published in the FAO *State of Food Insecurity in the World* Series.

not most of the world's poorest people have activity levels that are far from sedentary and often experience acute hunger on a seasonal basis (Lappé *et al.* 2013:251-259).

This implies, focus on calories alone does not inform on the nutritional quality of food or on the implications of low nutritional quality, such as micronutrient deficiencies or stunting. Moreover, while the hunger estimates of the number of hungry people in the world produced by the FAO are important, understanding them and comparing them across countries and over time is problematic (there are discrepancies as noted in the FAO *State of Food Insecurity in the world* series, 1997-2001), an issue clearly evidenced by Hartwig de Haen<sup>111</sup>: '... the two publications cannot be so easily compared. The new estimates not only add recent data, but also correct past data... FAO often has to revise earlier estimates of food availability and the number of undernourished...<sup>112</sup>'. Thus, if hunger indicators of the same organization show varying estimates across specific countries (as it often occurs), there is place for doubts and interrogation of its accuracy and reliability as an indicator. Some authors have even suggested that such observations (discrepancies) may be intentional – a deliberate manipulation or omission by the FAO to justify an action, or serve a policy purpose (Masset 2011), especially, because challenges to fight against hunger is after all economic power, and political will (DeRose *et al.*, 1998; Dre`ze & Sen, 1989). All the same, discrepancies are bound to persist; since there are no standard definitions of hunger, there cannot be standards of measurements (Uvin, 1994). Another insufficiency of this method is that food balance sheets do not consider some foods, which make up an important portion of the total diet in some settings (Millman & DeRose 1998:23). Even the FAO notes that '...production and trade statistics on which the accuracy of food balance sheets depends most are, in many cases, subject to improvement...' (FAO, 1984).

### **Household Surveys**

The second method, based on surveys commonly measures the average food consumption and the energy intakes of each household and compares the fraction of households in the country, whose caloric intake is below the minimum energy requirements. Surveys have the advantage that they inform of food distribution, important for measuring the prevalence of hunger. This is vital because people can go hungry even in nations in which per capita food supplies are far more than requirements. Knowing variations in access to food across households tells of food distribution. Examples of surveys include; the income/budget/expenditure surveys, the food-consumption surveys, and multiple-purpose surveys - e.g. is the Living Standard Measurements Surveys. The

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<sup>111</sup> Assistant Director General of the Economic and Social Department of the FAO

<sup>112</sup> <http://www.fao.org/english/newsroom/news/2002/9703-en.htWHOml>

*income/budget/expenditure surveys* are based on the household's economic situation, and reports amounts spent on food or the value of the food consumed. The World Bank measures poverty (which is the main cause of hunger) based on minimum income levels or consumption that satisfies basic necessities (based on information obtained from household Income/expenditure surveys), presented in daily purchasing power in dollars, at global level.

*Food-consumption surveys* inform on food distribution and estimate food supply at household and national level. Generally, the hunger indices are based on the amounts and nutrient composition of foods than on their economic value. Still, they help define the income levels necessary for households to enjoy different levels of access to food; because they provide indirect estimates of the distributions of household income and the proportions of households falling below food adequacy (Millman & DeRose, 1998:28). Food-consumption survey data is usually collected via a recall-survey, that is consumption records maintained (or registered) by the respondents, or via food weighing at meals (minus plate weight) over a period of one to seven days for each household. The technique is good for small-scale studies; seems unrealistic for large samples and that are broadly scattered geographically and is generally time-consuming (*ibid.*).

*Multiple-purpose surveys*, e.g. the Living Standards Measurements Study Survey (LSMS) used by the World Bank explores the linkages among the various assets and characteristics of the household on the one hand, and the actions of government on the other to understand the forces affecting each sector, set of behaviours or outcomes. The United Nation Development Program (UNDP) also provides estimates of numbers of people living in households that cannot afford to feed their members, based on reports of members in absolute poverty; defined as inability to meet their needs for food and other basic necessities. The UNDP estimates food poverty prevalence based on poverty reports. However, the UNDP's country-specific figures of numbers of peoples in households that cannot afford to feed its members are not comparable across countries because the operational definitions of absolute poverty are country specific (DeRose *et al.* 1998:28).

One major limitation of surveys in general, is that it often fails to capture food consumed outside the household, or food picked in the fields, or that produced by the household, received as a gift, or that lost within the household.

### **Individual level Dietary Intake Surveys**

This third method, based on individual dietary intake surveys may have several overall objectives: to judge the adequacy of the diet to meet energy and nutrient requirements, to monitor for clinical purposes the responses of a patient to manipulations of the diet, or to establish the presence of a link between a putative dietary risk factor and a given health outcome. The surveys may provide the following types of information: the ranking of individuals based on their food and/or nutrient intakes within a group, the average of the group, or the estimate of individual intakes. Generally, individual dietary surveys are undertaken to establish the existence, strength, direction and level of associations between dietary exposure and health outcome in the individual. One of the shortcomings of these surveys is the possible overestimation of the prevalence of inadequate intake due to a larger lower tail of the distribution (see, Beaton, Burema, & Ritenbaugh, 1997; Tarasuk & Beaton, 1992). Also, the activity levels upon which to evaluate dietary energy requirements for each person and household with accuracy are not known. Moreover, implementation of the survey requires a substantial amount of human and financial resources.

### **Anthropometric measures**

Anthropometric methods present hunger as a syndrome that results from the interaction between poor diet and disease (WHO, 1995). They are commonly used to measure nutritional status, especially in young children. Most general anthropometric indicators are low weight-for-age (underweight), low height-for-age (stunting<sup>113</sup>) and low weight-for-height (wasting<sup>114</sup>) in children under-five. Methods used for anthropometric indicators entails measuring of weight and height of children and comparing it with distributions of the same measurement in a presumably healthy and well-nourished reference population. Children whose weight fall below the range of normal variation for children of the same age observed in a reference population are identified as underweight (which may reflect excessive thinness, small stature, or both). Anthropometric data are collected every year and are published by the UNICEF in its 'the State of the World's Children's Report' series.

The data allows the estimation of the scale of hunger at the world level and within countries, but anthropometry measures alone is not sufficient to diagnose nutritional problems in individuals because depending on where the normal variations are set (whether low or high) some cases of

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<sup>113</sup> When the height of a child falls below the range of normal variation for children of the same age, it is interpreted as stunting; which signals early malnutrition, or a routinely limited diet over an extended period, which has resulted to growth impairment, even though current nutrition may be adequate (ibid.)

<sup>114</sup> When a child's weight falls below the range of normal variation for children of the same height it is interpreted as wasting; commonly understood as an indicator of acute malnutrition – a current or recent crisis involving extreme weight loss (DeRose *et al.* 1998:37)

much actual malnutrition may not be registered (a proportion of individuals may fall below despite adequate nutrition and good health, another proportion may also fall above the cut-offs despite the fact that they are malnourished – this may be because they are naturally larger). Growth standards commonly used are US based. Something that has severely been criticized, because typical growth patterns vary across populations. Reason why some countries have chosen to develop and use their own local growth standards instead of those recommended by the WHO and widely accepted – the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS) (Millman & DeRose, 1998).

Consequently, the question as to ‘which deviations ought to be viewed as problematic and avoidable?’ indicate the implication for this is not trivial (Millman *et al.*, 1991); because different anthropometric standards can yield different estimates of the prevalence of malnutrition in the same population. Additionally, the choice of standard can also affect the analyst’s understanding of which groups within a population are worse off (DeRose *et al.* 1998:45). Other measures across the range of ages such as the Mid-Upper Arm Circumference (MUAC), skinfolds, or the body mass index (BMI) also provide hunger-estimates. The same criticisms for other anthropometric methods apply for these; De Onis, Frongillo & Blössner (2001) note that there is lack of comparability between the many surveys of children conducted since the 1970s, making it difficult to monitor trends in child malnutrition; many nutritional surveys conducted during the 1980s and 90s used several anthropometric indicators, reporting systems, cut-off points, and reference values that make comparison between the studies difficult (*ibid.*: 1).

### **Multidimensional hunger indices**

These are methods based on qualitative and subjective surveys wherein food insecurity and hunger are understood not as a uniquely biological problem, but also as a social problem. Surveys such as the Poverty and Hunger Index provide a multidimensional measure of poverty and hunger based on the combination of the first five indicators of the former Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)<sup>115</sup>. Despite its multidimensional nature, and sensitivity to the distribution of income, the index is not sensitive to hunger. Another qualitative evaluation survey of hunger is the Global Hunger Index, which clearly approaches hunger as a multidimensional phenomenon. It is based on three indicators: the share of population with insufficient access to food (provided by the FAO), the proportion of the population of children under-five that is underweight (provided by the WHO), and the mortality rates of children under-five (provided by UNICEF). It uses the

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<sup>115</sup> These are: the proportion of population living on less than a dollar a day; poverty gap; share of the poorest quintiles; prevalence of children underweight (as reported by the WHO); and proportion of undernourished population (as calculated by the FAO) (Masset, 2011)



percentage value of these three ranges (sum up and then divided by three) to rank countries in three categories based on arbitrarily selected cut-off point values of the index – serious problem, alarming, and extremely alarming (Masset, 2011). The merit of the index is that it combines three different aspects of hunger, however, it is insensitive to seasonal or other short –term food and health shocks.

### **Summary on methods / techniques for hunger-measures/estimates:**

As Millman & DeRose (1998) highlight, conclusions about hunger are commonly affected by measurement issues (or techniques); assessment of food poverty may be inaccurate because household composition or the changing nature and household frontiers are not considered. The extent of food insecurity or its causes (across countries) may as well be inaccurate or reach different conclusions if the definitions and the types of data employed within countries are not considered. Also, estimates of food shortage may be flawed because food production and food waste are underestimated.

Hunger-estimate techniques such as the use of surveys provide alternate sources for estimating food availability at national levels and food distribution at household levels. For example, data from household food-consumption surveys allows for the estimation of the number of households or of people in the households, who are food poor (hungry). Also, it provides the possibility for contrasting the characteristics of households falling above or below certain cut-off points (thresholds); or for comparing access to food across different types of households (DeRose *et al.* 1998:27). Hence, household surveys regarding food consumption are important for examining the linkages between household's food poverty status, and other characteristics, such as health and education (*ibid*: 27).

Ultimately, it is important to highlight here that none of the methods used to assess the incidence of hunger is completely free from inherent errors or shortcomings, and none of these methods can provide a fully accurate measure on their own (Beaton *et al.*, 1997; Kaaks & Riboli, 1997). This is obvious because every one of these methods measures a different aspect of food security – availability, utilization, access or vulnerability. A combination of the different methods would provide measures that are more accurate. However, for this investigation and for reasons of time, space and limited resources, household surveys methods that allowed for the collection of valuable information on household food consumption was used. The survey data was mainly gathered using a seven days' diet recall sheet. The data from the survey was used to compare Sub-Sahara Africans nutritional status to the Recommended Dietary Allowances (RDAs) for Spain to highlight adequate intake despite of income constraints.

### CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

In the following chapter, I present an in-depth overview of the research design and methods used in carrying out this research. This design was informed by ethnographic research and is built on qualitative methods. This thesis examines the relationship between migrations, the economic crisis, and food, which are explored through a case study of Sub-Sahara African migrant groups in Tarragona and Lleida cities of Spain. The main goal is to contribute to a better understanding of the role migratory experiences (i.e. trajectories), previous and/or similar lived precarious conditions play in the foodways and in shaping the coping mechanisms of Sub-Sahara African migrant groups in the context of economic crisis in Spain. The food practices of SSA migrant groups was analyzed at the micro-level, however, it was set in a broader context by a socioeconomic and political analysis of the food question in the community. This is in the sense that issues of availability, access to food, distribution (particularly of ethnic food) within the broader community were pertinent. At the household level the objective was to engage in a detailed analysis of the food practices (food-related activities: shopping, preparation, consumption, meal structures) of the SSA migrant groups prior migration (i.e. in country of origin), during the migratory process (for those who came by route), and after migration. It also aimed at noting how food-related activities were done before the onset of the economic crisis and how that has changed or not. This second goal with the analysis at household level gave way to capturing the incidence of food insecurity and hunger, as well as SSA migrant group's perception of their health vis-à-vis their food practices.

Households constitute the unit of analysis because the type of hunger discussed in this research is that experienced in first world nations – food poverty; a condition separate from malnutrition and that lies within the broader, sequential phenomena of food insecurity (Andrews *et al.*, 1998; Bickel *et al.* 1998). Hunger is a potential consequence of food insecurity, which because of prolonged, involuntary lack of food, results in discomfort, illness, weakness, or pain that goes beyond the usual uneasy sensation (Anderson, 1990; Wunderlich & Norwood, 2006). Moreover, food poverty as DeRose *et al.* (1998) highlight is experienced at the level of the household – problems of food insecurity and hunger are by no means more keenly felt than at household level. The 'etic' and the 'emic' techniques were used to examine the issue under study – that is the outsider (researcher's) point of view and the insiders' point of view (Cheung, van, & Leong, 2011). The emic technique consisted in an objective assessment of the food-related problems of the SSA migrant households through surveys to capture the incidence and magnitude of the issue (food insecurity and hunger). Moreover, because surveys do not capture the 'local', individuated perceptions and experiences of food insecurity and hunger: the factors explaining its occurrence, the mechanisms employed to

manage the situation, a combination of the survey and qualitative method was used for data collection.

There were three parts involved in the execution of this research: the preparatory (preliminary) phase, fieldwork (phase I and II), and the writing phase (phase III). Figure 3.1 summarizes the activities and the issues addressed in the different phases of the research. In reviewing the research design, I will mirror on conducting research in Tarragona and Lleida (specifically in the *Centre històric* – the Historical Center of Lleida) and ponder on my positionality as a Sub-Sahara African migrant (the 'privileged' migrant as I was severally referred to) doing research in a neighbourhood densely populated by Sub-Sahara African migrants – with the 'less fortunate' migrants. In addition, I provide details of the data collection and analysis stages of this research.

### **DOING ETHNOGRAPHY IN TARRAGONA AND LLEIDA**

I always thought fieldwork was going to be an exciting experiment and I was always longing to go to the field and begin engaging with the informants to this study. This excitement and desire to design an appropriate and accurate data collection tool, i.e., interview-guide, led me to conduct preliminary fieldwork from June to August of the 2014/2015 academic year. This preliminary fieldwork consisted of the selection of key informants, a small representative group of Sub-Sahara African migrants in Tarragona city to participate in the study. The preliminary interviews were conducted and audiotaped, with subsequent verbatim transcription and the final review of the interview guide following its application in the field. In all, there were five informants (from Nigeria, Cameroon, Senegal and Gambia) who participated in this preliminary (trial) fieldwork exercise. This trial permitted for the adjustments that were later introduced in the final version of the interview guides (including survey techniques) used in collecting data for this research. Also, testing the interview guides with these selected participants laid the grounds for the recruitment of the eventual informants to the study. This preliminary phase of the research was in a more familiar setting – in Tarragona, and with Sub-Sahara African migrants, I had met a couple of times or had come across in the streets. Like many Africans in Tarragona, these five households live in the Torreforta, Floresta, Bonavista and El Salvador neighborhoods. Thus, the field began as seemingly familiar, but became progressively unfamiliar as I began to travel to and from Lleida, into a world delimited by class and racial difference; a world that is apparently strange to me – a world of many languages and ethnicities, 'Africa' in Lleida as the nationals of the city call it.

In this new 'world' ('Africa'), discrimination can be smelled and noticed without anybody whispering it to your ears. It looks like a forgotten neighborhood in the city of Lleida, houses in

the zone are dilapidated / most of them beyond maintenance and inappropriate for habitation. It is a world of surveillance, in which there are cameras in every strategic position, especially in the common gathering places of the neighbourhood – that is those places where SSA immigrants, as well as other ethnic residents (Moroccans, Gypsies) in the neighbourhood would gather in the evenings or afternoons to chat or just hang out. It took me quite some days to notice these surveillance cameras in the neighbourhood; I began to wonder why these cameras were positioned everywhere in the neighbourhood. In the first few days of my fieldwork in Lleida, I realized there was this air of scepticism about my presence in the neighbourhood.

Unlike doing fieldwork in a small community – such as a village in my community where there is an obvious and a simple leadership structure – the chief of the village, or the quarter-head (leader of the neighborhood) through which the researcher can easily be introduced to community and thereby facilitate the data collection process, doing research in SSA migrant communities in Lleida and Tarragona cities proved a challenging exercise. Though I obtained the authorization to conduct this research through the R&D project under which the grant to write this dissertation was awarded, it did not guarantee access to key informants, the SSA migrants that participated in the study. Many of them were not comfortable with 'document-related issues'. When interviews were based on formal encounters – signing a consent for participation in the study, it scared away many informants (especially those working in the farm, using the documentation (papers) of other migrants. As such, the authorization document was mainly used in addition to the backgrounder of my research project to schedule interviews with state (Social Services of the City Council – *Ajuntament* of Lleida and Tarragona), as well as non-state actors (*Fundació Arrels Sant Ignasi*, *Caritas*, *Fundació Jerico*, *the Red Cross*) in food assistance programs. They signed the consent for participation in the study while a verbal consent was mainly established with most SSA informants.

The procedure was different with the African communities in these two cities, because of the several divides within the community. My fieldwork observations distinguished several major distributions of the African community in Lleida on basis of the kind of activity, meeting place and language of conversation. There are those who usually meet in the beer parlours (bars or African shops selling alcohol) in the evenings or during the day and engage in general discussions while sipping their beer cans or bottles. In this group, it was common to find nationals from Mali, Cameroon, Ivory Coast Congo (DRC) Equatorial Guinea, Burkina Faso, Angola, and Nigeria. The other major group mainly consist of Senegalese and Gambians who will gather in front of one of their sewing workshops or in the open squares and engage in conversations in their local language – *Wolof* (official language of Senegal, also spoken in the Gambia). Generally, 'non-practising

Muslims' whether from Senegal, Mauritania, Mali or Gambia are either not accepted or avoided this group or they are simply treated with contempt. It would appear the criteria for admission into such groups is to be a practising Muslim, one that is not given to alcohol and who fully observes the Ramadan. It is also common to see a gathering of Malians engaged in conversations in their local language – *Bambara*; or to observe a group of Nigerians in the historic center of the city of Lleida discussing in the *pidgin language* (that is a creole language spoken in Nigeria, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Cameroon.)

One of the oldest Sub-Sahara African migrant to settle in Lleida (and particularly in the historic center) - Papa Abuh, was originally from Senegal; he was respected and considered by many SSA migrants as their reference person in issues related to them. Nevertheless, he was not given the least consideration in the Senegalese community (group), because he does not observe the Ramadan, eats pork and consumes alcohol. After Morocco, Senegal registers the second highest African migrant community in Lleida – it was the SSA country with the highest number of migrants in Lleida (see figure 2). Also, they have the highest number of registered associations (sociocultural and development oriented) in Lleida, compared to the other SSA countries – there are about 11 Senegalese associations (see appendices)

Thus, these divisions per country of origin, religion, linguistic affiliation, activities, jobs – those in 'genuine/legal jobs (mainly in the fruit industry – farming) and those in smuggling activities including cybercrime' (*tcha-tcha*<sup>116</sup>) – as well as religion (not only the Christian – Muslim divide but also the 'practicing' and 'non-practicing Muslim' divide), makes difficult entry and acceptance into the broader SSA community. I had to introduce myself first to the umbrella association of the broader *Associació Fraternitat Africana* (African immigrant community) and then to the umbrella associations of the different SSA migrant groups/countries in Lleida (i.e. *Associació de simpatizants i nadius del Camerun*; *Associació de Marfilenys de Lleida i Província*; *Associació Ghanesos de Lleida i provincial*; *Associació d'immigrants malienses Lleida-Bikandi*; *Associació Nigeriana*; *Associació Senegalesos de Lleida i provincial*). The different associations then talked with their members, alerted them of my presence in the city (historic center), and asked that members collaborated with in every way they could. After this long and tiring process, I observed and felt like I was being observed and examined closely by the community I had set out to conduct fieldwork. It was a kind of careful observation

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<sup>116</sup> It is colloquial Word for denoting credit card fraud, particularly skimming – the perpetrators of this crime steal the information of a person's credit card on the internet and use the card to purchase goods – mainly train tickets which they resell in the black market at give-away prices.

of the 'new comer' (i.e. the researcher), and it went on until some degree of acquaintance had been established with SSA migrants there.

Once this friendly link was established with key persons in the community, I realized surveillance is part and parcel of the life in the historic center; there are surveillance cameras capturing the public or common spaces used by migrants to where they will usually gather and just have a talk, or seat to get some fresh air. I found it very interesting and intriguing that I was also observed by the community; that they could tell who was a 'new comer' in the community and that they would not dare to engage in a conversation with me until they were convinced I mean no harm to them. This was the position of many SSA migrants in the community, which was later revealed to me as I gained their trust. Hence, my experience of conducting fieldwork in Lleida felt like being in a mode of continual participant observation; being on a trial or probation period, wherein approbation comes with established acquaintances and trust. At this stage passport to navigate smoothly through the community, passing across borders that had been created by my presence, was granted. In navigating through these various divides of the SSA migrant community, I became very convinced and conscious of the need to conduct such research in this group; also, I understood why many studies or R+D projects in Spain have not focused on SSA migrants<sup>117</sup> – it is a complex group to work with.

When I got to Tarragona for the Master program in Medical Anthropology and International Health in 2012, I got involved in activities often organized by the African community in the city. Activities ranging from football games to cultural and national events; during these activities, I met migrants from different parts of Africa (Nigeria, Ghana, Cameroon, Cote D'Ivoire, Angola, and Equatorial Guinea). Many of the individuals I interacted with, I later interviewed for this research – especially those resident in Tarragona.

As Behar (1995) highlights, 'participant observation begins at home – and not only because we are studying 'ourselves'; part of every 'us' is 'other' too (ibid, 23); my fieldwork experience has been an illumination of my own motivations for embarking on this research – consciousness of the importance of food and my experience of lack as a Sub-Sahara African migrant student in Spain. Thus, I could identify with the experiences of the individuals and households I studied and they fit perfectly into my own experiences with the issue under discussion. Fieldwork was like a process of

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<sup>117</sup> I don't think is basically because they are a less significant group in terms of proportion to other African migrant groups such as Morocco – the population of Sub-Sahara African migrants as highlighted in chapter 1 has been on a stable increase despite the economic crisis; there is a significant proportion of migrants especially from Senegal and Nigeria in Spain.

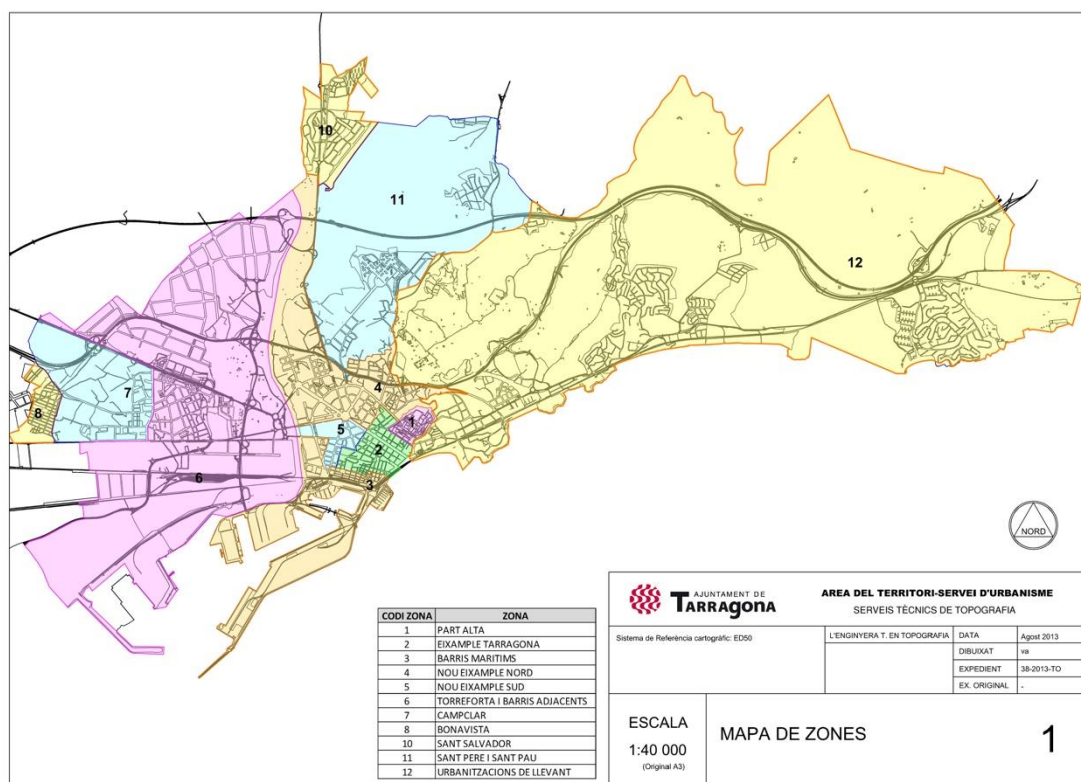
self-realization of the many realities SSA are faced with in the journey towards fulfilling the goals that brought them to their current place of residence. In conducting this research in SSA migrant communities in Tarragona and Lleida, I included rather than remove myself as a subject; and this allowed for a better understanding of the 'other'. Despite my inclusion or better-said identification as a subject too in conducting this research, I could distant myself from this position from time to time, when I had to probe into issues through the eyes of the 'other'.

### **Site selection:**

As I explained in my introductory chapter, the decision to focus on Tarragona (*Bonavista* and *Torreforta* neighbourhoods) and Lleida (*Centre Històric* and adjacent neighbourhoods) was informed by the different characteristics of these cities within the Catalonia region, as well as aspects specific to these neighbourhoods in these cities. Factors such as the residential distribution of the SSA immigrant group in the studied area (there is a weaker presence of SSA migrants in some neighbourhoods or census tracts of the city, and a stronger concentration in specific areas of the city); differences in the nature of the urban fabric of these areas of high residential concentration of the SSA migrant population – especially with regards to the cost of housing – and of course gaps in the socioeconomic status of residents in these areas compared to others in the city, guided the selection of the site of this study.

When I got to Tarragona to begin graduate studies, I settled in the center of the city, and as I began exploring my new city of residence, I noticed there was less SSA migrants in my area of residence; I always saw more Sub-Sahara Africans in one day – when I went shopping at the *Bonavista* Sunday markets – than I would see in a week in my area of residence. Hence, when I had to do fieldwork of this study I thought of no better place to begin than these neighborhoods I had observed a stronger presence of SSA migrants in Tarragona. This decision was later strengthened by the census data of the *Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya* – Idescat (Statistical Institute of Catalonia) on Tarragona. Located on latitude 41° 0,5 North and longitude 1°,14 east of the Mediterranean and to the north-east of the Iberian Peninsula, Tarragona is the capital city of the province of Tarragona in the Catalonia region of Spain.

Figure 13 Map of Tarragona by Areas



Source: Ayuntamiento de Tarragona (the City Council of Tarragona)

According to statistics of the City Council of Tarragona (*Ajuntament de Tarragona*) of the population for the year 2015 population census, Tarragona has a total population of 136,863 people. Although the greater share of the population lives in the *Nou Eixample Nord* district (25,189 people), there is less concentration of the African population in the area (see table 2).

Table 2: Population of Tarragona City by Residential Areas – Geographical Regions, 2015

Area	Africa	Asia	Americas	Europe	Spain	Oceania	Total
Part Alta	183	62	265	362	3155	2	4028
Eixample	311	462	832	798	8077	3	10493
Barris Maritims	594	262	623	772	8235	0	10486
Nou Eixample Nord	400	676	877	1536	21716	4	25189
Nou Eixample Sud	226	600	698	769	12599	0	14883
Torreforta	3062	228	431	613	11351	0	15685
Camp Clar	1852	95	207	303	8965	0	11449
Bonavista	1207	128	244	292	7052	0	8923
Sant Salvador	1253	93	120	492	5077	0	7035
Sant Pere i Sant Pau	518	162	469	1400	13612	0	16155
Urbanitzacions de Llevant	115	81	277	809	11253	3	12537
<b>Total</b>	<b>9721</b>	<b>2849</b>	<b>5043</b>	<b>8146</b>	<b>111092</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>136863</b>

Source: Ayuntamiento de Tarragona<sup>118</sup> (Personal Elaboration)

<sup>118</sup> <http://www.tarragona.cat/la-ciutat/poblacio/estadistiques-de-poblacio-1>



The neighbourhoods with a strong presence of African population in Tarragona are *Torreforta*, *Camp Clar*, *Sant Salvador* and *Bonavista*. For instance, 3062 Africans live in the *Bonavista* neighbourhood. However, it should be noted that the bulk of the population from Africa resident in Tarragona as in other Spanish cities is from Northern Africa, especially from Morocco. Altogether, the African population (9721 people) constitutes the second largest resident population in Tarragona after the Spanish population itself (111,092 people); and in comparison, with the foreign resident population from other geographical areas, it is the largest. Viewed from a different perspective – further division of the population from Africa into Sub-Sahara African (SSA) region and North African region shows a similar distribution of the SSA population to the African population in general, in relation to area of residence. The greater part of SSA migrants are concentrated in the *Torreforta* (703) and *Camp Clar* (325) neighbourhoods. Apart from these areas, there is also a concentration of the SSA population in the *Sant Salvador* (216) and *Bonavista* (206) areas.

**Table 3: Population of Tarragona City by Residential Areas – SSA, Geographical Regions, 2015**

Area	SS Africa	North Africa	Asia	Americas	Europe	Spain	Oceania	Total
Part Alta	19	164	62	265	362	3155	2	4028
Eixample	59	252	462	832	798	8077	3	10493
Barris Maritims	135	459	262	623	772	8235	0	10486
Nou Eixample Nord	108	292	676	877	1536	21716	4	25189
Nou Eixample Sud	57	169	600	698	769	12599	0	14883
Torreforta	703	2359	228	431	613	11351	0	15685
Camp Clar	325	1527	95	207	303	8965	0	11449
Bonavista	206	1001	128	244	292	7052	0	8923
Sant Salvador	216	1037	93	120	492	5077	0	7035
Sant Pere i Sant Pau	65	453	162	469	1400	13612	0	16155
Urbanitzacions de Llevant	35	80	81	277	809	11253	3	12537
<b>Total</b>	1928	7793	2849	5043	8146	111092	12	136863

Source: Ayuntamiento de Tarragona (Personal Elaboration)

Thus, the selection of *Torreforta* as one of the study sites for this research was informed by the high concentration of SSA migrants in the area. The choice of *Bonavista* was a rather logical but convenient issue; it is host of the Sunday ‘farmers’ market’ I often visited and shopped at, and where I had observed many SSA migrants shop – my first contact with other SSA migrants occurred at this market. Therefore, conducting fieldwork in *Bonavista* provided the possibility of observing SSA food related activities (especially, shopping) in the neighborhood – the market.

## Bonavista

As a neighbourhood, *Bonavista* emerged in an impulsive way in an illegal residential area of the then municipality of *La Canonja*, before it was joint to the Tarragona municipality in 1964<sup>119</sup> (Pujadas & Bardaji, 1987). The neighbourhood has about 29 streets, an urban fabric that emerged mainly from self-constructed houses by workers that came from other Spanish regions such as Extremadura and Andalusia<sup>120</sup>. According to Pujadas & Comas (1984), there were about 8,893 people in the neighbourhood when it was still under construction in 1984. Currently, there are 8,923 people living in the neighbourhood with a strong presence of African migrants in comparison to those from other continents. Per the 2015 municipal census data for Tarragona, a total of 1207 residents in the neighbourhood are migrants from the African continent; they constitute the second largest resident population (13,53%) in the neighbourhood, after Spain – 7052 people – i.e. 79,03% of the population of the neighbourhood – and the largest foreign population in the area in comparison to those from other continents (see table 4 & figure 14).

**Table 4: Municipal Census, Tarragona: Resident Population in Bonavista Neighbourhood by Region / Proportion to Total Population**

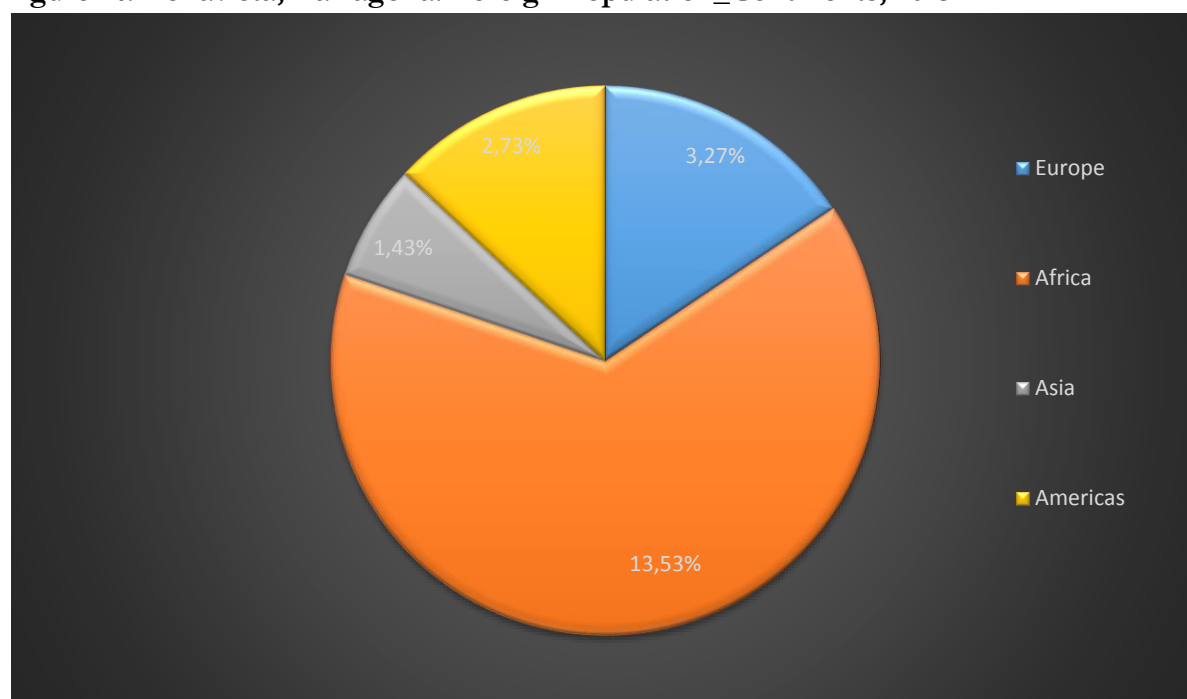
Country/Region	Total	Proportion (%)
<b>Spain</b>	7052	79,03%
<b>Europe</b>	292	3,27%
<b>Africa</b>	1207	13,53%
<b>Asia</b>	128	1,43%
<b>Americas</b>	244	2,73%
<b>Oceania</b>	0	0,00%
<b>Total</b>	8923	100,00%

Source: Ajuntament de Tarragona (Personal Elaboration)

<sup>119</sup> <http://www.bonavistanet.com/> <http://www.diaridetarragona.com/tarragona/29590/bonavista-un-barrio-con-demasiados-problemas-historicos>

<sup>120</sup> <http://www.bonavistanet.com>

**Figure 14: Bonavista, Tarragona: Foreign Population\_Continents, 2015**



Source: Idescat, 2016 (personal elaboration)

### Torreforta

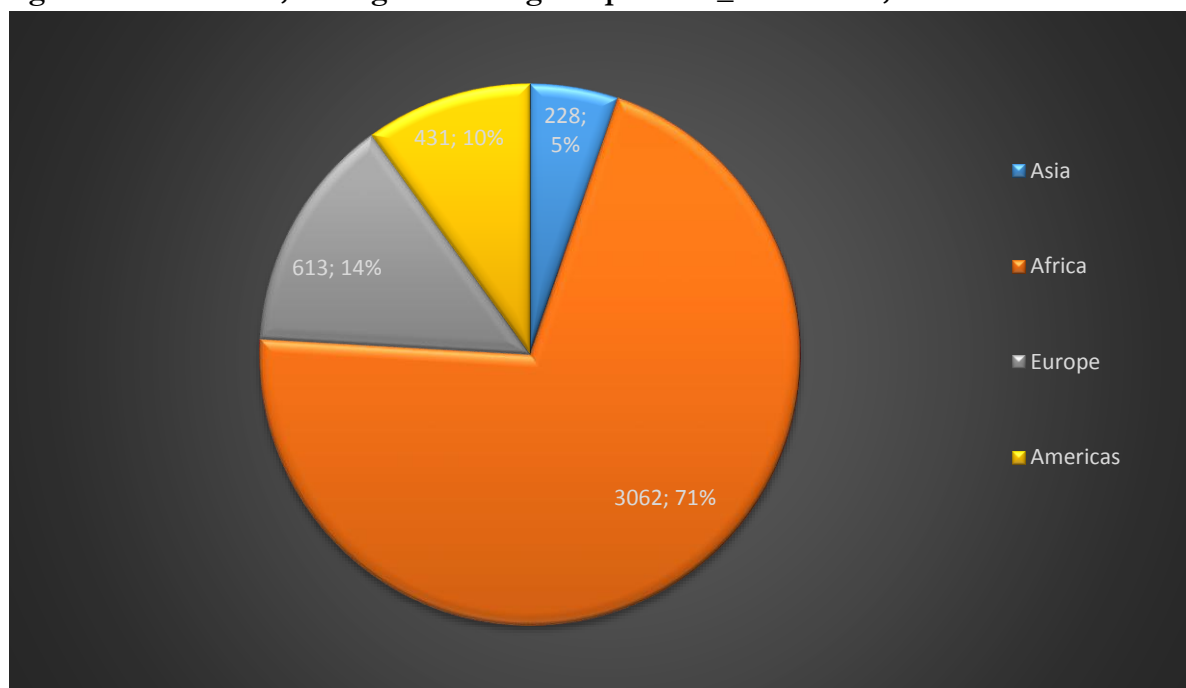
This district of the city consists of inhabitants of *Torreforta* itself and some surrounding neighbourhoods. It is an area (neighbourhood) in which most low-income earners (the lower class) of the city reside (Roquer, 1987). Residents of the area were (and are) people who traditionally worked at the chemical industrial zone nearby (polygon of Tarragona). Per the municipal census of 2015, 16,685 persons are resident in the area. Residents from African origin (that is the African continent) make up the second largest population in the area (19,52%) after the Spanish population (11,351 people – i.e. 72,37% of the population) – and the largest foreign population resident in the area in comparison to migrants from other geographical areas (Europe excluding Spain, Asia, the Americas and Oceania – see table 5 & figure 15)

**Table 5: Municipal Census, Tarragona: Resident Population in *Torreforta* Neighbourhood by Region / Proportion to Total Population**

Country/Region	Total	Proportion (%)
Spain	11351	72,37%
Asia	228	1,45%
Africa	3062	19,52%
Europe	613	3,91%
Americas	431	2,75%
Total	15685	100,00%

Source: Ajuntament de Tarragona (Personal Elaboration)

**Figure 15: *Torreforta*, Tarragona: Foreign Population\_Continents, 2015**



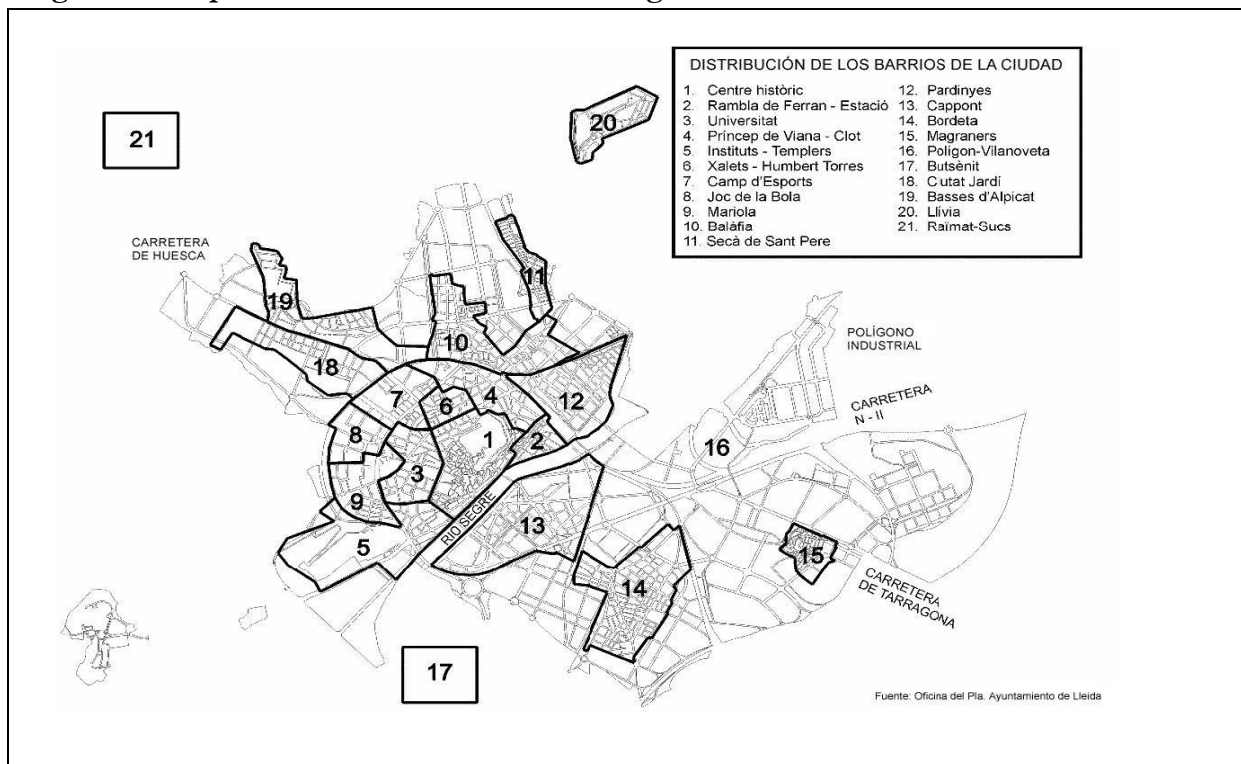
Source: Idescat, 2016 (personal elaboration)

### **Centre Històric, Lleida**

Lleida city is the capital of the province of Lleida in the Catalonia region of Spain; it has 9 districts and 82 census tracts, some of which are rural districts outside the urban center. There has been increased migration to the municipality over the last one and half decades, increasing significantly the population of the city – the percentage of the foreign population in Lleida has multiplied by almost twenty during this period (Aguilar, 2015). This increase in the population of the city has been intense and fast, and like Aguilar (2015) highlights, it has had a strong impact on the social and urban landscape of the city. Migration into the city of Lleida is reported to have been championed, by migrants from the African continent during the nineties, especially migrants from Sub-Sahara Africa countries such as Gambia, Senegal and Nigeria who have an extensive representation in the city today. Likewise, there was a wide representation of migrants from Mediterranean Africa during the nineties in the city – particularly from Morocco. Migrants from Eastern European countries arrived the city after African migrants, mainly at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century; their numbers started increasing with the entry of Romania into the European Union zone. Currently, Romania is the country that counts the largest immigrant population in the city. Meanwhile, the presence of migrants from the American continent is noticed from 2000, but their numbers began to fall from 2009 with the economic crisis, and there have been several returns to countries of origin from that group of the population. Falls in the population of nationals from the

American continent, has also been due to higher rates of naturalization in the group compared to nationals from other continents (Aguilar, 2015).

**Figure 16. Map of Lleida – Distribution of Neighbourhood**



Source: Ayuntamiento de Lleida (La Paeria) – City Council of Lleida

I have provided some highlights about migration to Lleida, the geographical area of origin of those who pioneered migration to the city. Now, it will turn to the area via which migrants were traditionally introduced into the city – that is the *Centre Històric* (the Historical Center); and provide my rationale to focus this study in this area of the city. As highlighted, the historic center of Lleida city has traditionally always served as the point through which immigration is introduced in the city and then is progressively dispersed across the city. Thus, there are two dynamics that characterize the intra-urban settlement or residency of the foreign population (and in this case the SSA migrant population) in the city of Lleida: diffusion and strong concentration in specific areas in the urban center. The location and distribution of the foreign population in Lleida reveals patterns of residential settlements encouraged by the local context itself (Torres, 2009). These are patterns in which, socioeconomic, historic, physical factors, and the geographical origin of the migrant population plays an important role.

What is observed in Lleida in relation to residential settlement or localization of the foreign population (particularly SSA migrant population) is a sort of urban segregation – the grouping of different social strata of the population in specific residential areas (Vilagrassa, 1995). Different

social groups are discriminately situated, distributed across the city and there is an obvious fragmentation of the city into distinct social areas. Factors such as the ethnic, religious, economic peculiarity of the population resident in these areas are often advanced to explain such urban segregations. Thus, it is argued that urban segregation of specific social groups – that is the concentration of a group in specific areas of the city – is useful and necessary for the group members, especially during the early stages of settlement in the city, because it serves as vital support systems provided through the social network of neighbours to the migrant (Musterd, 2011). It is obvious that such concentrations of a group in specific locations (neighbourhoods or census tracts) of the city may be beneficial to the migrant, however, the kind of concentration of the foreign population (SSA migrants) in the historic center of Lleida city does not seem to be strictly the result of a personal choice – which would be a positive or voluntary residential discrimination – rather it seems an obvious dysfunctional or forced residential discrimination.

In comparison to other areas of the city, the SSA migrant group is particularly concentrated in neighbourhoods such as the Historic Center (*Centro Histórico*) and its immediate environs such as the *Rambla Ferran-Estació* (see city map – figure 3.2). The foreign population in these areas has a proportion that is above fifty percent of the total population in the area.

**Table 6: Lleida: Population by District (Geographic Area) – 2016**

District / geographic area immigrant population	Sub-Sahara Africa	North Africa	Americas	Europe	Spain	Total Pop
<b>District 1</b>	931	1395	530	1749	21328	26532
<b>District 2</b>	370	377	334	1127	12950	15324
<b>District 3</b>	912	555	302	640	6581	8625
<b>District 4</b>	760	1580	647	1502	16881	22187
<b>District 5</b>	301	460	429	714	11080	13276
<b>District 6</b>	1144	1802	839	2279	20848	27653
<b>District 7</b>	239	507	227	659	14350	16062
<b>District 8</b>	24	28	42	121	5094	5331
<b>District 9</b>	79	18	40	128	3150	3369

**Source: Idescat (personal elaboration)**

Also, the buildings – housing, and constructions and urban fabric of this part of the city are aged and obsolete; some of the streets are difficult to access. Aguilar and Bellet (2014) highlight that a process of public and private disinvestment over the last decades explains why the middle classes of the city abandoned the area and were substituted by low-income strata of the society. It is in these census sections of the city of Lleida that most SSA migrants are concentrated, in comparison to other areas such as the north and north-eastern part of the city (neighbourhoods such *Ciudad Jardín*, *Joc de la Bola*). In these neighbourhoods, housing types are mainly single-family homes and

they are particularly closed residences, mainly directed to the high-income strata of the society (Aguilar, 2015).

**Table 7: Lleida: Population by Census Sections, Geographic Regions, District 1, 4, and 6 – 2016**

District/ geographic area immigrant population	Census Section	SS Africa	North Africa	Asia	Americas	Europe	Spain	Total pop.
District 1	1	94	138	65	116	226	1694	2333
	3	131	75	41	58	150	1233	1684
	4	27	77	63	36	106	2264	2520
	5	52	159	10	17	65	1873	2169
	6	58	67	3	25	142	1322	1638
	7	78	69	24	42	205	2590	3061
	8	52	179	77	35	188	2306	2820
	9	124	134	60	53	176	947	1517
	10	64	78	83	16	110	1434	1717
	11	43	39	233	17	102	1270	1498
	12	122	262	48	70	264	861	1627
	13	62	114	8	21	129	1770	2104
	14	12	5	1	24	38	1764	1844
	District 4	1	486	423	20	86	320	1292
3		36	47	28	73	137	1662	1983
4		66	146	6	66	135	742	1161
5		42	34	18	44	81	661	880
6		29	56	26	43	84	1172	1410
7		23	53	23	48	76	996	1219
8		127	65	52	54	124	846	1268
10		47	70	0	261	37	1665	1828
11		117	252	2	31	91	1796	2289
13		118	174	36	34	129	1056	1547
14		74	129	9	50	150	1383	1795
15		15	61	12	30	92	1139	1349
16		39	67	24	58	70	1105	1363
17		7	9	0	21	65	1366	1468
District 6	1	222	297	64	115	267	1315	2280
	2	112	249	37	75	178	1261	1908
	3	78	137	79	97	264	1555	2210
	4	123	80	102	109	195	1579	2188
	5	10	19	11	24	28	613	705
	6	85	124	18	39	104	1205	1575
	7	63	208	47	34	226	2071	2663
	9	112	240	68	59	292	1904	2675
	10	69	142	80	80	202	1125	1698
	11	52	64	28	44	155	1104	1447
	12	36	56	56	33	121	1140	1442
	13	32	38	0	37	78	1005	1190
	14	17	19	5	30	55	2399	2525
	16	2	26	0	13	28	842	911
17	87	118	7	39	255	1730	2236	

Source: Idescat (personal elaboration)

As highlighted, there is an overrepresentation of SSA migrants in the *Centro Histórico*, and its adjacent neighbourhoods – there is a high population density of SSA migrants in; district 1: Section 3, district 4: section 4 and district 6: section 1-census tracts of Lleida - *Pardiñas*, *Balafía*, and *Mariola*.



This characteristic – strong concentration of Sub-Sahara Africa migrant groups in the historic center and its immediate environs – informed the decision of the selection of the historic center of Lleida as another study site for this research. It is believed that negligence by administrative authorities, as well as inhabitants of the city, permitted that for years, there be an amalgam of problems in the area (*Centro Histórico*) that is now difficult to solve. These are problems with prostitution and the sales of drugs in the streets of the neighbourhood, and the rising rate of families at risk of social exclusion living in the area. That has encouraged many *Leridanos*<sup>121</sup> to abandon the area to neighborhoods that are more apt and comfortable for family life.

**Picture 2 Views of the precarious state of the urban fabric of *Centre Històric***



Source: fieldwork pictures by author

### **Fieldwork: Mapping the Centre Històric, Lleida – study area**

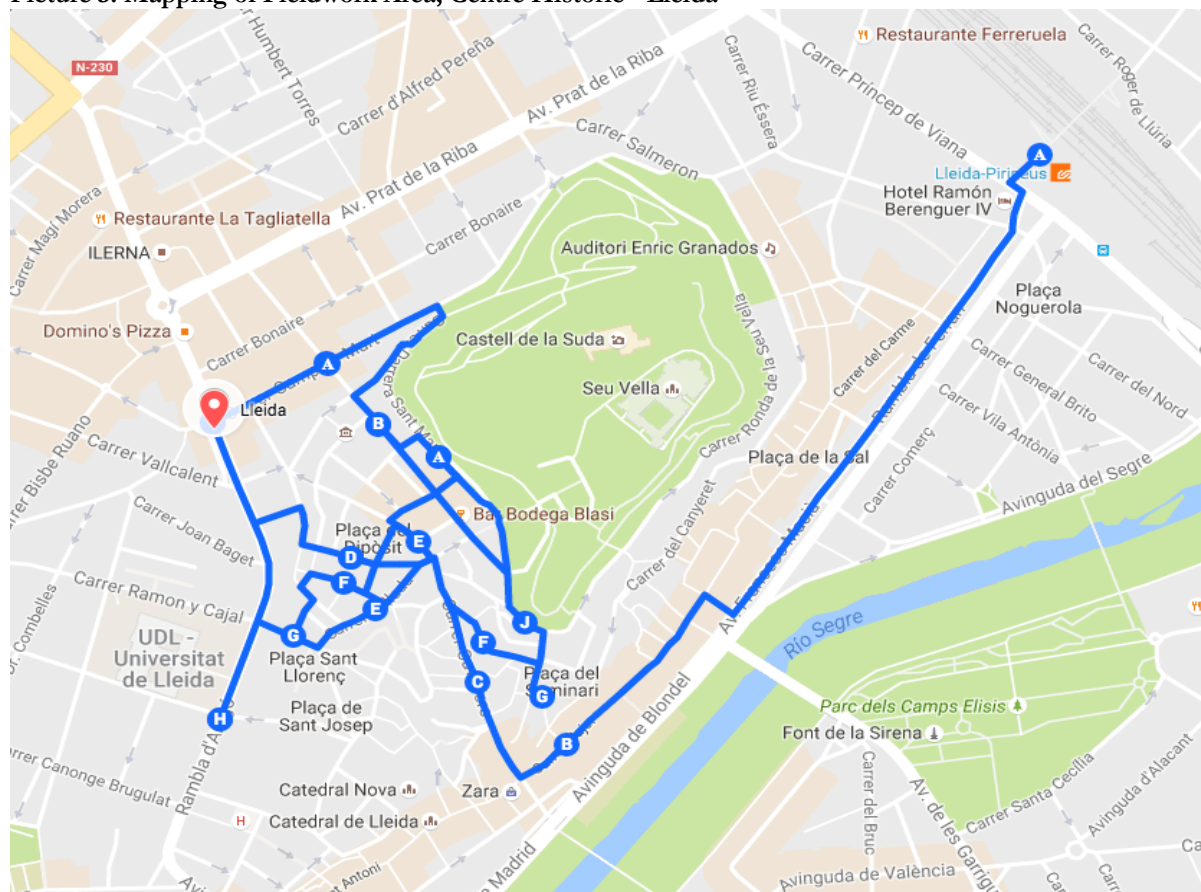
When I got to Lleida for fieldwork I walked from the train station crossing over from *Avinguda de Blondel* to *Avinguda Francesc Macià*, then to *Rambla de Ferran*, *Plaça de Berenguer IV* to *Carrer Mayor* – in these streets are the main shopping center of the city, especially *Carrer Mayor*. The best restaurants, bars, fashion shops, electronic shops, hotels, and the Ayuntamiento (La Paeria) – i.e. the city council are all located in this part of the city also referred to as the historic center. However, as I got to *Carrer Cavellers* that cuts across *Carrer Mayor* (the main shopping area), I began to make the upwards move towards the historic center (the residential part), and once at *Plaça dels Fanstets del Santa Jaume* I noticed a change of landscape – the constructions and buildings and even the environment was clearly different from what I had been observing from the train station through *Carrer Mayor*. I

<sup>121</sup> Natives of Lleida



observed how many of the buildings were standing between destroyed buildings, and the population as I began to observe in the streets was predominantly Sub-Sahara African, Gypsy, or Moroccan.

**Picture 3: Mapping of Fieldwork Area, Centre Històric - Lleida**



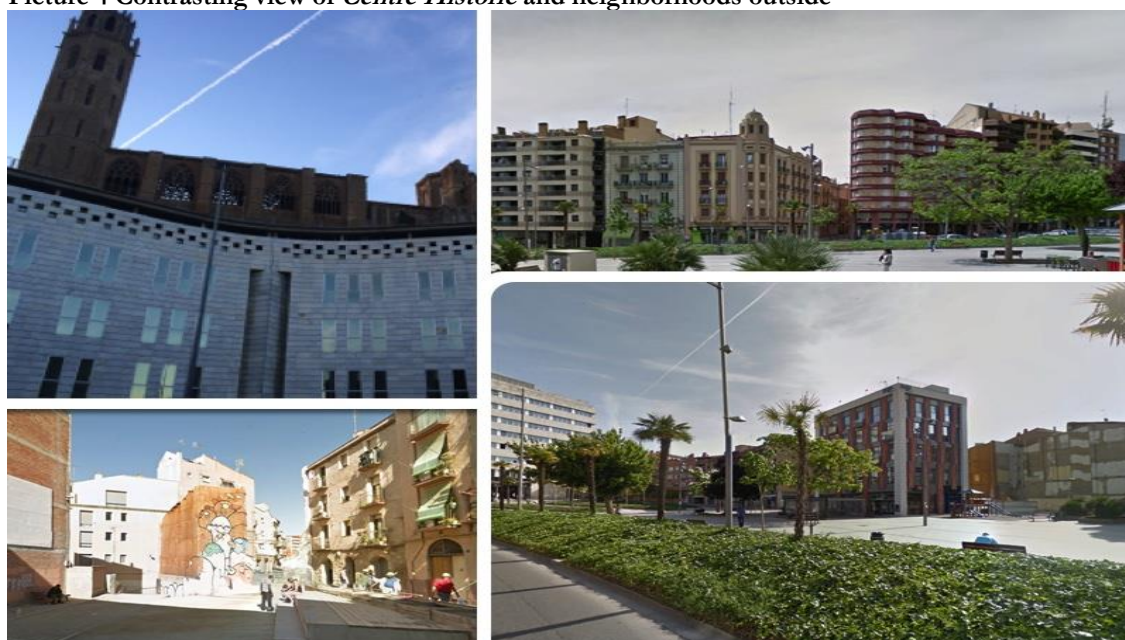
**Source: Google – My Maps (personal elaboration)**

As I walked through the streets; *Carrer de Múrcia* to *Plaça dels Gramàtics* and *Plaça Dipòsit*, I observed groups of Sub-Saharans sitting and chatting at these *plaça* (squares), some stood at the edge of the streets where there was shelter. There was a street that caught my intention in my mapping of the area of study – this was *Carrer Companyia* – translated into English, this would mean the companion street. Here I observed several girls standing at the entrance of the street from *Carrer Carvellers* towards *Plaça de Seminari*. I could tell they were some from Sub-Sahara Africa (mainly Nigeria, Cameroon and Equatorial Guinea) and from Morocco; as I got closer to the street I could hear some of them asked if I wanted company, this was when I realized they were prostitutes and that *Carrer Companyia* was the street of prostitution in Lleida I had been earlier informed of by friends living in the city; what a coincidence the name of the street is *companyia*!

This first mapping of the city took me from the train station through *Carrer Major* then to the *Centro Histórico* through *Carrer Cavellers* to *Plaça dels Gramàtics* then to *Carrer Sant Martí* to *Carrer Darrera Sant Martí*, to *Carrer Sant Andreu*, came out at *Plaça del Seminari* and back to *Carrer de Cavellers* through *Carrer Companyia*.

My second mapping of the area began from *Carrer Sant Martí* towards *Carrer Camp de Mart* to *Avinguda de Balmes* and then into the *Centro Histórico* through *Carrer de Múrcia*. From *Carrer de Múrcia* I exploited the area down to *Carrer Tallada* passing first through *Carrer Boters*, which gives a good view of the contrasting view at the other side of the road from the *Plaça de Cervantes* (or *Plaça de Hacienda*) in comparison to that on this other side – the historic center. The *Plaça Cervantes* serves as a divide between the beautiful side of the city and this other area of the city inhabited by foreigners (and mostly Sub-Sahara Africans). It is reported that the Hacienda building is relatively new and that the area wherein it stands today used to be a public garden with trees that served as shelter and with benches positioned in ways that enabled a group to gather around and spend time there. Many believe the project of renewing the city – and particularly the historic center – was an excuse to see into it that Sub-Sahara Africans do not get to gather at the garden as they used to do. Currently, the benches placed in the reformed plaça in which stands the building of Hacienda (ministry of housing) are single and dispersed in such a way that it is difficult for a group to gather around and spend time there. From *Carrer Boters* I continued down through *Carrer Tallada* to *Carrer de Bisbe* to *Rambla D'Aragó* and back to *Avinguda de Balmes*.

**Picture 4** Contrasting view of *Centre Històric* and neighborhoods outside



Source: Fieldwork, by author

Through whatever way access is made into *Centro Histórico* – whether coming down from *Carrer de Cavallers* through *Carrer Mayor*, or from *Carrer Santi* near *La Seu Vella* (Lleida's greatest Touristic attraction, which is the former Gothic cathedral church of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Lleida, located on the top of the Lleida hill) through *Carrer Sant Andreu* to *Carrer Companyia* and back to *Carrer Cavallers*, or from *Avinguda de Balmes* or *Rambla d'Aragó* through *Carrer Múrcia*, – the *Centro Histórico* of Lleida clearly stands out as a discriminated area of the city, evidenced by the nature and state of its buildings and streets, the types of services available in the area<sup>122</sup> and the opinions of *lleidatans* vis-à-vis the area – in my interviews with nationals or natives of the community (volunteers in some non-state actor organization providing support in terms of food aid and housing to people at risk of social exclusion among which are several Sub-Sahara African migrants), they use the expression '*ir a Àfrica*' – i.e. 'go to Africa' to refer to going to *Centre Històric*. Many of them recognize that they hardly go around or visit the area because it is full of 'problematic people' and bad things. Constructions (both their nature and state) outside the historic center are evidently different from those in the historic center; buildings in the latter speak of the abandonment and neglect of the area by the administration and inhabitants of the city – the buildings are truly dilapidated and in inhabitable states - the historic center looks exactly like a neighbourhood in ruins.

## FIELDWORK PROCEDURES:

I chose 21 low-income, Sub-Sahara Africa migrants (from Cameroon, Nigeria, Mali, Senegal, Equatorial Guinea, Ghana, Democratic Republic of Congo – DRC, Ivory Coast, Gabon and Gambia) from three distinct neighbourhoods in Tarragona – *Bonavista* (5), *Torreforta* (10), *Barris Marítims* (2) and Lleida – *Centre Històric* (15). As highlighted, the choice of these sites was based on the census tract data regarding population density of Sub-Sahara African migrant population in the two cities. To conduct fieldwork and recruitment of the participants in this study, I used population statistics provided by the city council of Tarragona (Ajuntament de Tarragona), accessed at (<http://www.tarragona.cat/la-ciutat/poblacio/estadistiques-de-poblacio-1>); and the municipal census for Lleida for the year 2015, provided by the Institute of Statistics of Catalonia<sup>123</sup>. The African population constitute more than 50% of the population in Torreforta (71% of the foreign population excluding the Spanish population resident in the neighbourhood, is of African origin), and in Bonavista (about 65% of the population resident in this neighborhood in comparison to the foreign population of other geographical area – excluding the Spanish population, are nationals of

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<sup>122</sup> Most of the services related to social exclusion: the social services of the city council, social kitchens, social housing, and private or religious foundations providing aid to those at risk of social exclusion.

<sup>123</sup> <http://www.idescat.cat/poblacioestrangera/?geo=dis%3A25120706&b=11&t=2015>

African countries). My fieldwork and recruitment was not limited to any single census tracts in Tarragona given that SSA migrants with a different profile I was interested in i.e., those in the fishing industry, who were settled in other neighbourhoods (i.e., in the *Barris Marítims* neighbourhood) – near the seaport.

In recruiting households for the study, I matched my sampling criteria to reflect as best as possible the different Sub-Sahara Africa countries registered in the population statistics of the city; to reflect the demographics served by these statistics (income, employment status, country of origin and age) and the state and non-state actors (organizations, foundations). I interviewed for this study representatives from the following state and non-profit entities: Caritas, *Fundació Arrels Sant Ignasi*, *Fundació Jericó*, the Red Cross, *La Panera* Social Kitchen of the City Council of Lleida, and the Department of Social Services of the City Council of Lleida and Tarragona. These were social workers, volunteers, managers, and directors of these entities. I also had several informal discussions with various users of the food assistance services of these entities during observation sessions while I waited to conduct an interview with the social workers or managers. The observational sessions were mainly in *La Panera* Social Kitchen, owned and managed by the City Council of Lleida (el comedor social) *La Botigueta Fundació Arrels Sant Ignasi*<sup>124</sup>, and at *Fundació Jericó* social kitchen. In recruiting informants for this study, I was particularly interested in informants (households) with at least ten years of residence in Spain – that is those individuals and households that were already resident in Spain before the start of the economic crisis (before 2008), such that I can get an appraisal how food procurement and other related activities were done back then and how they are done after the economic crisis. This way I could note the transformations that have occurred in the food practices of the Sub-Sahara African migrant population in the communities I studied.

Some informants (households) participating in this study were recruited at these entities. However, most the informants were recruited through personal contacts – I negotiated my way into SSA migrant communities through a few ‘gatekeepers’ and then got new contacts to introduce me to other possible participants – snowball sampling tactics based on utilizing social networks of individuals (Arber, 1993). My earlier contacts selected acquaintances they knew would like to participate in the study and that matched the profile of informants I was interested in them. Most of the introduction mainly occurred over the phone – earlier contacts called their acquaintances to

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<sup>124</sup> This is a special supermarket run by the *Fundació Arrels Sant Ignasi*, for the socially excluded, homeless, drug addicts, and low-income families. Families provided with access to food from *la botigueta* are mainly those in a follow-up training for an eventual reintegration into the society at large.

ask them if they were interested to participate in the study and when they said yes, it was up to me contact them: I approached several other informants face-to-face even after introduction by my earlier contacts. Most of the informants I approached were willing and enthusiastic about their participation in the study. However, I encountered challenges in recruiting informants and in some fieldwork activities with specific SSA migrant communities that proved difficult to access and understand (because of linguistics barriers, and in some cases because of our different nationalities). I discuss how I dealt with these challenges in this chapter section on the shortcomings and limitations of the research design.

I recruited 21 informants for this study – 5 individuals and 16 households. Individual informants were single SSA migrants who mainly lived alone, or shared flats with other individuals but who did not have children. Households for this research consist of SSA migrant single parent, couple, or partners having a child or children, living in the same apartment or flat and involved other members of the household in the study (mainly information on food consumption).

**Table 8: Total Number and Gender of Individuals Involved in the Study as Part of Households**

<b>Total Number of Informants involved in the study (n=21)</b>	
<b>Total number of people including those in households</b>	54
<b>Women</b>	10
<b>Men</b>	11
<b>Children*</b>	33
<b>Boys</b>	12
<b>Girls</b>	21

\* Children: living at home with parents, age 1-19 years

The 21 recruited informants ranged in age from 28 to 52 years and came from the following Sub Sahara African countries; Cameroon (5 informants), Senegal (3 informants), Nigeria (4 informants), Gabon (1 informant), Equatorial Guinea (1 informant), Ghana (2 informants), the DRC (2 informants), Ivory Coast (1 informant) and Mali (2 informants). Several informants originated from rural and impoverished areas of these African countries – especially those from Senegal, and Mali. Eleven of the informants were men and 10 were women and had been living in Spain for 10 to 25 years. During these years of residence in Spain, three have obtained the naturalized legal status of residence, meaning, currently, they are considered Spanish citizens; five have an unauthorized residence status – meaning they are illegal migrants (i.e. undocumented migrants); four have authorized residence with the status of permanent residents; and nine have an authorized residence with the status of long duration residence. Some of these undocumented SSA migrants were formerly authorized residents but lost their legal residence once they lost their jobs following the economic crisis, and could not renew their residence. Informants with an authorized residence

under the category naturalized obtained this status because of ties through marriage with a Spanish national (2 informants) and because of length of stay in Spain (1 informant). As highlighted, key informants to this research included five individuals and 16 households (represented by the key informant) (see characteristics of participants in appendices –pg. 315). Therefore, both these individuals and households consisted the key informants to this study.

All through this dissertation, I focus on the 'household' rather than the 'family' as a unit of analysis because of the origin of the latter as an ideological construct imposed by western society (Narotzky, 1997). The household is perceived per Narotzky's reminder that 'households are not stable and are more accurately described as bundles of relations that are constantly being negotiated in a wider economic context' (ibid, 1997:139). Thus, the household as employed in this dissertation refer to a place, space occupied by people that might be close kin or not but that is essentially a place of consumption, production, reproduction, through which resources are distributed. Hence, some of these households consist of a couple and their children, others of a couple, a child and some close kin (spouse or partners' younger sibling), and of a single informant sharing apartment with friends. Several households, except for seven had children. There was a wide span in years of residency in Spain; the longest residency was over 25 years, the shortest was 10 years.

Of the 21 informants, 8 had a full or part-time (mainly seasonal) employment (3 men and 5 women – 2 of whom were self-employed), while the remaining 13 were unemployed (8 men and 6 women), supported by a spouse, or legal partner or benefiting from a social protection program. In terms of marital status, 9 informants were married (5 men and 4 women), one was living with a legal partner (a man), 7 were single (5 men and 2 women), 3 were divorced (all women) and one was a widow (1 woman) (see characteristics of participants in appendices –pg. 315)

### **Data Collection**

I have shown in the section on site selection how there are certain concentrations of SSA migrant population in specific census sections and areas (neighbourhoods) in Tarragona and Lleida, and how they are equally scattered in the cities. The implication for this was that I knew it was going to be impossible to obtain a representative sample of households for this group in these cities. Thus, my objective was to obtain a series of cases through purposive sampling (21 households) that reflected different types of Sub Sahara Africa migrant households in Tarragona and Lleida. That is why I recruited households varying in national background – country, size and composition (i.e. with or without children, single parent and two-parent families), years of stay in Spain, socioeconomic status, and legal status.



At the initial stage of the research, I started fieldwork under the R+D project within which this dissertation was registered, to collect data in social kitchens, the Red Cross and Caritas. Through this experience, I could build a rapport with some individuals who later became key informants to this study. These organizations also provided me with referrals in the city, and I exchanged contacts with those who were interested in my study. Later, I followed up with those persons by phone, explaining to them the details of my study and how valuable their contribution would be for my study. The choice of the selected sites of the fieldwork were a recommendation by two lecturers of my department (whom I expressed my gratitude in acknowledgement) and because I had gained a sense of the diversity of the areas and the mixture of people within the cities (particularly in Tarragona) in the four years I had been living in the city.

Prior to my main fieldwork, I conducted five interviews to test my data collection tool (interview guides, and household dietary survey tool). First, I recruited five participants from the following Sub-Saharan Africa countries – Nigeria, Cameroon, Senegal and Gambia, I used this tentative interview guide with them and noted the shortcomings both in the questions and way in which I used it (fluency in the questions, the inconvenient questions etc.). Data collected for this facet of the research was transcribed and a pre-analysis was done; minimal changes were then made on the final interview guide used for data collection during the main fieldwork. This facet of my research was done from June to November 2015.

At the beginning of my main fieldwork, I visited the households I had established contacts with, first to introduce myself and explain the study in person and did not attempt any data collection, solely conducting observation. This first visit gave households a detailed idea of the type of information I was interested in and time to reflect and prepare for our first interview appointment, which was always set after my first visits. In my second visits for the first interview session, I explained the details of the research again and how the interview session would be conducted, then assured my informants of the confidentiality of all the information they would provide. In the pilot interviews, I presented a written consent for participation to the participants to sign and unsurprisingly many of them turned it down, emphasizing there was no need to sign the consent. I said unsurprisingly because migrants in general are reluctant to fill in and sign any official forms or papers (see Hennings et al., 1996). Therefore, in the later facet of my main fieldwork I only sought the verbal consent of my informants for participation.

Data collection during my main fieldwork was done from September 2015 to July 2016, and consisted of: in-depth interviews (life histories) with 21 SSA migrants, five representatives of four non-profit organizations (1 manager, 1 director, 2 social workers and 1 volunteer), and three staff

(2 social workers, 1 nutrition and migration expert) of the Department of Social Services of City Council of Tarragona and Lleida); household dietary surveys (24-hour recalls) at the homes of 21 SSA migrants; two focus group discussions (with SSA women, and one with SSA men); and observation of all food-related activities in SSA migrant homes and communities – food procurement, preparation, distribution, and consumption.

### **In-depth Interviews**

All interviews were conducted at the home of the informants. Casual conversations and tape-recorded interviews characterized fieldwork carried out in the households. It also included observation of food related activities such as cooking, and eating. On several occasions, I was invited to stay for dinner or offered food or a drink by informants. Fieldwork in households also consisted in the administration of the 24-hour recall survey and taking stock of household food availability – household food inventories. This allowed for the assessment of household food security. The interview guide attempted to gather information on the following topics:

- Living conditions back in country of origin (question 1-5),
- Preparation, structure of meals back in country of origin (question 6-9),
- Migration trajectory (question 10-15),
- Early migration experiences in Spain (question 16-20)
- Socioeconomic integration in arrival society – Spain (question 21-23),
- Perception of the economic crisis (question 24-29)
- Current socioeconomic and legal status in Spain (question 30-31),
- Food practices after migration (question 32-36)
- Current household food-related activities (and organization) precisely – shopping (question 37-44)
- Household food-related activities – shopping prior to the economic crisis situation (question 45-48),
- Household food-related activities – food preparation (question 49-54)
- Household food-related activities – food consumption (question 55-58),
- Household food insecurity (question 59-64) and,
- Household food habits and perceptions of health (question 65-66)

Interviews were conducted in the language in which informants were most fluent in, commonly in French, English, Spanish, a mix of Spanish and Catalan, or in pidgin-creole – this is Nigerian pidgin. Each in-depth interview lasted between one hour, thirty minutes and two hours. A first contact was established with each informant before an appointment was made for the interview, sometimes



I invited the informant for a coffee or a drink and spent time talking about other issues, or we sometimes watched a football game together – this was often done with the men. This first contact proved helpful in building on rapport with the informant and provided the bases to ask questions that were intimate and at times highly emotional topics (Yow, 2005). This was important as I was interested in understanding how SSA migrants' food-related activities (procurement, preparation, consumption, distribution) and coping mechanisms to mitigate the effects of the economic crisis on nutrition, were influenced by personal and sometimes highly emotional issues – lived experiences.

I was also interested in how SSA migrants perceived changes in dietary practices going from familiar (country of origin) to unfamiliar settings (arrival society) over time and how these perceptions varied depending on the years of residency in Spain, socioeconomic status, and so on. Thus, interviews (life histories) proved absolute practicality in providing insights of past and present transformations (social, nutritional, legal, and economic) in SSA migrant communities (Hubert, 2004). Through this method, informants could tell the migration, as well as food story of their lives, putting in specific contexts the changes that have occurred in the ways of procuring (shopping) and preparing foods and in managing income in general. I also conducted interviews with people working in the realm of assistance; the interview questions asked to these people focused on their food assistance programs and approach to the food insecurity and hunger question. In addition, I was interested in the profile of persons resorting to the food assistance at these entities – mainly SSA migrants. The state and non-profit representatives and organizations involved in this study included:

- Two social workers from the Department of Social Services of the City Council of Lleida and Tarragona;
- One social worker and manager of *La Botigueta* (supermarket) of *Fundación Arrels Sant Ignasi*;
- One monitor of *La Panera* Social Kitchen of the City Council of Lleida;
- The Director of *Fundación Arrels Sant Ignasi*;
- Two experts for migration and food of the Red Cross (Tarragona and Lleida);
- Two volunteers of *Fundación Arrels Sant Ignasi*;
- The manager of *Fundación Jerico*;
- One social worker of *Caritas* Lleida.

The interviews with these persons mainly addressed issues related to the food assistance programs they offer and to issues regarding the management of hunger and food insecurity. I always asked about the profile of persons that use their services because I was interested in knowing how many

SSA migrants resort to these entities for food assistance. In all the interviews, the informant was always assured the confidentiality of the information and either signed a participation consent or gave a verbal consent. Their anonymity was also assured, and I always asked for permission from the informants to record interviews on my digital audio recorder as well as to take field notes.

In addition to the interview guides, I used informant record sheets to gather information of SSA migrant household and individual resources, and demographic data in general – age, country of origin, gender, civil status, legal status, and years in Spain, level of education, employment status, income, and anthropometric data (weight and height). I later computed the Body Mass Index (BMI) myself and recorded it on the informant record sheet. These variables were used for further analysis of the issue under study to note how they influence or help explain issues of food insecurity and hunger, SSA migrants coping mechanisms and the nutritional status of the migrant communities. The informant record sheet and the interview guide used for this research has been provided in the appendices of the dissertation (see informant record sheet in appendices – pg. 307).

#### **Language of interviews:**

My ability to communicate with ease in English, French, Spanish, and Pidgin English, as well as my ability to understand Catalan allowed for my interactions with different groups of SSA migrants in the community. Thus, interviews were conducted in the language convenient to informants; twelve of the individual interviews conducted with SSA migrants were done in French because many of the migrants were from French-speaking African countries and felt more fluent in French than in Spanish. Five interviews were conducted in English, precisely with migrants originating from Ghana, Nigeria and Anglophone Cameroon. Interviews with migrants from Equatorial Guinea, and some Senegalese participating in the study were conducted in Spanish. These Senegalese did not speak French but mainly spoke *Wolof* and minimal Spanish. In total, three interviews were conducted in Spanish with SSA migrants. In addition to conducting interviews in Spanish, English and French, I did one interview in Nigerian pidgin<sup>125</sup> with an informant from Nigeria who spoke minimal Spanish. One of the focus group discussions was done in French (that with men) since it was done with SSA migrants mostly from French-Speaking Africa; and the other with women was done in Spanish because it was the language all participants understood – however, participants could communicate in the language convenient to them. Thus, some intervened in English, others in French but most spoke in Spanish. Most interviews conducted at government and non-profit organizations (Social Services Department of the City council of Tarragona, and Lleida, *Fundació Arrels Sant Ignasi*, *Fundació Jericó*, *Caritas Lleida*, Tarragona, Cruz Roja

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<sup>125</sup> An English-based pidgin and creole language spoken as a lingua franca across Nigeria.

Lleida, la Panera Social Kitchen Lleida) apart from that with the expert in migration and nutrition issues of Red Cross, Tarragona was done in Spanish. The interview with the Red Cross expert was done in Spanish and Catalan – I asked the questions in Spanish and he responded in Catalan. In total, ten interviews were done with representatives of state and non-profit entities in the realm of food assistance programs.

### **Participant Observation:**

To check the validity of data collected from dietary surveys, and to provide data that were captured in interviews, I conducted participant observation and informal interviews. As DeWalt & Dewalt (2002), note, as a tool of data collection, and analysis, participant observation allows us to correct biases that may be present in interlocutors 'discourses'... (ibid., 61). For its potential to improve the quality of data and to allow for constant review of research questions, I relied on participant observation at different levels during fieldwork. Emphasis in participant observation was in moments of food procurement, preparation, and consumption (Bernard, 2006). Informal interviews touched several topics ranging from the economic and legal situation of the migrant to his/her sociocultural integration in the society and experience with food assistance programs. I used this method during the mapping of the study site; food procurement, preparation visits; visits at non-profit and state entities, social kitchens and food assistance distribution sites (*la Botigueta*, Arrels), during events organized by SSA migrants and with SSA migrants at various moments of fieldwork. During visits to the homes of the SSA migrant following participant observations around food procurement and preparation, I did food inventories of the households participating in the study, which included registering the presence and amount of food items in the homes of the informant. I was also able to observe the cooking facilities in informant's homes, their cooking instruments and storage – their kitchens. These data were used to compliment data from the 24-hour recall surveys.

### **Focus Group Discussions**

I conducted two focus groups with SSA migrants, one with men – mainly from Mali, the DRC, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Gabon and Senegal. The focus group interview was conducted in French and focused on questions that dealt with issues on the integration of the SSA migrant group in Spain – whether they felt they were integrated in the society or not; the socioeconomic situation in the society, mainly before 2008 and then after 2008 noted to be the year the economic crisis started; their perception of the economic situation in the country, whether they perceive the country was in an economic crisis situation or not, and what an economic crisis situation would mean for them. In focus group with the men, I also inquired about what they thought about their status in Spain –

if they thought they would have been better off in their country of origin than in Spain or the other way around. The focus group with the men lasted about one hour and thirty minutes. This group of men were brought together thanks to the efforts of one of my informants to the study; he brought SSA migrant men together in an ethnic grocery shop where I explained to them the details of my research and the nature of the questions I was going to ask them in the focus group. I asked the owner of the grocery shop (which also sells drinks) to offer each participant a drink of his choice; this was to help build a fast rapport with the participants as only a few of them were by then informants I was working with. I also paid the owner of the grocery shop for using her space for the focus group.

**Picture 5: Ethnic grocery shop after focus group with SSA immigrant men**



Photo by author

I conducted another focus group with SSA women, which focused on issues surrounding food procurement – where they mainly shopped for groceries, what type of food items they shopped from specific supermarkets or grocery shops and the motivation for their choice of supermarket or grocery shop. The focus group also focused on the meals most eaten in SSA migrant homes – whether it was typically ethnic meal, more Spanish or a mix of ethnic and Spanish recipes; the effects of the economic crisis on their shopping basket – the changes in shopping (quantity, quality) because of the economic crisis; and if they believed there was an economic crisis. Each woman was asked to describe a typical recipe of her region of origin, and how it was prepared and consumed. I had had the opportunity of observing how many such recipes were prepared during my visits and participant observation of food procurement, preparation and consumption in the homes of SSA migrants – I was often invited to stay for lunch or dinner during such visits. Another question that

was asked during the focus group with women was on their role in the home here in Spain compared to when they were in their country of origin, to note how migration contributes in changing roles in the household, especially in cases where the woman is also a bread winner in the household, and sometimes the main bread winner. The focus group with the women lasted about one hour thirty minutes, and was conducted at the home of one of the informants to the study. Participants in the focus group were from Equatorial Guinea, Cameroon, Senegal, the DRC, and Nigeria), and the interview was conducted in Spanish, though participants could express themselves in their language of convenience. I did the translation into Spanish for the rest of the participants when there were interventions in English and sometimes translated into English for the English-speaking participants for them to understand what other participants said.

Through the focus group method, I could compare information from previous one-on-one interview to note consistencies and discrepancies. I have provided details of the dissertation outline in the table below, in which the different phases involved in the research are highlighted, as well as the methods and techniques (see appendices – pg. 311).

### **Dietary Methods (Food Consumption Surveys: 24-hour Recalls, Household Food Inventories and Anthropometric measures)**

To get information on the food distribution within households and estimate the food supply in SSA migrant households, I used a food-consumption survey. I collected these data via a 24-hour recall survey – a retrospective method of diet assessment, where I interviewed each informant (20 Sub-Sahara Africa immigrants) about their food and beverage consumption during the previous day or the preceding 24-hours. I employed this technique for collecting food consumption data at household levels because it is good for small-scale studies and is less time-consuming (Millman & DeRose, 1998:28). Also, it is good in estimating household nutrient intakes and requires minimal participation. The method allowed for the comparison of the nutrient and energy intakes of SSA migrants with the Recommended Dietary Allowances (RDA) for the Spanish population, highlighted in the nutritional objectives of the country. The objective was to highlight the degree to which SSA migrants' energy and nutrient intakes meet, exceed or fell below the RDAs for Spain based on the estimates of the Spanish Society of Nutrition (*Sociedad Española de Nutrición* – SENC, 2004). I had gained knowledge of food-related behaviours of the research communities through my participant observations of food procurement, preparation and consumption with the SSA migrant community. Also, my familiarity with food-related behaviours of the research community allowed me to collect dietary details from informants. However, the accuracy of the memory of my informants in recalling the preceding 24-hours could not be controlled, and because a single 24-

hour recalls are seldom representative of usual intakes of the research communities, I did four repeats of the 24-hour recalls with each informant (Holmes et al., 2008).

In addition to repeating the 24-hour recalls four times with each informant, I observed for the quantity of food items present or absent in each informant's pantry (Crockett et al., 1992): I recorded all food present in the home (Byrd-Bredbenner et al., 2009) – fresh food; frozen primary products; prepared foods (conserved and precooked) spices and beverages (alcoholic and non-alcoholic). I then classified all these food items, and those listed in the 24-hour recall surveys into six food groups: protein foods, oils, dairy, fruits, vegetables and grains. The classification into food groups also served for an assessment of the diet of my informants.

To get estimates of the nutritional status of my informants in comparison to the RDAs, I computed their Body Mass Index (BMI) from the difference between their heights and weight. Informants were asked to indicate their height and weight, recorded in the informant record sheet (see appendices – pg. 311). I calculated the average BMI of the 20 informants who provided information on food consumption and compared it to the BMI standards for Spain, defined by the Spanish Society for the Study of Obesity (SEEDO – *Sociedad Española para el Estudio de la Obesidad*):

**Table 9: BMI Classification for Spain**

BMI	Classification
<18,5	Insufficient Weight
18,5-24,9	Normal Weight
25-26,9	Overweight grade I
27-29,9	Overweight grade II (pre-obesity)
30-34,9	Type I Obesity
35-39,9	Type II Obesity
40-49,9	Type III Obesity (morbid)
>50	Type IV Obesity (extreme)

(Source: SEEDO, 2016)

The purpose for computing the BMI for SSA immigrants was not to emphasize the risk of overweight or obesity, but rather it is to emphasize the limitations of such measures in defining risk of obesity. The measure is rather based on so many assumptions and emphasizes on a biomedical discourse (dietitians approach to the obesity question).

For this investigation and for reasons of time, space and limited resources, household survey methods that allowed for the collection of valuable information on household food consumption, were used. The survey data were mainly gathered using 24-hours recalls (repeated on four occasions). The data from the surveys were used to examine SSA immigrants' nutritional status vis-

a-vis the RDAs for Spain. Data from the repeated 24-hours recalls, surveyed food pantries, and employment status, income (from the informant record sheets), as well as data (responses) to questions on household food security (questions 59-64) of the in-depth interviews, provided data for the analysis of food insecurity and hunger in SSA migrant households.

## Data Analysis

At the end of fieldwork, I had conducted a total of 31 interviews: 21 interviews with SSA migrants (10 women and 11 men); 10 interviews with representatives of State and non-profit entities (social workers, volunteers, managers, directors, experts of nutrition and migration issues) within the realm of food assistance; two focus group discussions (with SSA migrant men and SSA migrant women); 21 twenty-four-hour recall surveys with SSA migrants; 21 household food inventories. Jointly, the recorded interviews (including focus groups) totaled to over 141 hours. In addition to data from interviews, I also had observational and textual data at the end of fieldwork; over 100 pages of field notes (recorded in Microsoft word), a handful of pamphlets from the different non-profit and state entities where fieldwork was conducted (the Social Service Department of the City Council of Lleida, Tarragona; *Fundación Arrels Sant Ignasi*; *Cariatas Lleida*, Tarragona; The Red Cross; La Panera Social Kitchen). I also had over 300 pages of PDFs – mainly reports and statistics of the different food assistance programs of these entities.

**Table 10: Sources of Data**

Type of data	Description
<b>Audio recordings</b>	21 interviews with SSA migrants (over 120 hours' total)
	10 interviews with representatives of state and non-profit entities (over 18 hours' total)
	2 focus groups (over 3 hours)
<b>Household Dietary surveys</b>	Responses from 21 SSA migrants
<b>Field notes</b>	Over one hundred pages in Microsoft word
<b>Photographs</b>	Over 100 (by author and SSA migrants)
<b>Transcriptions</b>	All focus groups, and interviews (over 141 hours)
<b>Textual materials</b>	PDF reports and statistics, pamphlets from state and non-profit entities (over 500 pages)

My data upon completion of fieldwork thus comprised of textual materials, transcriptions, field notes, photographs, dietary surveys and audio recordings. These data were organized in a specific folder in my laptop hard drive into constituent themes, saved in different subfolders. I saved a copy of this folder and its subfolders in an external hard disk drive and in a folder in my dropbox account. A subfolder for emerging themes from the fieldwork data was also created in my computer hard disk drive and saved as Microsoft word documents. Some of the constituent themes of the research were; migration, integration in arrival society, economic crisis, food insecurity and hunger, poverty – precariousness, food assistance, food practices, and health. I used the computer assisted

qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) program ATLAS.ti. and coded all my data through deductive and inductive methods during and after the data collection facet. Meanwhile examples of emerging themes were, solidarity, discrimination, deviating responsibility, '*buscarse la vida*' – '*chercher sa vie*'.

All my fieldwork data was coded in the ATLAS.ti. program – coding in ATLAS.ti. program is an interpretive process that captures the central theme of a portion of my data. Thus, I highlighted textual materials (of transcribed interviews, field notes) and named them into different codes (themes) then assigned each to similar themes or concepts in my PDs (primary documents<sup>126</sup>) in my hermeneutic unit (HU) – that is my research project space. I used both open coding (i.e. creating and assigning my own themes) and *in vivo* coding (i.e. codes –themes, derived directly from the words of informants) – to develop key themes about the topic. Thus, all data were coded using both deductive and inductive methods (i.e. grounded theory<sup>127</sup>) during and after the data collection facet (fieldwork). Similar codes (both open and *in vivo* codes) sharing consistencies and meaning were further grouped into a single category of codes (families) – thus, themes under the families' category or codes (i.e. the main themes) became subthemes. I generated 'tree nodes'<sup>128</sup> from family codes – that is selected group of codes linking them with 'relations' (i.e. networks). For instance, for the theme 'economic crisis' I included the subthemes employment status, years in Spain, education, income level, social protection benefits, and number of children, among others. Variables such as nationality, years in Spain, age, gender, reasons for migrating, legal status were used in comparative analysis of the SSA migrant group.

**Table 11: Main Codes**

Deductive	<i>In Vivo</i>
<b>Migration</b>	'les papiers' (documents)
<b>Integration</b>	'Privileged' & 'unprivileged' migrant
<b>Economic crisis</b>	Education
<b>Food insecurity</b>	Shifting responsibilities
<b>Hunger</b>	<i>Los mimados</i> (the spoiled)
<b>Poverty</b>	Ethnic segregation
<b>Precariousness</b>	Social vulnerability
<b>Food assistance</b>	'not living but surviving'
<b>Food practices</b>	<i>Temporeros</i> (seasonal workers)
<b>Health</b>	<i>Chercher sa vie (buscarse la vida)</i> to be smart
<b>Household</b>	Single mother
<b>Prices</b>	Ethnic shop

<sup>126</sup> My primary documents were all transcribed materials, textual materials, field notes, photographs and dietary surveys.

<sup>127</sup> An inductive form of qualitative research in which the theory is developed from the data rather than the other way around. The data collection and analysis are consciously combined, and the initial data analysis is used to shape continuing data collection (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

<sup>128</sup> Nodes in ATLAS.ti. are any number of objects – codes, quotations, memos or primary texts.



The dietary survey data, as well as household food inventories data were entered in Microsoft Excel spreadsheets, I created a list of all the food items reported in the surveys and recorded in my household food inventories. The food items were put into food groups; I then calculated the daily energy and nutrient intakes of the group based on this and using anthropometric data (weight, height, and BMI), as well as age. The energy contribution per food group to total energy contribution – i.e. the percentage of Dietary Energy Intake per day was also computed: values obtained from these calculations were compared to the RDAs for Spain.

### **Fieldwork Challenges: doing insider ethnography**

As a SSA migrant, I decided to study SSA migrant communities because I now had a critical academic distancing from blinders created by the familiar. Such distance does not necessarily mean 'being outside', but rather it emerges as a different kind of relationship to the SSA migrant community; a relationship that McClaurin (2001) notes includes distances as well as appreciative commitments, a seemingly paradoxical space of 'outsider-within'. I gathered fragments of the life history of each informant, during my fieldwork engagement with them. Although, I mostly listened to their migration experiences and stories – how they made it to this 'other side', sometimes I would ask for more details. This is because I was very much interested in how they perceive different issues, and how they speak of their experiences. Data I gathered from my fieldwork were enough to blend these personal histories and to approach the food practices of SSA migrant communities in the context of economic crisis and precarious living. While I focus on the lived experiences of the SSA migrant group, and highlight the 'affective aspects' of fieldwork encounters, I nonetheless remain aware of the difficulties in claiming authority to 'represent' the community – the subaltern others (Visweswaran, 1997). As Lidia (2008) highlights, I pay attention to the way informants represent themselves and the resulting dialogue that these narratives establish with my own analysis.

Hence, fieldwork was for me a process of cultural reencounter, in which were continually emergent relationship of moments of recognition and partial or full identifications, rather than separate obligated spaces of research and lived experience. Nevertheless, I do not have the delusion that I am 'giving voice' to anyone through this academic project, I take on full responsibility for the kinds of examination and the account I have produced in this document. As Abarca (2006) has discussed, it is my belief that marginalized subjects, especially those whose dilemma is expressed only privately and orally, do represent themselves constantly – and that the problem is about 'who is listening' to them or documenting their voices?

There is need for new forms of engagement for working with communities whose rights to their autonomy, contradictions, complexity, and practices is usually not recognized in academic writing (Lidia, 2008).

This is because often, the behaviours and beliefs and practices of subaltern communities are misrepresented and misreported and distance is usually established between most researchers and these communities they are studying. This distance, has developed feelings of being *used* by researchers, of being scrutinized not as individuals but as group representatives; as *a priori* representation of social problems. This is the first challenge we face as ethnographers working in these communities; a kind of *a priori* suspicion and discomfort on the part of the community members as well. Irrespective of who is approaching members of the community to participate in a study, there is a priori suspicion and mistrust on the part of the community members. The only difference that may exist here is the degree of mistrust and suspicion, but it is there in the community. In my case I felt it to a lesser extent, maybe because I am '*un frangin*' a brother, a member of the community. While the way in – access in some SSA migrant groups was difficult, particularly Senegalese migrant communities, those that I interviewed highlighted that other researchers ('whites') had conducted similar interviews with them, and expressed feelings of being used. They were concerned and suspected the same thing could happen – especially because it entailed fragments of their life histories. However, they gave me the benefit of the doubt when I presented my project to them and requested that they become informants to the study.

Being a member of the community or an 'insider researcher' (Abarca, 2006, Lidia 2008) myself, allowed me deal with these important 'access issues'; I knew beforehand that I had to build rapport with the SSA migrants in this study. Thus, I began engaging in some sportive activities such as playing football games with some of them (from Cameroon, Senegal and Gambia) which they organized, exchanged contacts – called a couple of times just to check on them; and did hang out a handful of times before our first appointment to talk about my project first, then fix a date for the interview. I also made comments about the project in-between the football games and general conversations in our hangouts. Also, I had SSA migrants with whom I already had a strong rapport introduce me to other migrants (their friends or countrymen) with the kind of profile the study was interested in. This helped a great deal in establishing some degree of trust and openness on the part of the participants. Generally, there was a constant negotiation of positions in the field, as a friend, a 'brother', an ethnographer, a student (the 'privileged migrant') and so on. I think it is necessary that we ethnographers reconsider our ways of engaging and representing subaltern communities

like the SSA migrant community; maybe a more respectful approach could be helpful in making the fieldwork process easier.

As for me, I found advantages and disadvantages to my role as a SSA ethnographer; there were challenges and contradictions that came up during fieldwork. Sometimes I was being referred to as the 'privileged migrant' by other SSA migrants – some of them being participants in the study. This often came in during general discussions in gatherings, or hangouts when topics such as migration were touched. Towards the end of my fieldwork I asked some of the individuals who had called me the 'privileged migrant' what they meant by that, and I found their responses particularly interesting. In fact, their response had nothing to do with me as an individual, but referred to 'my type' – i.e. the SSA Student migrant – those of us who had come to Spain for studies, who had a legal residence. When they applied it on me, I did not quite get what they were referring to but after explanation, I understood it was a categorization of migrants as perceived by migrants. A categorization that is embodied in the daily encounters of this migrant group with the 'white' society in their communities (at the supermarket, work, church, public spaces, and so on), an understanding of how they are perceived by the administration and the media – the 'problematic migrant'. Thus, there is an apparent divide across the SSA migrant community; on the one hand, we have those perceived as 'good migrants' and on the other hand we have the 'problematic migrants'. I was categorized in the first group and told to be a 'privileged migrant' because Spaniards and their society like and protect people like me, the society and its people are friendly to me – 'the good migrant'. On the contrary, the people and the society are unfriendly to them – 'the problematic migrant' because they came in illegally, and for work.

This categorization of migrants by migrants as good, privileged or problematic was constantly present in SSA migrant groups; in one of the evenings during my fieldwork, I was chatting with a SSA migrant I was sharing a drink with at the Historical Center of Lleida. I was narrating to him my encounter with a 79 years old Catalan woman who volunteers in one of the food assistance entities I was conducting interviews at, in the city. I narrated how I met for the first time and connected in a special way with this 79 years old grandma – how she was so friendly and nice to me and how we had exchanged numbers at the end of our chat and how she hugged me to bid me farewell. The SSA migrant's comment at the end of my narration was astonishing; however, it exemplifies the issue raised here. He highlighted the following, '*...you know these 'white people' like people like you who are intellectuals, they like to identify with you, not with people like us living in the Historical Center, in fact when they see us on this path of the street, they cross to the other side...*' I was truly surprised at his comment, and could not understand why he should think that way irrespective of the facts of

his thoughts. However, that is how he felt, many SSA migrants believe their brothers and sisters whom are students are treated differently by 'whites' and the Spanish society as a whole than they are. They hold that, the administration somehow protects migrant students – *les protégés d'Espagne* (i.e. the protected of Spain) as some would say.

What did this imply for me, for my position as a SSA ethnographer doing research in a SSA migrant communities, well it implies I was not always perceived as *uno más* a part of the communities I did my fieldwork – at least some people didn't just see me as one of theirs, rather they looked at me an outsider, a 'privileged migrant' who knows nothing about the things they have been through or the hardships they face – an outsider interested in the information they can provide and not in the informants. My status as a student and now as an ethnographer in SSA migrant communities, investigating issues that are pertinent and personal – their life histories sometimes worked to my disadvantage. And as I have highlighted fieldwork often felt like being in a constant mode of participant observation on both sides – from the ethnographers and the communities' – I was under constant participant observation by the community I was investigating. I think several persons who rejected my request to participate in this study had this perception of me – the outsider. In the early phase of my fieldwork, some SSA migrants (particularly those involved in illegal businesses) thought I was a spy, and did not want to be interviewed. The SSA migrants themselves or friends often revealed these truths over a bottle of beer when I hung-out with them, and we laughed over it.

Independent of my classification as the 'privileged migrant', outsider or spy I always emphasized in interviews with informants that they were the expert and I was the apprentice, who had come to learn from their experiences, and practices. I always made sure I did not talk about education or academic qualifications with him or her and focus on my affinity to them as 'another migrant'. Besides, I have had to face similar struggles and survive with limited budget as a SSA migrant student myself; situations that surely shaped the way I related to the participants in this study. I believe in humility and ground-level engagement and rapport with the communities I study, as it allows for the establishment of trust and strong rapports enabling a smooth fieldwork process. I am still in contact with most of my informants thanks to the friendships that were established during fieldwork. I call them from time to time to be informed about changes in their lives – jobs, residency, and family and so on.

Sometimes, when I needed to focus on ethnographic and critical understanding about my interactions and the informant's experiences (hardships), my position as an 'insider' ethnographer sometimes confronted me, as I experienced emotionally the informant's hardship. I remember I

had to pause one of the interviews with a young SSA migrant women (Gladys), mother of a two-month-old baby. She was evicted from the apartment she was sharing with her unemployed husband and other occupants. She too was unemployed and together with her husband they were not beneficiaries of any state social protection package because they both had an illegal status in the country – they had nowhere to go to and the young lady was also sick – she had early symptoms of paralysis and the doctors had told her she needed to go through surgery as soon as possible. She could not go in for the surgery because she could not pay for it. There were just so many things this informant was narrating, and it got to a point where I could not take in more, so I paused the interview and took a break, my eyes were filled in tears and my voice was trembling, I was unable to ask the next question. I had listened to several narrations of the hardships many of my informants had faced, but Gladys' just got me – it was just so hard not to be sensitive about her story. Thus, while ethnographers continue to debate about how we (ethnographers) handle our emotions in the field, it is important to note that sometimes, the spaces of emotional detachment are challenging in the field, especially for insider (native) ethnographers who often see fragments of themselves (their past, present, family) in the people we are studying.

Another challenge I encountered during my fieldwork was an 'irritating' bureaucracy – phobia to control information on the part of the City Council of Lleida at my request for an interview with the representative in charge of migration and nutrition issues of the entity – the head of the Social Services Department. After I submitted my request and emailed details on the project (the backgrounder) to the department, and called them on several occasions on the issue, they replied after a month of waiting to say they first had to schedule a meeting and study the project before deciding on their participation. Finally, they got in touch with me that they had assigned a person I had to interview for my study (they chose the person for me). Meanwhile, my plan was to interview the person in charge of nutrition and migration related issues at the city council, and the manager of the city council social kitchen (la Panera). After the interview with the representative, I went on to interview the manager of La Panera social kitchen, but to my greatest surprise, the representative from the Social Service Department of the city council (who is also the boss of the manager of la Panera social kitchen) insisted to be present in the interview. She argued that the manager could not participate in the interview alone because there are certain issues she would not know how to explain. Despite my efforts to dissuade her from this 'unethical' idea in my perspective, she insisted to be part of the interview that she was following orders from her superiors. I did the interview in her presence and as I had imagined, she intervened, responding to questions that were not directed to her. This was one of the worse interviews I conducted during

fieldwork, one of those interviews in which you know the informant's responses are shaped by the presence of the other.

I was truly surprised by this attitude and so I decided to dig deeper on the issue – why 'this obsession for control' – control of information? This is explored in the section of this thesis, on State and non-profit perception and management of the food insecurity and hunger question in chapter four. I tried to contact the manager of La Panera social kitchen on several occasions again and tried to schedule a face-to-face interview, but this was not possible because she feared she could be in trouble if we did an interview without authorization by her superiors. The other way around I got information about the social kitchen was through observation during my visits there and through informal discussions with users of the services provided by the entity.

Also, though my abilities to communicate in four different languages allowed for the collection of data across different Sub-Sahara Africa migrant groups in the communities, in the language in which they were more fluent in, there were still challenges communicating with some informants. These were informants who could not speak neither French nor English and spoke very minimal Spanish – some Senegalese. Many interviews personally conducted with such informants ended up being discarded for this project because they were hard to understand and transcribe. However, when I encountered informants in this category, with interesting profile for the study, I requested help for translation during interview sessions from my Senegalese friend, Abibou. He translated the questions from Spanish to *Wolof* and from *Wolof* to Spanish: only the translated questions and responses were tape-recorded in my audio digital recorder. In addition, I filled many of the 24-hour recall surveys myself because many informants found it challenging and did not want to write on the survey sheet; I wrote down their responses while they spoke.

## CHAPTER FOUR: SUB-SAHARA AFRICANS' MIGRATION TO EUROPE: EARLY MIGRATION EXPERIENCES, ADAPTATION, REGULARIZATION AND THE ISSUE OF INTEGRATION

In this chapter, I present the reasons why SSA immigrants decide to leave their country of origin for another country. I describe the migratory trajectory of undocumented SSA immigrants from their country of origin to Spain, highlighting the challenges involved in the onward journey to Europe (Spain) through the Sahara Desert; the adaptation process in destination society. Also, I outline some of the processes SSA immigrants (particularly, undocumented immigrants) go through to regularize their residence status in Spain. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the issue of integration – whether SSA immigrants consider themselves integrated in the Spanish society or not? I describe SSA immigrants' migration experiences – particularly the regularization of their residence status and integration to illustrate how 'legal residence status' can displace and relocate SSA immigrants into precarious living conditions and thus, food insecurity and hunger and its congruent impact for health.

### MIGRATIONS TO EUROPE FROM SUB-SAHARA AFRICA, ROUTES AND MOTIVATIONS

Generally, Sub-Sahara Africans' migration to Europe began to rise in the mid-90s onwards and various scholars attributed this rising trend to poverty, the outbreak of epidemics, wars and conflicts; environmental changes that negatively impacted agricultural production, and caused droughts and famines (Gonzalez, 2001; Marouan, 2011). Thus, the changing political map and the economic situation in many Sub-Sahara African countries have generally, been identified to be the underlying cause for the emigration of its citizens. My examination of the life histories of SSA migrants (from the in-depth interviews) specifically in terms of the factors that influenced migration from country of origin, and the relationship of these forces to food practices in Spain. In answering the question regarding the motivation for emigration from the country of origin, my informants pointed out varying push and pull situations:

*« ... le jour ou vraiment je prends la décision de partir de mon pays, je me rappelle c'était un samedi après-midi au j'étais un peu fatiguer, je venais de rentrer de marche ou je poussais le pousse-pousse... je vivais dans une chambre loué mais je décidé aller rendre visite à ma mère, quand j'arrive la bas, j'ai rencontré une situation triste... en passant par la cuisine, elle était vide et c'était une sorte de choc et là j'ai compris qu'il était préférable que je me aille pour ne plus voir ces genres de situation et de donner un coup de main à ma mère et à ma famille... » (Interview 12/05/2016)<sup>129</sup>.*

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<sup>129</sup> The day I took the decision to leave my country, I remember was a Saturday afternoon I had just come back from the market – from truck pushing, was very tired, and decided to go visit my mother. Back then I was living in a rented room but I decided to visit my mother, when I got there I was met with a sad situation; going through the kitchen, it

Alain, age 39 from Cameroon, married and unemployed living with his spouse has lived the last fourteen years of his life in Europe – France, Germany and now Spain where he has been living in Lleida for the past 10 years. Like most African families, Alain is member of a large family – there are altogether ten siblings and he is the first of the males (a position that traditionally entails the individual shouldering the most of the responsibilities in the family, and especially in Alain's case where he plays the role of the father of the house – the family head in the absence of his dad who died a couple of years before Alain travelled abroad). Thus, for Alain the decision to leave his country to overseas came because of his hardships and his family's, the desire not to live such situations again but rather to improve his living condition first and his family as well eventually pushed him to take on the route to Europe. When he thought about leaving to Europe, he had countries such as France and Germany in mind and never thought he would be coming over to Spain where he has been living for the past ten years. Alain still considers Spain as a transit to some other European country.

A similar story of hardship back in country of origin is narrated by Antoine, a Cameroonian age 44, married and living with his three children and spouse in Tarragona. Unlike Alain, Antoine is employed – he works as a gardener for a company, and had Spain as his preferred destination when he left his country:

*« ... je suis arrivé en Espagne avec une bourse pour professionnelle de la langue Espagne offerte par l'agence Espagnole de coopération internationale. Bon pourquoi est-ce que j'ai décidé immigrer ? Je dirai que c'est à cause de la précarité de mon statut, au Cameroun. Surtout parce que je n'avais pas un avenir sûr que j'ai pensé à immigrer... »* (Interview 11/03/2015)<sup>130</sup>.

Antoine was a Spanish language and Spanish literature college teacher back in Cameroon, during his free time or over the weekends he engaged into other lucrative activities such as bricklaying, worked in the fields (farming), painting; in short, in activities that could help generate him some additional income because his income from teaching was not enough to meet his needs. Though Antoine was a college teacher, in fact had all the qualifications to be a college teacher, he was not a government employed college teacher because he did not obtain his training from the higher teacher's training school (*École Normale Supérieure*), that is why he talked about not being sure of having an assured future in Cameroon. Though government employed teachers do not have an

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was empty, there was nothing to eat and this was a shock for me. It is then I realized it was time for me to leave, I did not want to see or live this kind of situation again, rather I wanted to give a helping hand to my mum and to the family...

<sup>130</sup> I came to Spain through a scholarship for Spanish language teachers awarded by *Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo* – AECID (Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation). Well, why did I decide to migrate? I would say it was because of my precarious status in Cameroon. Especially because I was not sure of what future I would have in the country that I decided to migrate...



extraordinary payroll, they are at least guaranteed a monthly income during their working years and a pension at retirement. So being a government employed college teacher is a sure means of having economic stability; economic stability which Antoine did not have being as he taught in a private college that did not pay him on regular basis and paid him as little as a fifth of the salary of a government employed teacher with the same level of qualification as his. Thus, with this type of remuneration and whatsoever additional income he could accumulate from his other lucrative activities during the week or during holidays, he could not dream of a brighter future; hence, he decided to leave the country and try his luck overseas. Antoine's decision to migrate to Spain when he decides to leave the country in search for a better future has roots in his previous voyage to the country through a scholarship he obtained while still a student of the Spanish language:

*« ...bon. Je dois rappeler que j'avais eu dix ans au paravent, c'est-à-dire en 1995 une bourse pour venir en Espagne en tant qu'étudiant d'espagnole j'ai passé en Espagne le mois de juillet 1995 cela m'a permis de prendre le premier contact avec le sol espagnol, les espagnoles, et leur sociétés... » (Interview, 11/03/2015)<sup>131</sup>.*

In addition to his precarious status, Antoine's frustration with the way his studies turned out after he returned from Spain in 1995 as a Spanish language student, the death of his father and inability to succeed in the various public examinations to get into professional schools through which you are guaranteed entry into the public service (professional schools such as the Higher Teachers' Training School noted above) also explain his motivation to leave Cameroon:

*« ... une fois rentré au Cameroun mes études n'ont plus fonctionné comme j'avais pensé, mon père décède c'est vrai qu'il ne m'aidait pas dans le financement de mes études, mais pour moi ça été un déclic moral et particulièrement le fait de ne pas pouvoir réussir au concours qui sont souvent liés à la corruption sont des facteurs liés à mon départ du Cameroun. Alors j'ai pensé me chercher un avenir meilleur hors du Cameroun. Dans un minimum de cinq ans avant mon arriver ici (1998 ou 1999) j'ai pensé d'immigré... » (Interview 11/03/2015)<sup>132</sup>.*

After spending a month in Spain in 1995 as a Spanish language student through the AECID scholarship, in 2004 Antoine was awarded another scholarship for a two months training of Spanish language teachers in Spain. In this second visit to Spain, he decides to stay and not return to Cameroon;

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<sup>131</sup> Well, I must highlight that ten years ago I was awarded a scholarship to come to Spain as a Spanish language student, I was here for a month, in July 1995 and this allowed for a first contact with the Spanish territory, the Spanish people and their society.

<sup>132</sup> When I returned to Cameroon my studies did not work out as I had thought, moreover I lost my dad, it is true that he was not helping me financially with my studies, but it was for me a moral blow, especially as I was unable to succeed in the entrance exams into government institutions often linked to corrupt practices. All these are factors associated to my migration from Cameroon. So, I thought I should seek to get a better future for myself out of Cameroon, I started thinking about immigrating around 1998 or 1999 that is five years before I finally got to Spain.

*« Ayant eu des échecs en chemin lorsque j'ai eu une autre occasion de venir dans le cadre des professeurs, je veux dire des professionnels qui utilise dans leur quotidien la langue espagnole une bourse de deux mois toujours de l'AECID, j'ai décidé après les deux mois de formation de rester en Espagne comme immigré, parce que après deux mois j'adoptais le statut de sans papier ou résident illégal, dont j'ai décidé en ce moment-là d'affronter mon destin. Parce rentrant au Cameroun c'était pour plonger dans le cancan quotidien » (ibid)<sup>133</sup>.*

In talking about the motivation for migrating from the country of origin informants also pointed out the opportunities migration presented for them, such as furthering their education or obtaining better education, and work. Such is the case of Badu, age 33 from Kumasi – Ghana, a university student – by the time this interview was conducted he had just finished his master's studies and was enrolling for doctorate studies. In response to the question 'what motivated you to emigrate from your country?' he notes the following:

*"... There was this person in our village who lived here in Europe, he always visited my parents whenever he came to Ghana, and he was like family to us. Sometimes when he visited he used to talk to me about traveling to this place, and I remember telling him several times that I was going to think about it, whereas I was not thinking about that back then (that was about four years before I traveled to Spain), I was in my first year in the university. He regularly came back home over the years and often advised me to consider traveling out of the country – he said if I travelled to Europe I would have better opportunities of furthering my education and that I will be able to work and pay for my studies and even send money to my family back at home. This sounded a great idea to me because my university education was getting more and more expensive and I was becoming a big burden to my parents. So, the thought of taking off the burden of my education from the shoulders of my parents and can support the family while furthering education seemed to me a good thing to do. Thus, I got into contact with the university where I am and applied for admission into one of the master program in migration; fortunately for me I was admitted, this is how I came to Spain..." (Interview 10/03/2015).*

Like Badu, Gladys, age 28 from Lagos, (Nigeria) travelled to Spain for studies; while in Nigeria she had applied for and was awarded a grant to study at master's level in the University of Lleida. The grant covered enrollment to the master's degree program and her living expenses: in all, the amount of the grant was €9,000 – about €5,000 was assigned to enrollment and the remaining €4,000 for living expenses (feeding and accommodation). Gladys had to manage this amount of money (€4,000) for the academic year, paid in two installments: the first installment once she completed enrollment and second installment at the end of the first semester.

In addition to the purpose of furthering one's education, migrating to Europe was for some of my informants a means of moving away from insecurities – job and political insecurities:

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<sup>133</sup> After encountering some failures on the way, I had another opportunity to come again to Spain, through a scholarship awarded by AECID to people who use the Spanish language in their daily interactions, for a two months' period. I decided to stay after the two months training as an undocumented migrant. I decided at that moment to face my destiny because going back to Cameroon meant going back into everyday hardships.

*“After graduating from the university, I did my national youth service in Guinness Nigeria and because Nigeria had been under various military rules for so many years, many multi-nationals were leaving the country and job opportunities became scarce and limited. After being home and unemployed for some time I thought about traveling to the UK and do a master’s degree but getting the visa to the UK was difficult, rather I could get a Schengen visa for France. When I got to France, a friend helped me to come to Spain. One of the main motivation was economic problem and the case of insecurity at that point in time in Nigeria, we just had a transition from military rule to democracy, a democracy that was still at its infancy. Hence, nobody knew what could happen at any point in time and so many people were leaving the country; I also left” (Interview 22/04/2015).*

Sometimes, the motivation to migrate or leave country of origin emanates from the impressions impacted on those backs at home by those who had travelled before and came back either permanently or on a temporal basis – like vacation. Various called ‘*mbengetaires*’ or ‘*bush fallers*’ in the local context in which it is used, ‘*les paysans de la diaspora*’ (nationals from the diaspora) often impressed locals by their way of life, giving the impression that travelling overseas is synonymous to triumph in life, to wealth or a kind of panacea to the hardships that often characterize those back home (locals). Many nationals from the diaspora are fun of riding in luxurious cars when they return home and live very flamboyant lives, a life that is very appealing to many young people. For example, Mado, age 30 from the DRC notes among other things that her decision to take on the journey to Europe was mainly because she saw others who had travelled to Europe or the US do great things – they were quite well-off than they were before travelling.

*« J’ai décidé de voyager en Europe parce que j’ai vu que d’autres qui avait voyagé avant faisaient bien les choses...mes sœurs aînées étaient à Barcelone, Londres et Paris, elles faisaient des grandes choses pour la famille et m’encourageaient souvent à voyager les retrouves là-bas. De plus, j’avais perdu ma maman à l’époque et je ne voyais plus le sens de rester au Congo parce que je n’étais pas sûr de genre de vie que j’aurais eu après le décès de ma mère...voyager à l’étranger me semblait une meilleure option que de rester au Congo, tu sais je n’étais pas instruite et j’avais personne pour me soutenir au Congo. L’unique chose que je savais faire comme travaille était la coiffure, mais je n’avais pas les moyennes pour ouvrir un salon de coiffure. Donc, j’ai décidé de voyager être avec mes sœurs en Europe... » (Interview, 19/03/2015)<sup>134</sup>.*

For some of my informants, family reunification was their main reason for leaving their country. This is often the case of children travelling overseas to go be with their parents, or of spouses travelling overseas to reunite with spouse. In some of these cases, the persons concerned did not

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<sup>134</sup> I decided to travel to Europe because I saw that others who had traveled before were doing well...my elder sisters were in Barcelona, London and Paris, they were doing great things for the family and often encouraged me to travel and meet them over there. Moreover, I had lost my mum back then, and it didn’t make much sense staying in DRC because I was not sure of what kind of life I would have after my mum’s passing away...travelling overseas seemed for me a better option than remaining in DRC you know, I was not educated and didn’t have anybody to support me. The only thing I knew how to do was hairdressing but then I didn’t have the resources to open a hairdressing shop. Therefore, I decided I will travel and be with my sisters in Europe...

like the idea of leaving their country for a foreign country (a foreign country) but had the obligation to do so in order that family links are not broken.

*« ...je faisais mes études de Baccalauréat au Sénégal et mon rêve était de finir mes études et partir en France pour mes études universitaire. Donc, je n'avais pas des projets de venir en Espagne, c'était l'idée de mes parents qui voulaient que je vienne vivre ici avec eux et mes autres frères et sœurs. Auparavant je venais passer les vacances avec eux et je retournais toujours à la reprise de l'année scolaire...mais subitement, me père tombe malade et je me voire obligé dans un premier temps reste ici plus long que d'habitude pour m'occuper de mon papa...mais bien, finalement je décide de rester définitivement ici quand mon papa décède... » (Interview 02/06/2016)<sup>135</sup>.*

Immigration based on family reunion is also observed in spouses, specifically between persons originally from a Sub-Sahara African country and a Spanish citizen. The relationship that eventually leads up to reunion in the Spanish territory in some cases begins in the Sub-Sahara African country the eventual spouse visited sometime in the past;

*« ... j'ai fait la connaissance d'un espagnol pendant que j'étais dans mon pays, nous avons mené une relation et puis nous nous sommes mariés pendant qu'il était toujours au Cameroun...cinq mois après notre mariage, il est rentré en Espagne et m'à faire venir pour vivre avec lui ici. Voilà comment je suis arrivé ici. La vérité est que j'avais pensé voyage à l'étranger avant, mais pas en Espagne, je voulais aller en France car j'ai plusieurs amis là-bas... » (Interview 17/05/2016)<sup>136</sup>.*

The idea of getting legal entry into Spain on basis of family reunification is sometimes exploited by Sub-Sahara African migrants who have obtained long duration or permanence residence in Spain for financial gains. Sometimes, they get money from families or persons desiring to make the voyage to Europe in exchange of having them get into the country legally. What they do is present falsified documents to the embassy authorities, attesting that the said individual is close family relation (brother, sister) or their child. This is how, one of my informants, Didier 29 years old from Jacquville (Ivory Coast) came to Spain;

*« ...moi je suis venu en Espagne par la voie du regroupement familiale, donc automatiquement j'obtiens la résidence en Espagne. Et quand j'ai voulu renouveler la résidence à mon compte propre, vu que derrière ma carte de résidence figurait le nom de celui qui m'avait regroupé. Et l'unique façon de le faire était de présenter un contrat de travail d'un an au moins ; mais la situation économique de l'Espagne en ce moment-*

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<sup>135</sup> I was studying in Senegal; I was in the high school preparing for my Baccalaureate. My dream was to finish with my Baccalaureate and get into the university - in France, I didn't want to come to Spain, it was my parents' idea that I come here because they were living here with my other siblings. I started coming to spend the holidays with them but then I always went back when schools resumed but then I was obliged to stay longer when my dad became sick to take care of him. I finally remained here after he died.

<sup>136</sup> '... while I was in my country, I came to know a Spanish man, we began a relationship and got married while he was still in Cameroon, five months after our marriage he left back to Spain and had me come over to meet him here. This was how I got here, the truth is that I had thought about travelling before but not to Spain, I wanted to travel to France because I have many friends there in France...'

*là ne permettait pas aux employeurs de contracter et d'assurer un nouvel employé pour un an... »*  
(Interview, 23/01/2015)<sup>137</sup>.

For many SSA migrants who came to Spain by means of family reunification, they did so as minors as allowed by the Spanish immigration laws. This implied that many of them could not work in the Spanish territory, meaning they could not take care of themselves; their parents or guardians were legally responsible for their wellbeing. Now, for genuine family reunifications, this is not an issue because parents would naturally take care of their children as would close family relatives do. There is a problem when the family reunification is based on inexistent relations as explained above, when it is based on 'monetary conditions'. In this case, the family of the individual who has travelled, the family back in country of origin, is often charged to pay for the expenses of the latter in the foreign country. That is the 'presumed' guardian or parent of the person who has travelled charges his or her family for expenses such as electricity, water, heating, feeding, housing etc. Sometimes SSA families back home become indebted to their son's or daughter's or relative's host in the foreign country and in most cases when the latter begins to work, most of what he/she earns is used to pay such debts. Looking at the monetary relations involved in such agreements or travel contracts between host in the foreign country and the family of the individual that has travelled or with the individual him/herself, the unique and most viable solution for those who came under these conditions is to cut the links with their host. How to do this is mainly via a change of residence status. The process of changing the residence is also not an easy road to ride for the migrants, sometimes it gets them into other dangerous engagements, which may see them loss their legal residence in the country.

For some of my informants the desire for adventure was the motivation for their migration to Europe. Travelling out of the country, especially to Europe, the US, Australia or Asia is an adventure, at the back of which is the notion of having an equal opportunity like any other, to succeed. That is why migration to countries such as Spain in Europe via the land and sea is worth the risk involved because it represents an opportunity (equal opportunity to all migrants) to become successful in life if the outcome is positive – that is if the immigrant makes it to the 'other side'. Thus, unlike in the country of origin where the migrant has limited opportunities of making it in life may be because of his education, tribe, or because he doesn't have all the necessary connections<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> '... I came to Spain by means of family reunion, therefore, automatically I was given legal residence. However, when I wanted to renew my residence permit such that I'll no longer be bound to the person through whom I came to Spain; his name was indicated at the back of my residence card and I didn't like that. The only way I could do this was to present along my application for renovation of residency a one-year work contract; but the economic situation in Spain at that time was such that employers were not offering nor could guarantee an employee a one-year work contract...'

<sup>138</sup> That is persons who know or are related to persons with great influence.

necessary to make an upward move in life (job, career, education etc.); migration to Europe and other western societies provides an equal opportunity for all of them (all immigrants whether educated or not, rich or poor); there are unlimited opportunities. This is how David, 31 years old from Benin City, Nigeria understands the issue of migration. His motivation for leaving his fatherland to Spain rests in the (exciting) idea that at the back of the risk he was taking to voyage to Europe via land and the sea lies a great opportunity for success, an equal opportunity for every other adventurer like him:

*"... you know back in Nigeria things were very difficult, you need to have somebody to become somebody there...but adventure gives an opportunity to everybody to become something and that is why I decided to take on this adventure to succeed in life...Spain is my destination for now and I am still figuring out how I can make it here, if it does not work for me here, then I will try another country..."* (Interview, 07/05/2016).

This far I have highlighted that factors such as education (further studies, scholarships or grants), experienced hardships in country of origin, family reunification (either through marriage with a Spanish national, or genuine reunification with parents/guardians or with fictitious parents/guardians), security, and equal opportunities presented in adventure (migration) explain why the informants to this study left their countries of origin to Europe in general and to Spain. In these cases, including those who had migrated to the country for furthering their education; the underlying goal is to make it out here, to improve their living conditions first, and then the living conditions of those they left behind in their countries – their loved ones (family). The relationship between the migrant and the family in country of origin is a very important one because it defines how the former manages and distributes the resources he has. I explain in detail in the section of household income and expenses. It is important to note that one of my informants migrated to Spain by means of a work contract that was established with a Spanish company while she was still living in her country.

*« ... Ce ma dixième année ici à Lleida, je suis ici depuis 2006. Moi j'avais un bon emploi dans mon pays, je gagnais bien ma vie, mais un ami a moi qui vivait ici à l'Espagne m'a proposer venir en Espagne soi-disant que je serais largement mieux ici en Espagne. Il m'a dit qu'il ferait ceci, cela pour moi, donc j'ai eu mon premier visa pour l'Espagne – un visa de visiteur (touristique) de court terme, mais je ne pas voyager parce qu'on m'a dit que je ne pouvais obtenir la carte de résidence de l'Espagne avec ce genre de visa. Après j'ai eu un contrat avec une société de fruits espagnole ici a Lleida grâce à mon ami, ce là où je décide de venir à l'Espagne... je suis arrivé faire que deux jours à la maison et j'ai commencé le travail... »* (Interview, 05/05/2016)<sup>139</sup>.

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<sup>139</sup> ‘...this is my tenth year here in Lleida, I have been here since 2006. I had a good job in my country but a friend of mine told me I would be better off in Spain if I came, he told me he would do this or that for me...so I got my first visa to Spain, it was a visitor's visa (short term visa), I didn't travel because I was told I was not going to be able to obtain legal residency in Spain if I went in as a tourist. Later I got a contract with a Spanish fruit company here in

Luisa expressed regrets for leaving her job in her country for that which she was offered in Spain. She noted that the remuneration for the job was encouraging, especially from the onset when she often converted her pay here in Spain to her currency – viewed from this perspective, the remuneration was far better than what she earned in her job back at home. However, with time, it became clear to her that she was better back home than here in Spain because though she earned more money here than in her country of origin, she equally had more expenses (housing, light, water, heating, telephone, and so on) than in her country.

## THE JOURNEY TO EUROPE: THE 'DESERT-GRAVE' EXPERIENCE

As highlighted above, the changing economic and political map of Sub-Sahara Africa contributes to the emigration of its citizens; and European countries like Spain and Italy have become the preferred destination for many Sub-Sahara Africans (undocumented migrants) seeking illegal entry into the EU. Since the 1990s, European countries tightened controls at their airports, official ports, and set-up rigid visa policies, which prompted the burgeoning number of Sub-Sahara African migrants to look for alternate ways to avoid regular maritime and air procedures before entering Europe (De Haas, 2007). From the late 1990s, the irregular crossing of the Mediterranean – which was already common for migrants from the Maghreb – became the alternate entrance into Europe for a growing number of Sub-Sahara Africans (ibid.).

For these migrants, the journey to Europe is often made in several stages and might take an undetermined time (usually from months to years) to get to the desired destination. Sometimes the journey leads first to other African countries, from where the actual journey to Europe is initiated. One of the informants to this study (Mado) initiated her journey to Europe from the DRC to Cameroon (where she had migrated at the age of five to be with her mom). She lived in Cameroon for several years before setting out on the journey to Europe through the Sahara Desert, to the North of Africa (Libya). From Libya, she sailed the Mediterranean Sea to Italy, from where she eventually got into Spain - Tarragona.

*« ...Nous sommes huit chez-nous, quatre garçons et quatre filles, moi je suis la cinquième...je suis partir de Congo quand j'avais cinq ans, ce ma maman qui et d'abord partir à la République Central Africaine (RCA) et après nous-sommes partir là-bas la rejoindre. Mais plus tard nous-sommes rentres au Congo rester avec mon grand-père qui était cultivateur, mais là-bas c'était difficile parce mon grand-père s'était séparer de ma grand-mère et avait pris une autre femme, celle-ci ne nous traitait pas bien, donc ma grand-mère nous a ramener à notre maman en RCA parce que la mes parents étaient séparer. Ce de là-bas que nous sommes allez au Cameroun, mon petit frère, ma petite sœur et moi avec notre maman, alors que mes*

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Lleida, through my friend, so I decide to come...when I came I was home only for two days, after which I began to work...' (Luisa, 32 years old from Yaounde, Cameroon).

*autres sœurs et frères étaient rentrée au pays (République Démocratique de Congo – RDC). Ma mère connaissait le Cameroun parce qu'elle faisait le commerce là-bas. Nous sommes parties au Cameroun en 1992, les choses n'étaient pas facile, nous sommes allés vivre avec la grande sœur à ma maman qui vivait déjà au Cameroun, après ma mère à louer une maison et nous sommes partir vivre ensemble mais comme les choses n'étaient pas facile je suis rentre vivre avec ma tante...après un but de temps au Cameroun, j'ai perdu ma mère et ma tante a voulu nous ramener au Congo, mais j'ai refusé de partir, elle et partir avec ma petite sœur et petit frère. En ce temps deux de mes sœurs qu'était rentré au Congo de RCA se trouvaient déjà en Europe...elles mon dire qu'elles allaient mes faire les documents pour que je voyage. Je donc pris une chambre avec une autre fille au Cameroun en attendant que mes sœurs puissent fournir les documents de voyage, mais cela prenait trop de temps. Je donc commencer à travailler et mes sœurs aussi m'envoyaient un peu d'argent chaque mois. Ce comme ça que je m'en sortais mois après mois au Cameroun. Mais à force de trop attendre, j'ai finalement pris la décision de partir de Cameroun, je me suis dire que je n'avais rien à perdre puisque j'avais déjà perdu la personne la plus importante de ma vie – ma maman. En plus voyant l'opportunité de joindre mes sœurs en Europe, je me suis dire qu'il était temps de partir... » (Interview, 19/03/2015)<sup>140</sup>.*

Sub-Saharan Africans making the journey to Europe often use the trans-Sahara routes (land and sea) in northern Africa (i.e. in Morocco, Libya, Tunisia and Algeria) as transit points. Generally, there are two dominant routes for crossing to the borders of Europe from African countries: the eastern African route, and the Central and Western African route. North Africa is the main transit point into 'the old continent'; undocumented migrants from the central, western and Eastern African countries migrate first, to North Africa before attempting to get into Europe.

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<sup>140</sup> '... we are eight of us to my mother, four boys and four girls, I am the fourth...I left Congo when I was five years old. My mum had first left to the Central African Republic (CAR) and we later moved there to be with her. However, we later returned to Congo to be with my grandfather who was a farmer, but things were so hard for us there because my grandfather had separated from my grandmother and taken on another wife. The new wife was not treating us well, and so my grandmother decided to come take us back to our mother in CAR – my parents had separated at this point. We (myself, my younger brother and younger sister and my mom) moved to Cameroon while my elder siblings returned to the DRC. My mom knew Cameroon because she was doing business/commerce there. We went to Cameroon in 1992, but things were still difficult in Cameroon so we went to live with my mom's sister who had settled in Cameroon several years before. Later, my mom moved into her own house (rented apartment) and we moved in with her, but I had to go live with my aunt because things were still hard for my mom. After a few years in Cameroon, I lost my mom and my aunt wanted to take us back to the DRC but I denied returning so she left with my younger siblings. During this time two of my elder sisters had made it to Europe and were living there, they promised they were going to process documents such that I travel and be with them in Europe. Hence, I moved into a room with one other woman in Cameroon while waiting that my sisters process my travel documents, but this was taking 'forever'. I decided to start working and my sisters did send me money every month. This helped cover my monthly expenses in Cameroon, but after waiting for a long while and nothing was happening, the travel documents were not forth coming, I decided to leave Cameroon and hit the road to Europe...I told myself I had nothing to lose because I had already lost the most important person in my life then – my mom. Moreover, looking at the possibility of reunification with my elder sisters, I told myself it was time to go...'



Picture 6: Trans-Saharan Migration Routes



Source: Maghreb Review

In the literature on irregular migration routes, a lot of focus is often on the major migration hubs in Niger (Algadez) and northern African countries (Tamanrasset -Algeria; Tunis-Tunisia; Sabha-Libya, and Morocco) (Kuschminder et al., 2015). The journey to Europe for migrants from countries in the East of Africa begins from Ethiopia, Somalia and Eritrea through North Africa, precisely through Egypt, Sudan and to Libya to get to the Mediterranean coast.<sup>141</sup> Cities such as Addis Ababa in Ethiopia serve as meeting points for migrants from Somalia, Ethiopia and Somaliland, who journey from there to Khartoum in Sudan. From Khartoum, they move up to Libya. Migrants from Eritrea converge in the Sudanese cities of El-Kadarif and Kassala (Van Reisen et al., 2014). As Lutterbeck (2013) highlights, Khartoum is the major transit point for all migrants travelling through Sudan – it is the migration hub where migrants arrange for trips through the Sahara Desert to Libya. Sometimes the journey into Libya is made through Darfur (West Sudan) and then into Chad before moving further up, or through Dongola (Northern Sudan) into Libya (ICMPD, 2010; Altai Consulting/UNHCR, 2013).

One of the major migration hubs in Libya is the city of Kufra (South-Eastern Libya). Entry into Libya from Sudan through the Sahara Desert (particularly from Dongola) is sometimes done from Egypt into the northeast of Libya (Altai consulting/UNHCR, 20013). Migrants from West Africa

<sup>141</sup> For more on Eastern African irregular migration route to Europe see; RMMS, 2014; Global Initiative against Transnational Organized Crime - GI, 2014; Altai Consulting/UNHCR, 2013 and Luterbeck, 2013)

and central African countries mainly use the central and western African routes<sup>142</sup>. This route takes migrants through Mali or Niger into North Africa (Altai Consulting/UNHCR, 2013).

Picture 7: The journey to Libya through the Sahara Desert from Niger (Agadez)



Source: [www.alfredobini.com](http://www.alfredobini.com)

Migrants journeying through the central African route usually move onward to the city of Agadez in Niger where they join with those from the western African route journeying from Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso). Usually, from Agadez, the objective of the migrants is to get into Libya, precisely to the town of Sabha. In addition, to get there, they must go through the town of Dirkou in Nigeria through Madama and Al Wigh (in Libya) into Sabha (Altai Consulting/UNHCR, 2013). The route from Agadez in Niger to Sabha is reported to be one of the most dangerous in the onward trip to Europe, as migrants cross the Sahara Desert to the North Africa migration hubs (Lutterbeck, 2013). In the following quotation, Mado narrates her journey from Douala in Cameroon to Agadez (Niger):

*« ... moi je suis partie de Douala à Mamfe, en passant par Kumba et puis à Ekokok au Cameroun, d'ici je suis entrée au Nigeria, ce n'était pas un voyage d'un jour, je dormais à la gare voyageuse quand j'arrivais dans une ville et continuais mon voyage les matins. Quand nous sommes arrivés à la frontière Nigérienne nous avons rencontré les gens là-bas qui nous-ont aidé à traverser – entrer dans le territoire Nigérienne... nous sommes entrés comme commerçants – comme si on allait acheter les marchandises au Nigeria pour rentrer vendre au Cameroun, mais il y'avaient les policiers là-bas que se sont rendu compte de que nous n'étions pas les commerçants, ils nous ont arrêté et on les a payés pour qu'ils nous laissent entrer. Je ne me rappelle plus des toutes les routes que nous avons pris au Nigeria mais nous somme partir*

<sup>142</sup> Mostly those from; Niger, Liberia, Guinea, Burkina Faso, Togo, Benin, the Gambia, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, Mali, Senegal, Cameroon, Nigeria, Chad

*de Ikom à Abuja la capital Nigérienne, et de là-bas à Kano. Nous avons fait quatre jours au Nigeria, on a pris un convoi de Kano pour le Niger. Là-bas a la frontière, la police ma arrêter, ils ont pris mes documents, mais en réalités il-II n'y avait pas des problèmes avec mes documents, le problème était que cette officie de police me voulais...ils m'ont gardé là-bas pour trois jours, après ils se sont fatiguer et m'ont renvoyé au Nigeria. Arriver au Nigeria, je suis partie à l'ambassade de mon pays faire un visa d'entrée au Niger. Une fois obtenu le document, j'ai repris mon voyage mais cette fois ci, nous avons pris une autre route, nous ne sommes plus rentre là où l'entrer nous a était refuser. Nous avons donc pris une autre route par bus pour entrer au Niger et continuer notre voyage jusqu'à Arlit – Agadez (Niger). La route était très dangereuse parce que ce le désert, l'endroit était vraiment sec avec beaucoup de sable et vent... » (Interview, 19/03/2016)<sup>143</sup>.*

From Agadez, Sub-Saharan migrants proceed to Tamanrasset in Tunisia to transit to Europe. However, if transit to Europe is not possible from Tamanrasset, migrants move onwards to Tunis (Tunisia) or Sabha (Libya).

*“... We got into Arlit Agadez by car through the desert. When we got there, we had to stay for a week such that we could constitute a ‘convoy’ (group) to Tamanrasset...everybody in that convoy paid money to the person constituting the convoy (a Tuareg) I think I paid USD 100, together we were 66 persons in that ‘convoy’ – we paid to the organizer and we lived at his house. There were many young people there from Nigeria, Ghana, from other places, some had been there for months because they were duped by the ‘convoy’ organizer and did not have more money to continue their journey. Our group of 66 was put in a truck, seating on the sides...we were with the Tuareg people, they were very wicked, they took our water, I was pushed and fell out of the truck twice and the Tuaregs did not care if a person died, they were heartless. There was a pregnant woman in our ‘convoy’, we drove in that truck in the desert for one week and it was very cold at nights and very hot during the day. Most of the times we journeyed at nights to hide from the police and their helicopters that flew in the desert during the day. The truck left us in a province close to Tamanrasset and we had to continue the journey on foot. That night alone, we covered more than 60km and the sun and the moon were our light and guide. We just kept walking not knowing exactly where we were heading to, we were all by ourselves, the persons who put together the convoy remained in Niger – they did not come with us. When we saw lights, we trekked to that direction, we trekked that night until we arrived an Algerian village, and we got there at about 04:00am. The village had a hostel, there we were given some thin mattresses to sleep on the floor...and we paid for that service...” (Mado, interview 19/03/2016).*

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<sup>143</sup> ‘...I left from Doula to Mamfe through the city of Kumba and then got to Ekok (in Cameroon), I crossed into Nigeria from there, it was more than a day’s journey...I often spend the night at the bus station when I got to a city and continued my journey in the morning. When we got to the Nigerian borders with Cameroon we met with some persons there who helped us cross into Nigeria...we presented ourselves as traders going to buy goods in Nigeria to come sell in Cameroon, but there was this police officer who was convinced we weren’t traders, he had us arrested, so we paid the police officers there some money and they let us into Nigeria. I don’t remember exactly the different routes the driver took because they were many, but we left from Ikom (the border town) to the capital – Abuja and from there to Kano. We stayed four days in Nigeria and got a convoy from Kano to Niger. But I was arrested when we got to the border to get into Niger, the police arrested me and took my documents I couldn’t tell why because my documents were okay, there was nothing wrong with my documents on the contrary one of the police officers was interested in me. I was there for three days and when they got tired of me they sent me back to Nigeria. When I got to Nigeria (Abuja) I went to our embassy (DRC) and obtained an entry visa into Niger. Once I got the entry visa I took on the road again but this time, the convoy I took went on a different road to Niger, I did not go back to the borders where I was denied entry. We took a different route by bus to get to Niger and continued our journey until we got to Arlit-Agadez (Niger). It was a very dangerous road we took because it was the desert; the place was really dry with lots of sandy winds...’

Migrants take on temporary residence along the migratory route, in the migration hubs or villages around the hubs in the onward migration to Europe, as either waiting for the opportunity for a convoy to leave for Europe; or to work and earn more money for the onward journey:

*“The next day by midday, arrangements were made and a truck was brought to where we had spent the night and we got in secretly such that the people in the village did not see us and alert the police and have us caught and locked up in the prison. The ‘convoy’ was like family; we had the address of the place we had to go to from there. Therefore, the truck came and took us to a ghetto – many of the people I saw there were from Congo, Cameroon, Nigeria and Ghana. It was not a safe place, if you got into ‘bad company’ you ended up into prostitution and other bad things... also I heard girls were raped in that ghetto. When we got to the ghetto, I sojourned in the house of a man from Niger with his wife, with one other woman who had come in our convoy. They were very nice to us, they shared their meals with us, though the food was strange to me, I ate to fill my stomach. We were in that hiding place for about a month and didn’t leave the house because we feared the villagers there would inform the police of our hiding place and that we will be arrested and deported to our countries” (ibid).*

In addition to taking on temporal residence in the transit hubs or villages around the hubs, migrants often live in a state of permanent hiding from the police in these migratory hubs. Their ghettos seem to be for many a sort of prison where they are forced to stay indoors during the day and to slip out at nights when there is less police controls. The fear of being arrested by the North African police (whether Tunisian, Moroccan, Algerian or Libyan) and deported to their countries makes them stay indoors and wait until a convoy to the next destination is set to leave:

*“The person who had brought us to the ghetto came around once in a week such that the villagers weren’t suspicious of anything. Being there was like being in prison, I had money with which I could go into the village and buy whatever I needed, but I could not do that for fear of being arrested. We only stepped out of the house at nights to bathe because the washroom was outside – separated from the living room. Hence, my days were spent inside the room sleeping, thinking and not knowing exactly when I was to leave from that place and continue my journey. I was in the place, with this family because the person who had brought us in the convoy was trying to put together another ‘convoy’ to leave the place, I paid him money for the trip one of the times he visited to inform that the ‘convoy’ was almost ready to leave. The ‘convoy’ was formed and ready to leave, but it was going to leave from another ghetto, so our contact person gave us directives (the other lady and I) on how to get to the ghetto of departure. Thus, the woman and I left on that day for the ghetto of departure but the police who wanted to arrest the woman with me because she had many passports of different countries on her stopped us. I had some money with me, so I paid the police officers and they let us go. We got to the ghetto and joined the others waiting for the person who would take us to Djanet (another Algerian town). The person came and we left at about 7:00pm...we left one after another, not in a group, we left from the ghetto to the desert, this person gave us information of the place we had to trek to and get a truck to Djanet. We started trekking in the desert that night...if you stayed behind that was your problem because none waited for the other. We were there for four days, he left and never came back...the little food (mainly bread) we had got finish while there, so we realized we could die if we remained in our hiding, hence we decided to come out from our hiding...” (ibid.).*

Sometimes, in the onward journey to Europe SSA are arrested and kept in prison, especially during stays in the migratory transit hubs – in Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. It is precisely the fear

of being arrested by the police in these migration hubs that keeps migrants in permanent hidings, waiting for the precise time to take off to other transit areas or for journey in the Mediterranean into Europe. For the unfortunate migrants that get arrested, life in north African prisons is not only a setback in migration plans – as there exists the possibility of being deported to country of origin – but it is a whole set of experience on its own for migrants. Surviving in the prison and coming out of it to start all over again, is the nightmare no migrant wants to have:

*“Unfortunately for me, I was arrested by Algerian police and taken to the police station in Algiers. I was there for two days after which I was sent to the ‘refoulement hall’ where I was kept for a month. At the ‘refoulement hall’ I got to know some Cameroonians who supported me during the time I was there. In addition, I got into a relationship with one of the Cameroonian people there such that I would be protected there in the prison. They gave us bread and milk (a sachet of milk for two persons) in the mornings and that was it; those who had money could buy food at midday sold at the gates of the prison (the cells). They gave us the same food everyday – bread and milk until the day we were released; we were transported in the type of truck used to transport cows (calves). They took us to Chegnig<sup>144</sup> and left us there, it was just the desert, and there were not houses – just a camp in the desert. We were now far from Algiers but it was not an easy task to get back to Algiers, I was there for one month and a week when a ‘convoy’ was formed to go back to Djanet (where I was heading to before I was arrested and taken to Algiers). The truck we took from Djanet left us on the way – at about 6:00pm and a great part of the journey was done on foot, it was very hard for me, we arrived a nearby village from where I paid to be transported in a truck, I communicated with my sisters while I was in Djanet, and they sent me some money. I got to Djanet and was there for three days, the first two days were peaceful but on the third day the police began to arrest migrants, so many of us ran up the hills and hid ourselves there. Together with other migrants hiding in the hills, we came down the hills at night – at about 3:00am when people were asleep, to sleep in an abandoned building down the hills because it was very cold at night. We slept for few hours only as we had to rush back to the hills before the rising of the sun. Meanwhile some migrants would go get water and food at that time of the night when we came down from the hills, this became our lifestyle day after day hoping that the police would relax control in the area, such that we could proceed with our journey. On one of the days we came down to sleep at the abandoned building, the police arrested me again, as I attempted to climb back to the hills, they took me to the ‘refoulement hall’ again. I was so frustrated and afraid I will be deported this time around, so I cried so much and loud, peed on myself so that the police officers would see me as a very dirty person and will ask me to leave. Moreover, I was suffering from malaria and had a very high fever...after a week there, one of the police saw that I was very sick and feared I would die so he asked if any of the other detainees there knew me... there was this guy from Congo I met there he stepped forward and said I was his niece, so they asked him to take me and leave. That is how this person and I were released from the prison. We went back to the hills in Djanet where other migrants were hiding out, and waited for a ‘convoy’ to Algiers to be organized. Finally, there was a convoy for Algiers, we left in a truck, however, two hours into the journey, the truck stopped and the driver recommended that we run to the hills and hide there because the police were patrolling that region in search of irregular migrants. One of the organizers of this convoy, was with us, he led us to a safe place in the hills. It was quite cold in the hills and I did not have any warm cloths, one of the people in the group from the convoy, lent me a pair of pants, which I wore during the nights when it was cold, but it got so cold that he asked me to return the pair of pants. Therefore, I suffered the cold at night and from the heat of the day, it was a terrible experience...my body skin became so dry and cracked and my toe nails got broken and came off the flesh...” (Interview 09/03/2015).*

As highlighted, though the migration route is predetermined from onset, it is also subject to changes, to avoid stringent police controls, human traffickers or criminal groups, or migrants’

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<sup>144</sup> A municipality in El Bayadh Province, Algeria

budget – limited budgets are often synonymous to high-risk routes. All these are taken into consideration in the onward journey, however, these precautions do not necessarily imply success; the desert has become the grave of many migrants on the trip to Europe. Mado depicts this reality in her narration of the journey to Sabha in Libya:

*“... because of the tight police patrol on the en route to Algiers, we could not continue with our trip as initially planned, and interestingly, we got news that migrants were arriving Europe through Libya, so we decided to change course and move across into Libya. We left from the oasis of Djanet and headed towards Sabha in the direction of the coast. When the signal was given, we started to trek in the desert, mostly at night; we slept very little and didn't eat well because we had set out with little; at some point in the journey we were completely out of food. Sometimes we found water (unclean water) in small quantities on the way – and that is what we drank. It was a journey of no returns, because going back to where we came from was as difficult as getting forward to the new direction – to keep walking. Nobody waited for another, whoever dropped dead was left there in the desert ...I came across many human skeletons on the way, I guess of people who had taken on this same journey to Europe. We walked for days in the desert from Djanet to Libya; I was ok for the first three days of walk, but by the fourth day, I began to feel sick, I got so pale and was without strength. When we walked, and got to a point, I just sat down in the sand because I could not feel my legs anymore, I was unable to stand up and walk on with the others - I was just so weak. The group continued walking and I was left there convinced I was going to die. I laid down there for a while then began to cry and prayed to God to help me. I did not think I was going to die just like that... after about an hour or two I began to feel stronger, so I got up and started to walk I was all alone in this big desert, I walked until nightfall and through the night., then was caught up by two guys – these guys were Nigerians, they were coming from Algeria as well. I continued the journey with them...we got to a little village and they took me to the house of another Sub-Saharan African – I think he was from Niger – they left me there and went their way, suddenly I was seized by fear that I would be abused by this man because I was left there alone with him. Well, it wasn't as I was thinking, this man did nothing to me, and instead he gave me some biscuits and water to drink...” (Interview 19/03/2016).*

In some occasions, migrants, especially women engage in ‘strategic’ relationships to get a security that is often absent in many migration hubs and ghettos run by the strong. These relationships are not only a source of protection and security to them but also a way of survival for many - this protection often comes from migrants who have settled in these hubs for years and who now act as guides and host for the new migrants making the onward journey to the old continent. For some of the ‘old settlers’ the hope of travelling to Europe has faded, while for others, it is still alive, they are just waiting for the right timing and opportunity. Importantly, old settlers provide guidance and protection to the ‘new comers’, but more importantly exploit them to their benefit, and even abuse them – specifically migrant women:

*“... We could not communicate because he spoke neither French nor English and I was struggling to let him know I was from the DRC and that I had lived several years in Cameroon. Because we could not understand ourselves, he sent somebody who was there with him to a place where many Sub-Saharan Africans were hiding to see if he could find somebody from my country. The person returns with two men, a Congolese and a Cameroonian, who came to see me. I narrated my story – what had happened to me to the Congolese (my country man) and pleaded with him to help but he was not willing to help, the*



*Cameroonian man who was with him also pleaded with him to help me such that the Nigerians and Ghanaians there at their camp would not get to me and force me into doing prostitution for them. The Congolese denied helping, and they both left; but later the Cameroonian came back for me and took me with him to their ghetto. He was as the leader of that ghetto mostly made of Cameroonians and Congolese, there was another ghetto for Nigerians and Ghanaians. After turning down the advances of my host for the first four days, I ended up becoming his girlfriend, as I had no choice, I had either to succumb or leave. He was a good man, and helped me a lot – he was well known in that little village and that gave me some degree of freedom and security...” (Interview 09/03/2015).*

Migrants never feel safe in the migratory hubs, they are constantly raided by the fears of being arrested by the police in North Africa, mistreated in the detention centers or refolement centers or deported to country of origin. The only time they feel safer is once they are on European soil. Thus, the prison may become a regular part of the migrant's experience in his/her onward journey to Europe, as he/she may be repeatedly arrested by the police and detained at the refolement centers. This was in fact, Mado's experience first in Algeria, with the Algerian and then in Libya:

*“... I was unfortunate again; I got intercepted by the police while walking around in the village and was taken to prison (in Libya) because we were already in Libyan territory but not in Sabha. My boyfriend did all he could to have me released from the prison but he could not, he even said I was his wife but then he had no documents to prove that, hence, I was kept there in prison. Many migrants were arrested on daily basis and brought there, there were these two women from Congo Brazzaville that were arrested and brought in there, and I recognized one of them, I had met her when I was in Cameroon. There was also a woman from the DRC, the latter converted to Islam and was released while one of the Congo Brazzaville women had an affair with a Libyan police officer and got out. The Libyan police arrested at will and released at will, some migrants got out of jail if they paid the police officer. Men were separated from women in the detention center in Libya, it was overcrowded for most of the time, at 8:00am we went out of our cells and took our bath and came back to our cells where we stayed locked up until later in the day when we go out for lunch. It was always macaroni and tomatoes or tomatoes sauce with couscous, from the day I went in there until the day I went out. Legal Sub-Saharan migrants with legal residence in this part of Libya were forbidden to bring food to those locked up; they sent them away and even threaten to lock them up as well – we had bread and cheese in the mornings. Many people in this detention center were repatriated to their countries. I was afraid I would also be repatriated, so I tried to contact my elder sisters from prison, when I got them I narrated what had happened and where I was. My elder sisters got in touch with the Congolese embassy in Tripoli, they made some connections there and the embassy sent some people to come get me from the detention center (I think it was the detention center in Misratah). The embassy negotiated with the police for about three days and I was asked to go with the people that had come from the embassy...” (Interview 09/03/2015).*

Picture 8: Irregular migrants from Sub-Sahara Africa in a detention center in Libya



Source: The Daily Mail, [www.dailymail.co.uk](http://www.dailymail.co.uk)

As Kuschminder et al. (2015) highlight, Libya is statistically, the most likely transit destination for many Sub-Saharanans into the EU. Once in this transit destinations, crossing into Europe is mainly through the central Mediterranean (from Libya or Tunisia) into Italy or Malta; the eastern Mediterranean (from Turkey) into Greece, Bulgaria or Cyprus) – mostly used by Somalians; or through the western Mediterranean route (from Morocco) into Spain.

*“...my sister had planned for these people to take me to somebody who will plan for me to leave Tripoli to Italy (Lampedusa); she had already paid for the cost of transportation and my stay with this individual in Tripoli. I could make it smoothly to Tripoli without any interceptions on the way because I was with the representatives from the embassy; they drove in a car with a diplomatic number plate. The person to whose place I was brought in Tripoli was a Cameroonian; he had been there for six years. I was there with him for a week, I found myself obliged to have an affair with him because he oversaw our travel. After a week, he had put together a convoy and we departed from there to a small village, we left at about 4:00am and got into a big truck, we got to the village and hid in the bush near the sea and from the bush we ran into a boat stationed on shore – one after the other...the little boat took us to board the ship that was waiting in the dark in the sea...” (Interview, 19/03/2016).*

Italy and Malta are the most popular pathway to enter the EU (Frontex, 2015). Over the past five years, most irregular migrants have departed from the Libyan ports. Crossing the Mediterranean is sometimes synonymous to death, as several migrants do not make it to the Italian coast. Their *boats are often overcrowded and sometimes do not make it to the EU shores.*

*“...we were so many of us, from different countries, we sailed for about four days during which I couldn't eat because of the smell of the sea – was very nauseating. When we got to Lampedusa the Red Cross and the Italian Coast Guard led us to safety, they led us to a room to shower – it was a very nice washroom,*



*the Red Cross guys gave us clean clothes to wear... we spent four days there and were taken to another place, this was a camp for migrants. They gave us more dresses when we got there, I remember that we ate three times in a day – they took good care of us... the Red Cross provided medical attention when there was need. After 12 days in this facility, they gave me 500€ and a residence permit valid for three months and told me I was free to travel to any part of Italy I chose. Fortunately, for me, my sister had planned for her boyfriend to come get me from Bologna. So, I left Lampedusa for Bologna and from Bologna travelled by car with my sister's boyfriend to Barcelona, the latter came along with my sister's resident card in Spain and her passport, it is what I used to get into Spain..." (Interview 19/03/2016).*

About 15,016 migrants are reported to have died at sea or missing at sea between January 1998 and September 2014 (Fargues and Bonfanti, 2014). Departures from Tunisia are usually from either the port of Cap Bon, sailing to Pantelleria (100km southwest of Sicily in Italy and 60km east of the Tunisian Coast) or from the port of Monastir (central coast of Tunisia) to Lampedusa in Italy. The western Mediterranean route, which is the sea passage from North Africa to Spain and the land route to Ceuta and Melilla (Spain) has increasingly become an important route into the EU for a growing number of Sub-Saharan (De has, 2007; Schapendonk, 2012; Frontex, 2014). Most migrants using the western Mediterranean route depart from Morocco (about 90%) and Algeria (about 10%) (Frontex, 2014) and most irregular migrants detected by Frontex in this route are nationals of different Sub-Sahara African countries (Frontex, 2015). In addition to the western and central Mediterranean route, the eastern Mediterranean route has become an increasingly important entry point into the EU since 2008, i.e. entries into Greece, Bulgaria or Cyprus from Turkey; a route that is mainly used by Somalians (Frontex, 2015). Regarding the cost of the sea journey from the North African coastline (Tunisia, Libya, Algeria, Morocco) into the EU (Lampedusa, Linosa, Pantelleria, Ceuta and Melilla), it varies - ranges from USD 300-3,000 (UNODC, 2010; Triandafyllidou & Maroukis, 2012; Altai Consulting/UNHCR, 2013).

**Table 12: main irregular Migrations Routes to the EU 2014 (Frontex)**

Route	From	To	# of irregular border crossings January 2014	Top 3 origins of irregular migrant detections	Number of detections per nationality
<b>Central Mediterranean</b>	Libya or Tunisia	Italy or Malta	170,664	Syria	39,651
				Eritrea	33,559
				Unspecified Sub-Saharan Africans	26,340
<b>Eastern Mediterranean</b>	Turkey	Greece, Bulgaria or Cyprus	50,834	Syria	27,025
				Afghanistan	11,582
				Somalia	1,621
<b>Western Mediterranean</b>	Morocco	Spain	7,842	Cameroon	1,497
				Algeria	734
				Mali	669

Source. Frontex, 2015 (personal elaboration)

In general, the decision to migrate via a specific route is guided by several factors ranging from the socioeconomic status of the migrant; the conditions and experiences in transit countries; safety or security along the migration routes; the surveillance situation at the borders in the EU country; changes in the visa regimes or policy status; as well as weather conditions (Triandafyllidou and Maroukis, 2012; Molodikova, 2014). Increased patrols, maritime surveillance in the western Mediterranean waters from the year 2000 has for example, resulted in the route along the west coast of Africa through Mauritania and the Western Sahara, to Spain being less used by Sub-Saharanans (Kuchminder *et al.*, 2015). Although the safety (conflict) situation along the migration route or transit countries often lead to the change of the migration routes, conflict situations sometimes promote increased irregular migration flows as smugglers use advantage of the chaotic situation. For instance, with the current conflict situation in Libya, there has been increased departures of irregular migrants from the country into the EU (*ibid*: 51).

### **Choice of destination**

In many situations, most Sub-Sahara African migrants leave place of origin with an already fixed destination in mind. Sometimes they succeed to get into these destinations and sometimes they don't and may end up settling in transit countries – countries they had not planned migrating to, or in few cases return to country of origin. However, the first step to get to the choice destination country is crossing over to Europe no matter the country in the EU, and from there move onwards to their choose destination. Thus, some countries in the EU are often transit and not settlement countries for the migrants. What makes a country a settlement, i.e., choice destination or transit country in the EU is the economic situation in the country, existing social networks and access to information for the migrants, and migration policies. In addition, the choice of destination country is sometimes the sole decision of the migrant smuggler or events in the transit country. Economic factors such as the cost of journeying to the desired destination, and the economy of the destination country (the employment situation, wages, and other benefits in the destination country) determine choice destination. Van Hear (2014) notes that a major determinant of the destination choice is the cost of the journey; migrants with limited financial resources often choose more accessible locations; these are often the more dangerous routes (Van Liempt & Doornik, 2006). This implies that socioeconomic status influences the choice destination as those with more resources have greater travel options than those with limited resources (Van Hear, 2014). Another economic factor has to do with migrants' perception of the economic situation in the choice destination country – the employment opportunities and wages.

In addition to these economic factors, social networks such as family and friends in destination country, as well as access to information also determine the choice destination of migrants (McAuliffe, 2013). As noted, the choice destination is often fixed from the onset of the journey, and it is informed by social network connections (family and friends) in the desired destination country. Also, information received from several sources (smugglers, the media, relatives and so on) influence migrants' choice destination.

In addition, the condition in transit countries and access to information received by migrants in transit guides destination choice, if migrants perceive their conditions to be poor in the entry country this will lead them to move onwards from the country and the entry country becomes a transit country. According to Düvell (2014), poor conditions in countries such as Greece and Italy encourage migrants to move further making them to be mainly transit countries. Moreover, the integration support, asylum reception system and the comprehensiveness of the social protection system in different EU countries vis-à-vis migrants determine choice destination country (Brekke and Brochman, 2014). In some circumstances, new sources of information regarding the destination country are obtained while the migrant is still in the transit country; this information is obtained from other migrants or individuals who are often a source of help and information on how to survive in transit, on destinations and travel routes – what Collyer (2007) calls 'spontaneous social networks'. Spontaneous social networks may consist of co-nationals or co-patriots, members of the migrant's community, in a transit city *en route* to their destination. The networks may help the migrant plan his/her onward journey, provide accommodation or protection to the migrant while in transit country. The transit country can also determine the choice destination country of the migrant based on the migration and asylum policies of these countries.

Finally, destination choice can be influenced by migrant smugglers in the sense that they follow specific irregular migration routes that lead to specific destinations – migrants may only travel to the destination options presented by the smuggler. Smugglers may change the initial agreed destination with the migrant *en route* because of information coming from the intended destination country – especially about tightened patrols and surveillance (Van Liempt and Doomernik, 2006; Gilbert and Koser, 2006).

According to Eurostat data on the population of non-EU nationals whose previous place of usual resident was in a non-EU country and who have established their usual residence in the territory of an EU State for a period of at least 12 months, there were 1,360,422 migrants of non-EU nationality in the EU States in 2009; the number rose to 1,455,953 in 2010; and later dropped to 1,399,934 in 2011, and again in 2012 to 1,170,665 people. In tandem with migration of non-EU

nationals into EU States, some 583,529 migrants (non-EU nationals) emigrated from the EU in 2009; another 707,927 did same in 2010; 731,325 in 2011 and 653,928 in 2012 (Eurostat, 2014). Among the top 15 countries of origin of the newly arrived non-EU nationals to the EU between 2009 and 2012 was Nigeria: 21,657 migrants in 2009 (ranked 14<sup>th</sup>); 20,831 in 2010 (ranked 15<sup>th</sup>); 18,483 in 2011 (ranked 11<sup>th</sup>); 21,130 in 2012 (ranked 8<sup>th</sup>). Non-EU nationals, resident in the EU during the period 2010 to 2013 accounted for 4% of the total EU population for each of those years (Eurostat, 2014). 14,77% of the total number of non-EU nationals residing in the EU lived in Spain in 2013 and accounted for 6.45% of Spain's total population. Only Italy (15,21%) and Germany (22.92%) had more non-EU nationals living in their countries than Spain; however, the total number of non-EU nationals, resident in Germany and Italy in the same year (2013) accounted for only 5,70% and 5,19% respectively of their total population.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: EARLY MIGRATION EXPERIENCES IN SPAIN: ADAPTATION, SURVIVAL OR INTEGRATION?**

### **Introduction:**

In this chapter, I present the early experiences of SSA immigrants in the Spanish society; I highlight the processes they go through to legalize their residence status in the country, especially the undocumented (illegal immigrants). Immigrants' early encounters with Spanish cuisine and shopping experiences, as well as if they perceive there has been any substantial changes in their lives here in Spain compared to if they stayed in country of origin are the subject of this chapter. My objective for exploring SSA immigrant experiences on these issues was to be able to note the changes immigrants go through in their new environment, and the potential changes that may have occurred in their foods and diets. It is argued that an adequate integration into 'new society' is important for the development of adequate foodways for immigrants.

To be able to note the possible changes that may have occurred in SSA immigrants' food practices – changes that may have occurred because of migration, exposure to the culture of the Spanish people, or the economic crisis, I examined the food practices of the population back in their country of origin; noting how these phenomenon, especially the economic crisis has affected SSA immigrants' food practices.

### **REGULARIZING RESIDENCE STATUS IN SPAIN**

If the migratory trajectory is challenging for SSA immigrants, particularly for those who came through the trans-Sahara and Mediterranean routes (undocumented migrants), the process of settling down, getting established or acclimatized into the new society is another phase of challenges the immigrant must face. Once in Spain, immigrants' goals revolve around getting a job and accommodations, learning the Spanish language and legalizing their status. It is not a surprise that getting a job is the top priority for the immigrant because it is tied to the overall migration objective of many SSA immigrants (improve individual and family standard of living). For SSA who migrated to Spain in the prodigious migration decade (1990 -2007), getting a job was not a major challenge because there was high demand for foreign labour – particularly low-skilled workers in the booming Spanish economy (Hollifield, 1992). Therefore, it was easy for immigrants to get a job immediately they got to Spain, and through the job, they could regularize their residence in the country:

*"...I got into Spain through Algeria and was at the immigrants' camp in Ceuta for some weeks. When I left Ceuta, I headed to the South of Spain, I didn't know anybody there and I had no knowledge of the place...I settled in a little village there in the South and thanks to my technical skills I was called up from time to time for little jobs. It is through this that I could meet a Spaniard who was searching for somebody to work with him...at that time things weren't as they are today, there was no need for a work contract to be able to employ a person, so I could work with this man without worries neither from my end nor from his. We worked in the construction sector, and then there was a call for the regularization of immigrants, I applied but then it was not successful. After some time, there was another call for the regularization of immigrants and this time there was need to present a work contract, I was given a pre-contract with which I applied for the regularization of my residence in the country and this time it was successful. That is how I had my first residence here in Spain..." (Interview 12/05/2016).*

For SSA immigrants who immigrated to Spain after the glorious decade of migration, the process of regularizing residence in the country was different. As highlighted in chapter two, there have been more restrictive migration policies since the economic crisis and specifically, from 2011 when the conservatives (PP) came to power, replacing the Socialists (PSOE). As Spain experienced one of the greatest declines and lowest levels of employment in the EU because of the crisis, the conservatives implemented austerity measures that affected immigrants – in terms of 'integration' into the Spanish society. The regularization of residence status in the country increasingly and firmly became tied to contractual relationships (at least a one-year full time work contract) (MIPEX, 2016). Also, there are now more restrictive family reunion measures and voluntary return programs for unemployed migrants (Parella, 2014). Thus, it has become more complicated for (undocumented) SSA immigrants to regularize their residence in Spain. Meanwhile, some immigrants who could regularize their residence through long-term residence (permanent residence) either are at risk of losing it or have lost it because of unemployment.

*« ...Je suis venu en Espagne par la voie du regroupement familiale, donc automatiquement j'obtiens la résidence en Espagne. Et quand j'ai voulu renouveler la résidence à mon compte propre, vu que derrière ma carte de résidence figurait le nom de celui qui m'avait regroupé, et l'unique façon de le faire était de présenter un contrat de travail d'au moins un an ; mais la situation économique de l'Espagne en ce moment-là ne permettait pas aux employeurs de contracter et d'assurer un nouvel employé pour un an. Il m'a été informé que la manière plus facile de résoudre mon problème était d'acheter le contrat de travail ou plus clairement de payer un employeur afin que nous puissions feindre une relation de travail. Je peux dire que je tombe dans ce piège et je m'engage et tout ce passe bien je renouvelle ma carte de résidence à mon propre compte avec une durée de deux ans mais au bout de six mois je reçois la lettre du bureau de cotisation à la sécurité m'informant de leurs doutes de la relation de travail et que je devais justifier cela avec des extraits bancaire de paiement ou des personnes pouvant justifier que j'avais réellement travailler dans leur maison vu que ladite entreprise était de réforme d'appartement. Ne pouvant pas personnellement justifier cela je suis allé voir celui qui m'avait guidé dans tout cela et il m'a dit que vu que j'avais déjà obtenu la résidence il y'avait plus rien à craindre. Nous sommes ainsi en novembre de 2011, et en juin ou juillet de 2012 je reçois une carte de la sous-préfecture de Tarragone qui m'informe de la procédure d'annulation de ma carte*

*de résidence dû au fait de n'avoir pas pu justifier ma relation de travail avec ladite entreprise. Donc c'est ainsi que je perds la résidence légale en Espagne... » (Interview 23/01/2015)<sup>145</sup>.*

Sometimes immigrants' loss their legal residence in Spain not because of inability to get a one-year work contract but because of illegal activities such as the falsification of a work contract, as is the case of the interviewee above. Once the authorities find out a work contract used to apply for residence is not authentic, they cancel the legal residence they had previously authorized. Many immigrants have fallen into a trap in which they use huge sums of money to purchase a work contract and end up losing both the money they spent on getting the residence and the residence itself. In the case of this SSA immigrant (interviewee) he paid €1,500 for the work contract and when his residence was withdrawn from him, he tried contacting the so-called employer but could not because he never had any direct contact with him – he always had to go through an intermediary. It was also impossible for him to get the refund because he had no legal grounds to file a case against the person to whom he gave the money:

*« ...oui j'ai essayé d'entrer en contact avec celui qui me l'avait fait vu que je l'avais fait à travers une tierce personne. Et je n'ai pas pu contacter directement avec l'employeur car celui qui je connaissais et qui c'était chargé de tout ne voulait pas me faire connaître le réel employeur. Peut Être parce qu'il me cachait certain chose qu'il aurait fait donc jusqu'au jour d'aujourd'hui je n'ai jamais su qui était l'employeur ou le gérant de l'entreprise de réforme... » (Interview 23/01/2015)<sup>146</sup>.*

Obtaining legal residence on arrival in Spain is less challenging for documented migrants, especially those immigrating on purpose of family reunification (spouses, children parents). For this group of immigrants, they are automatically given the same type of residence status of the person regrouping them. However, it is important to note that when parents are regrouping a child that is

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<sup>145</sup> I came to Spain by means of family reunion, so automatically; I got legal residence in Spain. However, after some years I wanted to renew my residence to get residence on my own account because I did not like the idea that the name of the person who regrouped me was written on my residence card. Moreover, the only way I could do this was through presentation of at least a one-year work contract, but the economic situation in Spain at that time was not good – employers were unable to contract and to ensure a one-year employment of new employees. I was told that the easiest way to resolve this was to buy a work contract or better said, pay an employer so that we can pretend to have a working relationship. I can say I fell into this trap, committed myself to doing it and everything went on well; I could renew my residence on my own account and was given residence for the duration of two years. But after six months, I got a letter from the National Treasury of the Social Security (TGSS), from the Office for the management of adhesion, contributions, collections, and payments (*Gestión de Afiliación, Cotización, Recaudación y Pagos*), informing of their doubts about my employment relationship with enterprise that signed my employment contract and asking me to justify this relationship by presenting payment extracts or refer them to people who could justify that I actually worked in their homes because the so-called company I said I worked with was into apartment refurbishment. Unable to prove this personally, I went to see the person who had facilitated all this and he told me not to worry nor fear anything since they had already granted me legal residence. That was in November 2011 and in June or July of 2012, I got a letter from the City Council of Tarragona informing me of the cancellation procedure of my residence card because I was unable to prove my working relationship with the so-called company...so this is how I lost legal residence in Spain.

<sup>146</sup> ...yes, I tried to get in touch with the person with did the contract for me since it was done through a third party. However, I was unable to contact the employer directly because the person I knew oversaw the whole transaction did not want me to know the real employer. Maybe because he was hiding something from me, which is why still today I don't know who the employer was nor the manager of the so-called refurbishment company.

above 18 years and they have permanent residence in Spain, the child who is not considered a minor is first given two years' residence before subsequent renewals. If the parents have obtained Spanish citizenship and the child is above 25 years old, he or she does not automatically become a Spanish national, immigrant children below 18 years of age do.

*"...I was above 18 when I first came to Spain to be reunited with my parents and other siblings, when I went to do my resident card, they gave me two years of residence, after those two years I went to renew it and was given another two years. The next time I renewed my residence, I was automatically given permanent residence – five years..."* (Interview 02/06/2016).

For some SSA immigrants the regularization of their stay in Spain is a matter of fortune; that is a matter of being fortunate to be in the country in a period of pro-immigration policies by the government in power. This is what one of the informants to this study, Antoine (44 years old) highlights:

*« ...l'immigration est un phénomène je dirai lié à la chance et parfois lié à l'actualité économique dans lequel on décide de résider. La chance que j'ai eu en 2004, pendant que je résidais légalement j'ai fait la connaissance des camerounais qui vivaient sur le territoire espagnole et à l'un d'eux particulièrement j'ai soumis mon désir de rester et il a compris ma situation et à accepter de m'héberger pendant un bout de temps et qu'ensemble on allait chercher petit à petit comment faire pour régulariser ma situation il faut dire que en 2004, l'Espagne était un pays avec une économie stable et très croissante et qu'il y'avait beaucoup d'immigrés qui travaillaient dans le noir sans papier parce que en Espagne il y'avait du travail et pour changer la situation pour que ces immigrer qui travaillaient dans le noir puissent payer leur impôts afin de jouir de la sécurité sociale, sanitaire et de bien d'autres avantages, le gouvernement espagnole de l'époque a dû régularisé de façon massive ces personnes qui n'avaient pas de papier. J'ai donc eu la chance qu'une personne me prenne en charge en me recrutant pour travailler c'est ainsi que j'ai eu les papiers. Cette personne se trouvant à Tarragone, je devais me déplacer vers là puisque à cette période j'étais à Madrid ma ville d'arriver... »* (Interview 11/03/2015)<sup>147</sup>.

If for some immigrants, having their residence status regularized by a pro-immigration government means being lucky, regularization for others is the result of specific circumstances: marriage to a Spanish citizen:

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<sup>147</sup> Immigration, I will say is a phenomenon linked to luck and sometimes to the economic circumstances in which a person decides to live in. The luck I had in 2004 while I was illegally living in Spain is that I met Cameroonians who lived here in the Spanish territory and I shared my desires to stay in Spain to one of them in particular and he understood my situation and accepted to host me for a period of time and that together we would gradually work on how to regularize my residency (situation). I have to say that in 2004, Spain was a country with a stable and growing economy and that there were many immigrants working in the 'black market' (grey economy) without any documentation (sans papier) because there was work in Spain; to change the situation of these immigrants that were working in the underground economy so that they pay taxes and benefit from the social security, health care and many other benefits, the Spanish government at the time did a massive regularization of undocumented immigrants. So, I was fortunate that somebody assisted me at that time and employed me; that is how I got my papers (regularized my situation).



*“...I came to Spain through my husband, we got married in my country...when I came it was not difficult to get my papers, my husband put together all the required documents to get my papers as spouse of a European Community member...” (Interview 17/05/2016); family reunification, ‘...I came to Spain via family reunion, so I automatically obtained legal residence...’ (Interview 23/01/2015).*

For many SSA immigrants, their regularization process is usually facilitated by immigration lawyers who assist through the documentation process and in presenting the application for legal residence for the immigrant. This is often the case of immigrants who traveled to Spain with tourist visas (often valid for a three months' period – not renewable) but decided to stay and not return to their country at the end of the legal period of stay in the country. For example, Victor, a 42 years old male from Nigeria, married and father of one; had a tourist visa to France but decided to move to Spain towards the end of his legal stay in Europe (France). His decision to move to Spain from France was motivated by news from an acquaintance in Spain – a friend from Nigeria – that he had greater chances of obtaining legal residence in Spain than elsewhere in Europe. Thus, he left France directly to the city of Tarragona where his friend lived and through the services of a lawyer, he could get legal residence in the country:

*“...I got to Spain through my friend, he introduced me to an immigration lawyer who took up my case...but first, I had to get what they call ‘empadronamiento’ – a document from the Tarragona City council indicating I am resident in the city. After getting that, we submitted all the required documents for applying for legal residence and my passport. Among the required documents we submitted was a work contract, somebody had done for me; you know it is one of the conditions for getting a long-duration stay. I was working for the person. My application was approved after a six months' period and I was given legal residence with permission to work...” (Interview 22/04/2015).*

Abibou (27 years old male from the Diourbel Region of Senegal) has a similar experience to Victor's. Back in Senegal, he was engaged into farming with his parents, and had his own farmlands. He applied for a tourist visa to visit Spain, knowing he was not going return to Senegal at the end of the 3 months' visit in Spain:

*“...yo vine a España como turista... pero tomé la decisión a no volver a Senegal al final de mi estancia aquí porque yo sabía que no tenía nada mejor que me estaba esperando ahí en Senegal sino la miseria. Así que me quedé después de los tres meses legales que tenía, viviendo en casa de un tío que vivía aquí. Él me había dicho que si uno se quedaba en situación irregular en España durante tres años y que luego podría justificar que ha estado viviendo en territorio española durante este tiempo, esa persona tenía el derecho de pedir la residencia legal (por arraigo social) al estado español. Por lo tanto, me quedé esperando a que pasará los tres años; una vez pasado los tres años me hizo un contrato de trabajo mi tío que era autónomo (tenía un negocio); un contrato de trabajo de un año y luego busqué a un abogado de inmigración. Con este juntamos a todos los papeleos que pedían más el contrato de trabajo y la presentemos a la*

*subdelegación de gobierno – oficina de extranjería. Aprobaron la solicitud y me otorgaron la residencia legal con derecho a trabajo...*” (Interview 21/06/2015)<sup>148</sup>.

Before the economic crisis and the coming to power of the Conservatives (PP), immigrants in Spain, particularly those who had immigrated to the country during the prodigious decade of immigration and economic growth in Spain (1990s -2007), faced little challenges in regularizing their residence status irrespective of whether they were documented or undocumented. It did not matter much because there was plenty of employment and need for workers – especially in sectors that did not attract Spanish workers any longer (Kreienbrink, 2008; Finotelli, 2014). So, both undocumented and documented immigrants (students, temporary contracted workers, tourists) could easily regularize their stay in Spain during this period. However, the economic crisis coupled with the change of government and subsequent implementation of austerity measures by the new government (the conservatives), has introduced new challenges for the immigrant population and made regularization of residence a much more complicated and difficult process. State citizenship, integration and migration policies have become more restrictive and stricter, and together; have slowed down the demographic growth of the country’s population (immigrant population) and the ‘integration’ process of immigrant groups. Immigrants who arrived the country in the years of the crisis are facing major challenges in obtaining long-term residence, while many who arrived before the crisis and were already beginning to experience some degree of stability, adaptation and ‘integration’ also face challenges in renewing their residence (first, second renewals...) as they are unable to have a one-year work contract – a prerequisite for renewal of residence. The inability to present a one-year contract at the foreign affairs office of the *Subdelegación del Gobierno* as a condition/prerequisite for renewal of residence, is the result of the high unemployment in the Spanish society. Although unemployment is experienced by the whole society, it is higher for immigrants in Spain – it reached 35% in 2013, and immigrants’ income is 40% lower that of natives (Mahia, 2014; Finotelli, 2014, Oxfam Intermón, 2014a).

The implication of this is that more and more immigrants are pushed into status precariousness – both for those that still must renew their residence and for those that already had/have a stable

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<sup>148</sup> ...I came to Spain as a tourist...however; I had taken the decision not to return to Senegal at the end of my stay in Spain, because I knew there was nothing more than misery waiting for me in Senegal. Therefore, I remained in Spain after those initial three months of legal residence; I lived with an uncle who was living here in Tarragona. He had told me if a foreigner found himself in an irregular situation in Spain for three years and can prove he has been living in the territory for this length of time, the person had the right to demand legal residence (through social ties) to the Spanish state. Thus, I remained, waiting for the three years to elapse, and once they passed, my uncle contracted me (gave me a work contract) because he was self-employed – had his own business – it was a one-year work contract. With the work contract, I got an immigration lawyer with whom we gathered all the documents required for presenting the application (including the employment contract) to the Sub-Delegation of the Government – Foreign Office. They approved the application and gave me legal residence with the right to employment.

residence. Many immigrants are pushed into situations of social exclusion and poverty, as they are increasingly unable to regularize their residence status in the country, caused by difficulties of finding an employment that gives them the work contract needed for the renewal of residence. Thus, their rights to social benefits (health care, education etc.) which is tied to regularized/legal residence and contractual relations (employment) is increasingly reduced and even non-existent. One of the immediate effects of poverty are changes in food/dietary practices and vulnerability to food insecurity and hunger with a possible impact for health.

Though immigrants make up 13.2% of the Spanish population (MIPEX, 2016), and though the first immigration laws were approved in Spain thirty-one years ago (1985), Spain is still very far from completely integrating immigrants as it has occurred in other European countries – such as France and Germany – where first-generation immigrants and their offspring play a vital role in public life. Many migrants in Spain still occupy a secondary position – in terms of employment, wealth and social status (Enríquez, 2016).

The problem is that there has never been a clear national debate about the approach for the integration of immigrants. Moreover, there has been changes in the policy context regarding immigrants' integration, especially from 2011 when the conservatives (PP) came to power, and when the country experienced one of the largest declines and lowest levels of employment in the EU region because of the economic crisis. The conservatives have implemented austerity measures that has affected the stabilization and integration process of immigrants in Spain. There has been inaction on the part of the state (conservative government) on the 2011-2014 Strategic Plan of Citizenship and Integration (*Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración*) – the objectives of the plan have remained on paper (Finotelli, 2014); and there has been no national investment and funding with regards to immigrants' integration, education, trainings to integrate the labour market (MIPEX, 2016). Also, there is a lack of concrete strategy to meet the needs of immigrants throughout the municipalities of Spain, which in general, are the first level of support to the integration of immigrants (ibid.).

So, do SSA immigrants feel integrated into the Spanish society? It is a subjective issue that cannot be generalized; it depends on the lived experiences of each immigrant vis-à-vis specific issues in the society. For example, Alain<sup>149</sup> assesses his 'integration' in the Spanish society in terms of how he is treated by the host ('the other') society:

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<sup>149</sup> 39 years old man from the western region of Cameroon – married and unemployed. He has been living in Lleida for the past 17 years and has mostly worked in fruit picking during the harvest season in Lleida.

*"...the first thing I took note of when I came to Lleida was its homogeneity...there are places reserved or meant only for immigrants. When I came here, I hang out sometimes with friends and because I looked different from them (they were all whites), I was always asked (by the bar attendant, guard etc.) to show my identification card, and they never asked my friends to show theirs. You know that is a sign of discrimination and it discouraged me such that I decided to avoid going to such places...so I began to go to places where I was accepted for who I am and those are the places where you will find other people who are just like me, my brothers. In addition, when you go to the social services of the city council and request for social housing, they give you houses in areas where there are so many black people. So how do you integrate into the society when people of your type surround you? I mean this retards the integration process, it limits people to their own cultures...It is the Spanish society that is supposed to help immigrants integrate into their society, but when they continue to put barriers to integration, it obliges immigrants to remain in their corners and cultures. This helps confuse our children who live in two different cultures – when they go to school it is a different culture, and when they return home it is another culture..." (Interview 12/05/2016).*

Alain went on and concluded that he does not feel nor thinks he is integrated in the society, rather he feels that there is an obvious marginalization of the SSA immigrant group in Lleida.

For other immigrants, integration is understood in terms of degree of establishment in the society, such as having a good and stable employment, fulfilling other dreams such as studying and so on. This is the case of SSA immigrants like Affah<sup>150</sup>:

*"...yes, it is true I have a legal residence which allows me to benefit from certain rights, I have also completed my master's Degree and I'm enrolled in the PhD, I have a legal partner (girlfriend) but I am not married to her, but I am not yet integrated in the society because I am not yet established in the economic, and social perspective as well as in terms of family...I don't have a job. So, for me I will not say I am integrated in this society..." (Interview 11/03/2015).*

Also, integration is understood in terms of conviviality with nationals – ability to communicate in the Spanish language, live peaceably with the Spanish people; ability to contribute to the social security system and be a beneficiary. When asked if he considered that, he is integrated into the Spanish society, this is what Antoine<sup>151</sup> said:

*...oui je peux dire que je me suis intégré dans la société espagnole dans la mesure où je travaille pour des espagnoles et nous n'avons pas de problème nous n'avons pas de problème linguistique depuis que je travaille je paie ma sécurité social ma petite famille et moi avons droit à la santé publique, et mes enfants vont dans des écoles où vont d'autres enfants espagnoles et ils n'ont pas de problèmes jusqu'à présent. Je vis dans un bâtiment avec des espagnoles et chaque fois que nous nous rencontrons dans les escaliers nous nous saluons ; s'il y'a beaucoup plus de temps, on parle on rit ; s'il y'a un problème on s'entre-aide à la mesure du possible. Je dirai que je suis intégré moi particulièrement (Interview 11/02/2015)<sup>152</sup>.*

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<sup>150</sup> 31 years old Ghanaian, he is a student and is unemployed, has a baby girl with his Spanish legal partner (girlfriend). He has been living in Spain for the past 6 years.

<sup>151</sup> A 44 year' old gardener who's been living in Spain for the past 10 years

<sup>152</sup> ...yes, I can say I am integrated in the Spanish society since I work for Spanish people and we do not have any problems, we don't have a language problem. Since the time I began to work I have been paying my social security

Therefore, integration is a phenomenon that is specific to every SSA immigrant and that is generally associated to his or her lived experiences, which is in turn subject to the original migration objective. However, whether a SSA immigrant considers him or herself integrated in the Spanish society, is generally linked to employment (stability, quality); how he or she feels treated by the host ("whites"), conviviality – ability to communicate in the Spanish language, peaceful relations with Spanish neighbors, colleagues, classmates etc. However, if we must look at integration in its thorough application, then the above-mentioned instances should be understood as processes to the complete integration of the immigrant community. Being able to communicate in the Spanish language, having a job (with low salaries), being a beneficiary of the social security system (not in its totality) etc. does not necessary imply the immigrant is integrated. As highlighted above, Spain is still very far from completely integrating immigrants – immigrants continue to be absent in the political scene of the country, in leadership positions etc. For almost eight years that I have been residing in Spain I have never seen a police officer of African origin as seen for instance in France. Integration in Spain needs to go beyond these procedures; there needs to be a change of attitude of looking at the immigrant as 'the other' and accepting him for who he is. An inclusive integration policy that goes beyond looking at immigrants as temporary workers needed a specific task; to be discarded once the task is done would go a long way to pushing immigrants out of their current precarious conditions.

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contributions; my little family and I have access to public health, and my children go to the same colleges with other Spanish children, and they have not had any problem this far. I live in a building with Spanish people and each time we come across each other on the stairs we greet each other; and if there is some time, we talk and laugh together; if there is a problem, we mutually help each other to the extent that we can. Therefore, I will say personally I am integrated in the society.

## FOODWAYS IN COUNTRY OF ORIGIN: HOUSEHOLD FOOD PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OF VARIETY

In this section, I present the findings from those methods in my research design that dealt with immigrants' food practices, particularly as described among SSA immigrants – i.e. findings regarding SSA households' food practices in country of origin.

Affah, age 31, from Ghana described his food practices in country of origin:

*“...back in my country I lived with my parents and I will say we had a good eating habit. We ate three meals a day. We had breakfast early in the morning before going out for our farming activities, and it was mainly the left overs of the previous day's food (lunch or dinner). My parents were farmers, so our lives consisted mainly in farming. When we came back from the farm at about three o'clock in the evening, we ate and later my mom would make a good dinner and we ate. Generally, we mainly ate what we produced such that our eating habits were based on what we produced. The only things we sometimes bought was meat or fish, salt, rice or Maggi<sup>153</sup> from the market...only on few occasions because we had other family members who were hunters or did fishing, so they gave us meat and fish. So, we ate a variety of food items, yams, tubers- cassava, vegetables, fruits...we had different kinds of food...” (Interview 11/03/2015).*

Household production of food in country of origin, as Affah explained made food more accessible and varied than in Spain.

Food practices in country of origin differ greatly in the rural and in the urban areas; life in the urban areas is shaped by the nature of the job of parents and by the education of the children. Most families in the cities have a 'white collar job' and are either higher or middle-income earners, meaning they can afford a lifestyle that at its best description is 'westernized'. This is noted in the structure and type of meals eaten in these households – e.g., the content of the breakfast. Unlike Affah in the example above whose breakfast was mainly the leftovers from the previous day's meal (solid, heavy food – commensurate to his farming activity), SSA immigrants who lived in the urban areas – cities, with working class families – had different food practices particularly with regards to breakfast (the content). For example, Kika, age 24 from the western region of Cameroon, single and unemployed used to go to college when he was in Cameroon and both his parents were teachers. He described the foods he and his family ate and the times at which they had each meal:

*« On peut dire qu'on mangeait en réalité quatre fois par jour, mais le samedi que nous étions tous à la maison, toute la famille, nous mangions trois fois : un bout de pain tartiné de chocolat, beurre ou pâte d'arachide le matin, le repas de 13h et ensuite celui de 19h00. Et le plat de midi se faisait toujours en quantité pour manger les restes au dîner. En générale, on mangeait du couscous avec du ndolé ou une sauce fait à base de feuille de manioc ou le manioc lui-même avec le koki (les petits grains de haricots écrasés), de la banane à la sauce d'arachide les ignames, du riz de la patate douce, bref beaucoup plus variés... Moi*

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<sup>153</sup>Stock cubes that add intense flavor (chicken, beef, vegetable) to the meal

*au déjeuner à l'école je prenais deux beignets avec du jus de gingembre. A 12h30 qui était une autre pose souvent rien pas volonté propre où je prenais un yaourt de sachets fait localement par les femmes de la cantine à base de lait en poudre. Je le prenais avec une croquette. Et une fois à la maison un grignotait un peu à la maison et ensuite à 19h30 ». (Interview 23/01/2015)<sup>154</sup>.*

Victor, age 42, from the southern region of Nigeria has been living in Spain for the past 13 years; he is married and has a child. When asked about the food practices in his country, he noted that the food culture in Nigeria depended on what part of the country you were either from or lived in; food practices were different in the North, East and South of the country: *'for instance, the staple food in my region is yam, fufu, beans, plantains.... we have all these varieties but our staple food is yam and fufu'* (Interview 22/04/2015). Talking about how many times they ate each day, Victor indicated that he was fortunate to have come from a family in which his parents could provide for them; they could have three square meals a day:

*I think in the morning we normally had our breakfast at around 7:00am before going to school, and in most cases, breakfast was made of bread and tea and fried eggs... In the afternoon, we ate more of a heavy food – fufu and in the evening, we ate something light. On some days, we might eat beans and akamu (pap)<sup>155</sup> in the morning, in the afternoon we could eat something heavy and in the evening, something lighter. In the afternoon, we ate at around 2pm and at around 6pm in the evening. Therefore, we ate three times a day (Interview 22/04/2015).*

Awa, age 32, is from Senegal, she comes from a family of seven, her parents and other siblings were all living in Spain while she was still in Senegal. She often came to be with them during the summer holidays. She never liked the idea of living in Spain because she was interested in finishing her high school education in Senegal and then get into the university in France, which was her dream. However, this changed, as she was obliged to take on permanent residence in Spain (through family reunion) after the death of her father. She decided to stay and help her mother, and the family. Thus, before taking on permanent residence in Spain Awa lived with her aunt in Senegal who was married to a wealthy man;

*“... my dad didn't have to send me money while I was in Senegal, I was fortunate to be from a rich family; my aunt's husband was one of the richest in Senegal”...we ate three times a day, I had breakfast as early as 6:30am because I had to go to school; then I had lunch at 2:00pm at my grandmother's house which was closer to my school. I stayed at my grandmother's house after lunch and returned home – my aunt's*

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<sup>154</sup> It can be said that we ate four times in a day, but on Saturdays when we were all at home, the whole family, we ate three times – a piece of bread and chocolate, butter or groundnut paste in the morning, lunch at 1:00pm and dinner at 7:00pm. We always made much for lunch to eat for supper as well. Commonly, we ate fufu (a delicacy made from cassava) with ndolé (bitter leaf casserole) or a vegetable sauce made from cassava leaves, or cassava with koki (ground beans); we also ate banana with groundnut (peanut) soup, yams, rice, sweet potatoes...in short with ate a wide variety of food...For breakfast at school in the morning I ate two puff-puff (donuts) with ginger juice, at 12:30, which was break time at school I often ate nothing because I didn't want to or if I wanted to, then I ate yoghurt that was locally made by the women selling in the canteen, they made it from powdered milk. I often ate it with croquet (nuggets). And once I was back home I had a little snack and then took dinner at 7:30pm...

<sup>155</sup> A traditional porridge made from ground maize

*home in the evening and we had supper depending on the time the food was ready; may be 9 or 10:00pm...*"  
(Interview 2/06/2016).

Many SSA immigrants alluded to not having difficulties with eating back in country of origin, highlighting that they lived in the rural areas where they cultivated their own food; others who lived in the urban areas – the major cities of their countries indicated their families were of the working class and/or wealthy and could provide for them. However, the story is not the same for every SSA immigrant whether he or she lived in the rural area or in the urban area; for them and (their families) food was not always available, and they did not always eat to their fill. The lack of or insufficient food in the household was for some SSA immigrants, one of the push factors into migration (l'adventure) to Europe in search for better life than what they had in country of origin. Moussa, age 44 from the southeastern region of Mali, married and father of three children migrated to Spain 17 years ago, recalled the moment he made up his mind to take on the adventure in the Sahara Desert and Mediterranean Sea to Europe:

*"... I remember the day I took the decision to leave my country, it was on a certain afternoon, I was tired after coming back from the market where I was truck pushing (pushing a cart filled with groceries), I did not have food in my house – I was living in a small rented room – so I decided to go our house, where my mom and other brothers lived. As I got there, I was met with a sad situation, I went to the kitchen looked everywhere and realize there was absolutely nothing eat and it was a kind of shock to me. So, I realize that it was better to leave and not live this kind of situation again, I decided to leave and can help the family..."* (Interview 11/05/2016).

Eli, age 36 is from Equatorial Guinea, she is a single mother of two girls; she migrated to Spain 13 years ago in search of a better life. Eli had seven other siblings (four of whom were her half-brothers). Her father divorced the mom when she was only three years old and got married to another woman with whom he had four children. Talking about the living conditions, particularly food, Eli noted that though she lived with her dad after the divorce, she experienced hardships living in her country:

*"...it was difficult given that my parents were separated. I lived with my father until I got into the second year of college (5<sup>eme</sup>), because things weren't easy between my father's wife and I, she didn't give me enough food to eat as she did with the others, I did all the work in the house....in fact, I could not take it anymore, so left and went to live with my mom, but even there, things were difficult because she had a lot of responsibilities – taking care of four children without any stable job – she was just struggling to do some little business in the market..."* (Interview 17/05/2016).

Abibou, age 27 is from a little village located some 11 kilometers from the City of Touba in Senegal, he migrated to Spain 10 years ago. There were thirteen to his father, who married two wives and he was the first of three sons. Back in Senegal, he worked in the fields with his father, his uncles and with his other brothers; he also helped one of his uncles who had a trade business. He was also



a talibé (student of the Quran). Talking about the conditions of life and food practices in his family in Senegal he comments that it was generally poor but that they never lacked what to eat. His father had farmlands on which they cultivated most of what they ate - maize, beans and groundnuts. Also, Abibou had his own farms, he cultivated on them and sold most of the product – revenue from sold products was used to purchase food items they did not produce, such as rice, groundnut oil, tea and coffee; ‘...for us, most of what we ate came from our farms, we bought some vegetables, rice, oil, coffee which we did not cultivate’ (Interview 21/06/2015). Also, he described his food structure back in Senegal:

*“...in Senegal I ate two or three times per day, I ate breakfast at about 7:00am - tchere<sup>156</sup> with fresh milk from the cow. That was my breakfast, there in the village, we did not have bread so we never ate bread at breakfast; breakfast was always tchere with milk, or beans<sup>157</sup>, at midday, between 1:45pm and 2.15pm, we ate thieboudienne<sup>158</sup>, supa kanja<sup>159</sup> or maafe<sup>160</sup>. In the evenings, we ate coucous – the leftovers from the evening meal is what we ate at breakfast the next day. Dinner was always after the evening prayer, between 9:15 – 10:00pm...”* (Interview 21/06/2015).

In this section, I have presented the findings from those methods in my research design that dealt with migrant diet, as specifically described among SSA immigrants: findings regarding their food practices in country of origin. From these findings, it is observed that migrants from the rural areas (villages) of Sub-Sahara Africa cultivated most of the foods they consumed and mainly purchased products they did not produce. Thus, immigrants from rural Sub-Sahara Africa never experienced situations of lack; generally, they had at least three meals per day. Immigrants who lived in the urban areas but who had ‘working class’ or wealthy parents and relatives also did not have difficulties regarding food back in country of origin. Other immigrants, who lived in urban areas before migrating to Spain, had some difficulties regarding access to food in country of origin. These immigrants reported coming from poor homes and polygamous families where there were many mouths to feed and fewer resources. The difficulties they experienced with food eventually consisted in one of the motivations to leave country of origin in search for better living conditions elsewhere in Europe. In general, the foodways of SSA immigrants in country of origin is characterized by food availability either from household production or from local growers/husbandmen; foods which as reported elsewhere, include a wide variety of wild and cultivated plants, animal husbandry, fishing and/or hunting (Bojoquez, Rentiría, & Unikel, 2014). In the next section, I explore how the diets of SSA immigrants have been shaped by the economic

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<sup>156</sup> Tchere is Senegalese couscous

<sup>157</sup> Beans in tomatoes sauce

<sup>158</sup> That is rice and fish in Wolof (Senegalese language), the most famous dish in Senegal

<sup>159</sup> Okra soup

<sup>160</sup> Traditional stew made with peanuts

crisis (I first describe the dietary patterns of SSA immigrants once they arrived host society before looking at the effects of the economic crisis on their food practices).

## **EARLY EXPERIENCES WITH THE DIETS AND FOODS OF HOST SOCIETY: TRANSITION FROM TRADITIONAL TO WESTERN**

Eating is one of the several everyday life practices of any social group; the meeting place and combination of a group's biological, economic, social, and cultural experiences (Calvo, 1982). To capture immigrants' nutrition, food and eating (social and cultural) practices – elements often ignored in the contact with the host society (focus on the group is mostly on their economic characteristics<sup>161</sup>) – I asked informants to share their early experiences with Spanish food. Informants' responses on the issue served as the basis for understanding the process by which SSA immigrants retain traditional foods and/or adopt diets of the host society – dietary acculturation<sup>162</sup>. Research has shown that food choice is linked to society – not physiological but cultural (see Douglas, 1979). Thus, the idea a person makes of what food is commensal is essentially rooted in culture. Before migrating, the issue of commensality was clear to Affah (who migrated from a rural area in Ghana); asked about his food-related experiences upon arrival to Spain, he noted that:

*“...with feeding for example, I travelled with a lot of food from home, I came with much food because I knew it was going to be difficult to find certain food items I ate here in Spain, or else I would have had to cope with unfamiliar food items in the country for a long time before I could like them. So, I travelled with food that was conserved through different technics so that they lasted for several months here. So, during this period I was eating as though I was still in my country...”* (Interview 11/03/2015).

During this period, Affah had his African foodstuffs; he was gradually adapting to the society and started introducing Spanish food items into his diet, combining them with the African foodstuffs,

*“...I started taking coffee, something I had never drunk before... I was 25 years old when I drank my first coffee – here...my first Spanish meal was chickpea (garbanzos) it was a little different from the type of beans I ate in my country, and it had a lot of soup. I ate this at the home of an African friend, which is what gave me the confidence because when it was served I looked at it as something strange but when I tasted and ate it, it did not feel strange. At the end of the day I was neither disappointed I ate it, nor was I in love with it, it was a very indifferent feeling...”* (Interview 11/03/2015).

One of the first challenges to overcome by immigrants in the host society with regards food is food procurement. This often requires a learning process, which may represent a difficult obstacle to overcome depending on how distant the culture (lifestyles) of origin is from that of the host country

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<sup>161</sup> For example, immigrants getting the jobs of nationals especially in times of economic recession; or nationals of host society-blaming immigrants for their unemployment – they have taken our jobs.

<sup>162</sup> For more on dietary acculturation see Satia et al., 2001; Satia et al., 2000; Lee, Sobal, & Frongillo, 1999; Bermudez, Falcon & Tucker, 2000.

or the degree of cultural remoteness. So, with regards to food procurement, shopping in the supermarkets, one interviewee highlighted that he had to buy only food items he recognized – items that were similar or the same as those in his country of origin, and which he knows how to prepare them.

*“The first time, I went shopping for groceries at a supermarket, I think it was SPAR Supermarket, I bought beans because I knew these beans in my country, and then I bought meat. I was forced to eat the beans and meat with bread because I could not find the complement for the meal. In my country, we ate beans with fried or semi baked food items such as puff-puff<sup>163</sup>, fried plantains, cassava or other solid tubers. Since, I didn’t find these other food items at the supermarket I was forced to buy bread and eat with the beans as an accompaniment because we don’t eat beans just like that, it must be with some other complement - accompaniment”. (Interview 11/03/2015).*

Affah migrated to Spain with a student visa, to study at master’s level in a Catalan university. He travelled by air (came in a legal/documented immigrant) and not through the trans-Sahara and Mediterranean routes like many SSA immigrants do. This may have given him the time and advantage to prepare his adaptation in his own way – eating African for the first months while gradually incorporating Spanish cuisine. Travelling with ethnic food products is not new for international migrants, nor is remittances (food parcels) from non-migrants to migrants in western countries a new phenomenon (Codesal, 2010; Kaplan & Carrasco, 2002). SSA immigrants usually have food parcels brought to them from home through friends or family or by courier. Therefore, it is common for many SSA immigrants, particularly those travelling by plane to have ethnic food products – the so-called ‘exotic products’ necessary for the preparation of ethnic dishes (Calvo, 1982). Many of these products are either not available in the host society, or are scarce and expensive.

For SSA immigrants who take the onward journey to Europe through the Sahara and Mediterranean migration routes, they are prepared for any outcome; thinking about what they would eat in destination country, whether they will like or not, is the least of their worries. For example, one SSA immigrant, Mamadou, age 36, from Gambia, migrated to Spain 10 years ago via the Trans-Sahara and Mediterranean route; he explained that his experience of hunger and need in his country of origin and the things he had to go through in the onward journey *en route* to Spain made him know how to adapt to whatever place, land or food.

*“Moreover, the difference with the food here from that in Gambia is the method employed, the ingredients – how they are combined and when they were added to the meal, food is universal, the rice we find in Spain we also find it in Gambia and elsewhere, the difference is in the final meal cooked from it, the method used.*

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<sup>163</sup> A fried dough ball

*It is the same with the potatoes you find here...so, I ate every food I was offered” (Interview 12/05/2015).*

Several other SSA immigrants I interviewed (particularly those who came by ‘route’) emphasized on the issue of being psychologically prepared to adapt to whatever conditions (including food and nutrition) in their destination. To them, migration is an adventure and they are ready to face it with an open mind. Didier, age 48 from Ivory Coast noted thus:

*« ... ce qu'il faut dire c'est que lorsqu'on va en immigration, on se prépare psychologiquement et on se dit particulièrement que tout ce qu'on trouvera on va le manger ; si les autres le mange pourquoi ne pas en faire autant. C'est au moment où on aura le choix qu'on pourra ne pas manger ce que les autres mangent... » (Interview 09/12/2014)<sup>164</sup>.*

Tonton, age 50, from the Democratic Republic of Congo migrated to Spain 25 years ago, and lived in Lleida for the last 20 years now. He narrated an anecdote of his early experiences with Spanish food:

*« ... quand je suis arrivé ici un jour le monsieur chez qui je vivais était en train de manger un fromage bleu celui avec un peu de moisissure dessus et quand je l'ai vu il m'a proposé le partager avec lui je lui ai dit non je ne pouvais pas et que ma mère me disait qu'au lieu de consommer un aliment avarié de peur de le jeter et de passer un long moment aux urgences après mieux vaut le jeter et rester en santé. Je ne savais pas que le fromage était ainsi pour sa qualité, son élaboration. Mes débuts n'ont pas été facile car je voyais des aliments que je ne connaissais pas, bref que je n'avais jamais rencontré sur le marché Congolais comme la grande variété de calamar de sèches et de poulpes et surtout par ce que l'apparence de ces aliments ne m'animaient pas à les consommer. Donc, je ne les goutais même pas... » (Interview 23/01/2015)<sup>165</sup>.*

Tonton migrated to Spain through family reunion and was first settled in Madrid with a Congolese family, whose entourage was also by large African. Given the context in which he lived, he indicated that for the first six months he lived in Madrid, he had no contact with Spanish cuisine; he mainly ate ‘African’. His first contact with a typical Spanish meal was when he moved to Catalonia:

*« ... C'est quand j'arrive ici en catalogne que j'entre en contact avec la cuisine espagnole d'ailleurs le premier plat espagnole que je consomme est une paella. Dans le restaurant où j'ai toujours travaillé les samedis et*

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<sup>164</sup> ... we must say that before we migrate, we are psychological prepared to eat whatever we find on the way; if it is eaten by others, why not do same? It is only when we are able to make choices that we may decide not to eat what others eat...

<sup>165</sup> When I got here, the person I was living with was eating a blue cheese the one which had a little mold on it, and when he offered to share with me I turned down the offer, I told him I could not eat that, giving him the advice my mother had given me, that rather than consume expired food items because we do not want to discard them, and later find ourselves at the emergency ward, it is better to discard the spoiled foodstuff and stay healthy. I did not know it was a high-quality cheese and that it was the way it was because of how it was processed. So, my beginnings were not easy because I was seeing foods I did not know, foodstuffs I had never seen in the Congolese market, such as the wide variety of dried squid and octopus, and especially because the appearance of the food items did not encourage me to eat the, I did not even taste the meals.

*dimanche les cuisiniers faisaient une grande poêle de paella pour les travailleurs c'est ainsi que j'ai savouré pour la première fois une paella... » (Interview 23/01/2015)<sup>166</sup>.*

Tonton's decision to eat the paella was motivated by the fact that there were food items he recognized – it was rice and seafoods he recognized. As he states, *'there was no strange item in the meal, it had a good presentation'*.

A few SSA immigrants were already familiar with Spanish cuisine before migrating to the country. They had family friends who introduced them to Spanish foods and diets while they were still in country of origin. Soraya, age 40 from Equatorial Guinea was familiar with Spanish foods before she migrated to Spain (12 years ago):

*"Ya tenía muchos amigos españoles en mi país y algunos hacían tortilla de patatas, la paella o venían a Guinea con chorizos, o el jamón, así que ya comía esas cosas en guinea o sea en casa de los amigos o en la embajada de España en Guinea cuando tenían un evento ahí" (Interview 04/12/2014)<sup>167</sup>.*

The cases presented above depicted dietary transitions in SSA immigrants, particularly noting the changes in attitudes, beliefs and behaviors towards the diets and foods of the Spanish people. It notes an attitude of rejection from entrance by some immigrants whose notion of commensality does not make room for the consumption of food they are unfamiliar with and who continue to consume mainly, ethnic delicacies at least for a while. Although I showed that this was common with international migrants (to travel with food parcels) eating mainly ethnic food products upon arrival in host society (at least for a while) as indicated above, was more common with immigrants from the rural areas of country of origin, particularly those who were engaged in food cultivation. Other immigrants' attitudes and behaviors towards the diets and foods of the Spanish people, upon arrival was that of acceptance; acceptance because they were psychologically prepared to consume whatever the Spanish people ate, or because they were already exposed to Spanish delicacies while in country of origin. Therefore, the degree to which immigrants accept, reject or incorporate the diets and foods of the host society is a function of their conception of commensality. Also, immigrants' notion of commensality depends on their exposure to a food culture that is different from theirs – the degree of cultural remoteness and openness to the food culture of 'the other'.

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<sup>166</sup> It is when I got to Catalonia that I encountered Spanish cuisine; the first Spanish meal I ate was paella. In a restaurant where I worked on Saturdays and Sundays, the chefs used to cook paella in a large casserole for the restaurant workers, that is how I enjoyed paella for my first time.

<sup>167</sup> I had many Spanish friends in my country and some of them often did *tortilla de patatas* (potatoes omelet), paella, or came with jamón (ham). So, I used to eat these things in Guinea either at my friends' homes or at the Spanish embassy in Guinea when they had an event.

In addition, the sociocultural context also determines the degree of acceptance, rejection or incorporation of the host society's foods and diets. SSA immigrants who arrived host society and settled in an ethnic conclave areas tend to maintain a traditional food culture. If ethnic grocery shops are common in such ethnic conclave and may be cheaper than food items in host society, then dietary change becomes even more difficult in this group. This is what I observed in Lleida, where there is a great concentration of ethnic grocery stores in the *Centro Historic*, which has a high concentration of population from Sub-Sahara Africa. On the other hand, when the immigrants settle in a more multicultural environment or one with strong presence of Spanish nationals, incorporating the eating patterns/food choices of the new environment is easier and faster. Gerald, age 35 from Gabon, reiterated this:

*« Une fois arriver ici j'ai passé deux mois dans une résidence pour étudiant espagnole et nous étions nourris par des espagnoles en ce moment-là tout ce qui était au menu était espagnole et il y'a eu des plats qui m'ont plus et d'autres pas du tout. Ceux qui m'ont plus je les aie adoptés et je les cuisine de temps en temps en ne respectant pas très souvent les ingrédients ». (Interview 04/06/2015)<sup>168</sup>.*

In the preceding two sections of the chapter, I have presented SSA immigrants food practices in country of origin, and their early experiences with the diets and foods of the Spanish people. I have highlighted that the foodways of SSA immigrants (food culture of origin) is generally characterized by availability from household production or from local farmers, and by variety. Furthermore, I have indicated that SSA immigrants' change of attitudes, beliefs and behaviors towards the diets and foods of the host society are dependent on their way of thinking, feeling, and acting – their conception of commensality. In the section that follows, I explore how SSA immigrants' food practices have been shaped by the economic crisis.

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<sup>168</sup> When I arrived Spain, I spent two months in Spanish students' residence and it was Spanish cooks who served food, everything on the menu was Spanish and there were delicacies that I liked and others that I did not. I took on the ones I liked and I do them from time to time, although not strictly using the ingredients meant for the recipes.

## **CHAPTER SIX: FOOD INSECURITY AND HUNGER IN SUB-SAHARA AFRICAN IMMIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS. SSA IMMIGRANTS AND INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE**

In this chapter, I present findings on food insecurity and hunger in the study population. I explore some methodological considerations concerning assessment of individual and/or household food security and presents results with respect to the household food security questions. I examine the appropriateness of such methods in measuring food security and hunger. Also, the chapter presents an analysis of SSA households with assisted access to food supply among state and non-state food distribution institutions (specifically, *Fundació Arrels* and the Social Inclusion Services of the City Council of Lleida – *Ajuntament de Lleida*). It examines households' affordability scenario about access to the Spanish healthy or balanced food basket, based on estimates for a Spanish Healthy Food Budget (SHFB) suggested by Carrillo Álvarez et al. (2016). In addition, findings from four case studies are presented to denote how SSA immigrants in Lleida and Tarragona put their human agency at work to mitigate the effects of the economic crisis on their food security. The case studies also capture the changes that have occurred in SSA culinary practices because of migration, and because of the economic crisis; they note those aspects of SSA immigrants' culinary practices that have more or less remained the same and those that have changed. The last but one section of the chapter provides a critical analysis of how the food security and hunger question is approached by state and non-state institutions; it highlights passiveness on the part of state institutions vis-a-vis the issue. In the last section of the chapter, I present an overview of the nutritional status of SSA immigrants based on the 24-hours recalls. The nutritional overview considered whether immigrant' food intake reached the Spanish RDAs or fell below RDAs.

### **MEASURING FOOD INSECURITY**

Several studies have highlighted potential limitations of the Household Food Security Survey Module (HFSSM) for measuring food security, especially in the US (Nord, Andrews, & Carlson, 2007). I included five questions typical of HFSSM in the questionnaire to this study. The purpose for the inclusion was to demonstrate how measuring food security mainly on basis of these approaches fails to capture all aspects of food security, especially the degree of social acceptability in food procurement. Moreover, the focus is on the sum of affirmative responses (i.e. 'yes'; 'sometimes'; 'almost every month'; 'some months, but not every month') than on other relevant variables such as households relying on public and/or private forms of food assistance to either supplement or provide entirely for their food needs; and households' ability to afford a healthy or nutritious food basket.

Responses to questions 58 – 62 was meant to capture the relationship between income and food insecurity and not to classify households as food secure or food insecure on basis of their responses (raw scores). Thus, the purpose was to note income-level (employment status) and behavior in the face of food-related hardships. For instance, respondents whose responses were affirmative were mostly the unemployed, those with a monthly income range of 0-€500 and 600-€900.

**Table 13: Responses to Household Food Security Questions vs. Employment status and Income Range**

Household food insecurity related questions	Responses		Employment status		Income range (€) (monthly)		
			Employed	Unemployed	0-500	600-900	1000-1500
58) Have you or your family ever been worried that you could run out of money before the month runs to an end or before you next get money to shop for food; if yes when, how often?	Yes	12	2	10	6	6	0
	Sometimes	2	0	2	0	2	0
	Once	2	0	2	0	2	0
	No	14	11	3	1	7	6
59) Would you buy more food than what you buy now if you had more money; if yes what foods would you buy?	Yes	20	5	15	7	12	1
	No	4	4	0		1	3
	May be	6	4	2		4	2
60) Have you or your family been without food because you didn't have money to shop food?	Yes	1	0	1	1	0	0
	Once	1	0	1	1	0	0
	Never	28	13	15	5	17	6
61) Have you or your family repeated the same meal for several days because you did not have enough money to buy different foods?	Yes	2	0	2	2	0	0
	No	28	13	15	5	17	6
62) Have you ever eaten less quantity of food because you didn't have money to buy more food or because you had money but that was budgeted for other needs?	Yes	2	0	2	2	0	0
	No	28	13	15	5	17	6

Unemployed immigrants (as indicated in chapter three, thirteen of the immigrants I interviewed were employed, and seventeen were unemployed at the time of the interview) worried more about the running out of money before the month came to end or before they got money again. However, many SSA immigrants (20 – 'yes' and 6 – maybe) would buy more food than what they bought at the time if they had more money. Food items such as fish, seafood, lean meat etc. were reported to be some of the items they would buy; they equally indicated they would buy more ethnic food products if they had more money because they were more expensive.

*"... Yes, I would... I have very few foods I eat because that is what my resources can get for now. Really, if I had the means, I would explore other types of foods, recipes you know, maybe I will buy from different places – for instance go to the seafood market which I have visited only once, go there and buy fish...we*



*don't buy fish often here at home, so I will probably buy fish and other expensive foodstuff, which we can substitute with the cheaper ones we buy...*" (Interview 20/12/2015).

Didier (age 48 from the Ivory Coast) – who indicated he would not buy more food if he had a bigger budget, asserted that a bigger budget would rather be used to add on the variety of diets he ate by including different types of fish;

*« Non, ce que je ferais, serait de beaucoup plus variés mes menus'... actuellement j'ai une consommation réduite ou moins variée en poisson, ainsi que si j'avais plus d'argent j'achèterai beaucoup plus de variété de poissons. Entre le poisson et la viande, le poisson pour moi est la source de protéine qui me plaît le plus »* (Interview 11/01/2016)<sup>169</sup>.

Awa (age 32, from Senegal) emphasized buying more expensive and healthier foods, such as yoghurts and fish if she had more money;

*"Yes... now I am buying cheaper foods, like yoghurts on which is written hacienda, but if I had more money I would have gone in for the expensive ones. Also, I would have bought a lot of fish"* (Interview 02/06/2016).

Other immigrants who indicated they had never been worried they would run short of food before they got more money like Luisa (age 32, from Cameroon) argued that food is cheaper in Spain, and that with a euro a person could buy a good quantity of spinach, mushrooms, and carrots and at that cost, have a good and balanced diet;

*« Non parce que ça ne coûte rien du tout. Avec un euro tu as une bonne quantité d'épinards, de champignons et de carottes que j'aime tant. Le mangé ici n'est pas une préoccupation pour moi car avec un peu d'argent tu peux bien manger et de façon équilibré »* (Interview 08/05/2016)<sup>170</sup>.

As indicated above, responses to questions related to food security in immigrant households were not used to examine households food security status, rather emphasized the relationship between employment, income range and households' behaviors in the face of hardships concerning access to food. Moreover, many SSA immigrant households who indicated they had never been out of food because they did not have enough money to acquire food; nor worried they would run out of food before the month came to an end, relied on public and private forms of food assistance to either supplement or provide entirely for household food needs. Eighteen of the thirty SSA immigrants in my research either had resorted to or relied on a form of public or private food assistance scheme to access food in the past or were doing so at the time of my research. Public

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<sup>169</sup> No, what I would do, would be to include more variety' ... currently I have limited consumption of fish, so had I more money, I would buy a broad variety of fish. The source of protein I like more is the fish compared to beef. . .

<sup>170</sup> No, because it costs nothing at all. With a euro, you have a good amount of spinach, mushrooms and carrots, which I love so much. Eating here is not an issue for me because I can eat well, eat a healthy meal with very little money

food assistance was mainly through the Social Inclusion Unit<sup>171</sup> of the Social Services of the City Councils (*Ajuntament*) of Lleida and Tarragona; private food assistance was through non-for-profit organizations like Caritas, *Fundación Arrels*, *Fundación Jericó*, and The Red Cross.

For example, statistics from the Social Inclusion Unit of the *Ajuntament de Lleida* (La PAERIA) highlighted that a total of 171,487.86 kg of food; 30,859 hot meals, 45,757 sandwiches (for lunch and dinner) was distributed to 5,667 people in 2015. The same statistics noted that the unit provided emergency housing to 7,188 people: all of whom fall under the category of people at risk of social exclusion and poverty, and that are socially vulnerable. More than half of the population that resorted to the unit's services (particularly food assistance) were from Africa (56%), particularly from Sub-Sahara Africa: Mali (23%) and Senegal (23%) of the people from Africa (*Ajuntament de Lleida*, 2016).

Also, statistics from *Fundació Arrels* food distribution program – *la Botigueta* (meaning the shop), made a distinction of accompanied users: those who are in a process of accompaniment with the foundation towards inclusion (whether into the labour market, social, health etc.). These are users obliged to fill out and sign a follow-up form with full details of their personal information (i.e., name, address, identification document, number of members of household – specifying if they were children or not), the quantity of the different food items received, and date of reception. Each user's data is saved in a common database controlled and managed by the *Ayuntamiento* or *Ajuntament*. It is important to highlight here that these norms are imposed by the state (Social Services) as control mechanisms of both the donated or distributed food and households receiving food within the plan to help the most disadvantaged/deprived people of the Spanish Agricultural Guarantee Fund (*Fondo Español de Garantía Agraria*). This specific objective for getting personal information of households receiving food assistance is clearly stated on the sheets that are filled and signed by the households (see *Nota de entrega de alimentos I fase 2016* in appendices – pg. 313). Also, it is important to note that many social action organizations like *Fundació Arrels* are not in accord with this kind of control for deprived households; they argue that it is not dignifying for households already going through major hardships to be subjected through such demeaning

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<sup>171</sup> The Social Inclusion Unit is one of the departments of the Social Services of the City Council whose activities are geared towards facilitating access to social services for the homeless, promoting their integration into society, providing their basic needs and reducing risk associated to exposure to harsh weather for homeless people sleeping in the streets. Another area of activity and objective of the unit is the management of Municipal Food Distribution Services; reception/care for people in situations of social emergency. Also, the unit promotes networking/partnership between organizations and the administration in actions/activities that are geared towards social inclusion, and carries out several sensitization campaigns towards the homeless. In addition to these activities, the Social Inclusion Unit of the *Ajuntament de Lleida* provides other services (housing, hygiene, health, nutrition, clothing) to seasonal workers (*tempereros*) coming from outside the jurisdiction of the City Council to work in the summer fruit campaigns.

bureaucracies. Meanwhile the state argues that it is meant to guarantee that those receiving food assistance are the most deprived; that the food received is not sold or given to other households not enrolled in the program; and to ensure that beneficiary households receive food assistance only from assigned organizations and in this way, avoid duplication. A director of one of the not-for-profit (NFP) organizations providing food assistance<sup>172</sup> noted the following on the issue of the joint database:

*“... nos quejamos más al nivel educativo... nos molesta más el que se creyó una base de datos común y que sea para evitar duplicidades y que no se creyó una base de datos común para conseguir atender mejor a las personas, son dos objetivos para mi probablemente a la práctica complementaria pero donde ponen el acento importante en la vida!”* (Interview 27/07/2016)<sup>173</sup>.

Thus, there are complaints from many not-for-profit organizations running food distribution programs about the way the state (through the city councils and its social services) handle the issue of food insecurity, specifically on where they place emphasis. I explore this further in the concluding chapter of this research, highlighting specifically Fundació Arrels’ response to the food insecurity and hunger issue.

Back to the issue of food assistance, the table below depicts the number of SSA immigrant households that used Fundació Arrels *la Botigueta* to access food. The social worker managing the program articulated that among these were households that completely depended on the food assistance program to access food.

**Table 14: Distribution of accompanied users of ‘la Botigueta’ from Sub-Sahara African country: 2012-2016**

Country of origin	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016*
Angola	2	2	2	1	1
Congo	1	2	-	3	1
Senegal	61	57	57	63	37
Togo	1	1	-	-	
Equatorial Guinea	6	11	11	10	6
Cameroon	12	9	7	6	4
Nigeria	31	33	38	39	27
Mali	35	46	22	16	16
Burkina Faso	2	2	4	3	-
Gabon	1	-	-	-	-
Gambia	29	28	27	27	15
Ghana	12	45	23	28	9
Guinea	14	19	12	12	7
Guinea Bissau	9	3	4	3	-
DRC	3	2	1	-	1

<sup>172</sup> I prefer not to indicate the name of the organization and rather leave it anonymous for obvious reasons

<sup>173</sup> .. we complain more from an ethical perspective ... it bothers us that a joint database was created to avoid duplication and that a similar one wasn't created to see how we can improve the ways we provide services to people; they are two goals that I believe are complimentary in practice...but where do they place emphasis in life!

Country of origin	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016*
CAR	1	1	1	-	1
Sierra Leone	1	-	-	-	-
Ivory Coast	-	3	3	4	1
Burundi	-	-	1	-	-
Niger	-	1	-	1	-
Benin	-	1	-	-	-
Total	222	266	215	216	126
Total (all accompanied Users)	1130	1110	1034	1102	681
Total (all beneficiaries, direct & indirect)	3144	3144	2986	2932	1896

\* Data for 2016 are from the 01/01/2016 -18/07/2016

**Table 15: Distribution of Accompanied Users of *La Botigueta* by Region of origin**

Year	Accompanied users					Total accompanied users	Total all users
	SSA	North Africa	Europe	Americas	Asia		
2012	222	297	513	52	-	1084	3144
2013	266	284	476	38	8	1071	3144
2014	215	255	368	47	4	889	2986
2015	214	274	386	54	3	933	2932
2016*	126	187	214	29	1	557	1896

\* Data for 2016 are from the 01/01/2016 -18/07/2016

The social workers of the social Intervention Unit<sup>174</sup> (specialists in immigration and refugees' issues) of The Red Cross highlighted that the profile of the persons demanding their services, specifically food assistance had drastically changed since the economic crisis. He noted that immigrant households from the Maghreb region constituted the largest proportion of the population receiving support and assistance from the Red Cross. SSA immigrant households – particularly from Mali, Senegal and Gambia were the third largest proportion of users.

I have presented the above statistics of SSA immigrant households that access food from state and public institutions (specifically from *Ajuntament de Lleida*, *Fundació Arrels – La Botigueta*) to emphasise the limitations of HFSSM in capturing non-income-related food insecurity such as access to food through uncustomary ways – state and private food assistance programs. For some of the 18 SSA immigrant households who relied on the food assistance programs of the Social Inclusion Unit of the Social Services of the Lleida and Tarragona City Councils, *Fundación Arrels*, and The Red Cross to access food, their entire household food needs were through these programs (this is noted in my next case study).

<sup>174</sup> A unit whose main objective is the integration of immigrants and persons in a situation of social vulnerability and persons at risk of social exclusion.

Lastly, with regards to SSA immigrants' responses to the household food security – related questions (see table 13), 28/30 SSA immigrant households I interviewed indicated they had never been without food nor the same meal for several days because of lack of financial resources to buy different foods; nor had they consumed less quantity of food because of limited food budget or because the money was meant for other priorities.

### **Household income, expenditure and access to the Spanish healthy food budget (SHFB) – depicting household food security**

In addition to exploring the data of SSA immigrant households resorting to food assistance programs at the level of private and public institutions as indicated above, and considering the number of SSA immigrant households that reported use of such programs, I considered the income of each household (as informed by the households themselves), compared with the minimum income allowance in the Catalonia region (particularly for households on a social protection scheme)<sup>175</sup>. Also, I used the recently developed Spanish Healthy Food Budget (SHFB), that is priced baskets containing the minimum goods and services used for estimating a minimum budget threshold below which healthy eating is not possible for specific households (see Carrillo Álvarez et al., 2016)

Taking into account the minimum budget threshold below which healthy eating is not possible for specific households, and the income (income range) reported by informants; as well as the minimum allowance for social protection schemes in Catalonia; I analyse if SSA immigrant households (case studied specific examples) of specific income range (specific cases of immigrants of different profile – those who name social assistance, income support as their main source of income, and the employed with a work contract, occasional employment in the grey economy) are able to afford a healthy, nutritious food basket (SHFB) – i.e. based on the thresholds defined by Carrillo Álvarez et al., (2016). I specifically used the 'affordability scenarios' (see Newell, Williams, & Watt, 2014; Williams et al., 2012) to compare the cost of the basic nutritious diet and other basic needs with the reported incomes of SSA households. Therefore, the affordability scenarios considered food costing data and other information on estimated income and basic expenses; potential expenses such as family emergencies were not considered. Principally, I considered SSA households' expenses on shelter, power, water, telephone service, and transport; services essential for basic standard of living: i.e. those intermediate needs that must be covered before people can

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<sup>175</sup> The basic allowance per beneficiary for Catalonia region is: €423.70; if the beneficiary has a child or children it will be: 1st child: € 478.99; 2nd child: €534.28; 3rd child: €589.57; 4th child: €625.16; 5th child: €645.30. the minimum amount a beneficiary can receive is €105.93 while the maximum amount is €645.30 (Malgesini, 2014).

fully participate in society (Doyal & Gough, 1991; Storms et al., 2013). The intermediate needs identified by Doyal & Gough (1991) are more or less the same to Eurostat (2010) AROPE (At Risk of Poverty and Social Exclusion) concept, specifically referring to severely materially deprived persons. These are persons unable to do at least four out of the following nine deprivation items:

- Unable to pay rents or utility;
- Unable to keep home adequately warm;
- Unable to face unexpected;
- Eat meat, fish or a protein equivalent every second day;
- Unable to afford a week holiday away from home;
- No car;
- No washing machine
- No color television;
- No telephone service at home.

It is based on these European standards of material and intermediate needs, necessary for full participation in society and to ensure no risk of poverty and social exclusion that basic expenses for SSA households were considered. These were expenses on housing, transportation, and power and telephone service. Monthly expenses were deducted from reported monthly income and the difference revealed whether the specific SSA household could afford a priced food basket (the SHFB) (see appendices for daily amounts of food for each household type in the SHFB by Carrillo Álvarez et al., 2016). The SHFB provides a list of necessary goods and services to guarantee an adequate nutrition, based on the current dietary recommendations (Food-Based Dietary Guidelines – FBDG) for the Spanish population, developed by the SENC; and built on the nutritional needs of healthy individuals. The guideline provides orientation about the necessary average portions and frequencies of consumption of different foods to promote healthy eating and regular physical activity. What Carrillo Álvarez et al. (2016) proposed is a food budget that takes into account most of the food consumed below the recommended allowances than those with excessive intake, selecting the cheapest options from the available preferential products to compose a balanced food basket for a minimum budget (Carrillo Álvarez et al., 2016:3). Below is a table of the different specific types of households and minimum cost (in euros) of a balanced food basket per month based on Carrillo Álvarez et al. (2016):

**Table 16: Carrillo Álvarez et al. (2016) Spanish Healthy Food Budget (SHFB)**

Woman +		Man +		Man	Woman	Couple	Couple + one child		Couple + 2 children
Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl				Boy	Girl	
<b>261,84</b>	272,63	261,84	322,60	172,94	131,63	298,97	442,47	446,03	573,80

Source: Carrillo Álvarez et al. (2016)

### **Human agency at work: SSA immigrants' foodways in the context of the economic crisis – mitigation strategies (food acquisition, food sharing, food for work, rational use of finances)**

Despite endeavors to live with reduced or limited incomes resulting from the loss of their jobs or the crisis Spain has been hit with, many SSA households are faced with the day-to-day challenge of providing food for both themselves and their families. Despite these challenges, the biological and cultural weight of food in society propels them to carve out coping mechanisms to mitigate the effects of unusual and limited access to food (23-30). By coping mechanisms, I refer to the ways in which SSA immigrants in Lleida and Tarragona deal with situations of food shortage or limited access to food; how they mitigate the consequences of an immediate and unusual shortage in food (31-33). That is, the various ways SSA households put their agency (socioculturally mediated capacity to act) to work, to influence the effects of immediate and unusual shortage of food. By highlighting the coping mechanisms of SSA households, I note the different ways food insecurity and hunger are experienced in the households, through an analysis of how their foods and diets are shaped by the economic crisis; that is the changes that have occurred in immigrants' foodways.

To do this, I asked informants how food-related activities (shopping, cooking, and consumption) was done prior to the crisis (2000-2008) and then sought to know how it was currently done. Changes in immigrants foodways is not only shaped by exposure to the food culture of the Spanish society but also connected to the consequences of the economic development of the host society, as well as the changes in the food production system (Holmboe-Ottersen & Wandel, 2012). Therefore, immigrants' foodways are the result not just of migration per se, but also of concrete socioeconomic, demographic and cultural conditions. Moreover, Belasco (2008) notes that changes in the food production system brings about the increased consumption of animal foods, fats and processed foods and a decrease in the consumption of food products rich in fiber and micronutrients. These are changes that may affect the food practices of immigrants and culminate to the development of a modern (new) diet, which may be a risk factor for the development of chronic diseases (Satia et al., 2002). Hence, cultural, sociodemographic factors, economic developments in host society, as well as immigrants' exposure to the culture of the host society may affect their food practices: immigrants may maintain traditional dietary patterns; they may completely adopt host society foods' and diets'; or may incorporate the host society's eating patterns into their diet while maintaining some traditional food practices (Satia, 2003).

Food acquisition, selection and consumption behavior is a characteristic of food insecurity (and food insecure individuals and households) and represents deviations from social and cultural norms

(Doyle & Gough, 1984; Storms et al., 2013). In the context of resource constraints, it is but logical that the food acquisition, consumption, and selection practices of individuals and households (experiencing financial constraints) be affected. Strategies used by SSA immigrants to counter the effects of immediate and unusual shortage in food varies amongst them and depends on the frequency, duration and the level of severity of the experience. Where food products are acquired or purchased, and the kind of product that is obtained vary among the SSA immigrant households in this study.

The price and quantity of the food items greatly determine the choice of where to shop (Case 1, Mado – single-parent, with three children); the interplay of opportunities – bargaining, quality and price also guides where to shop for groceries, especially perishable items and fruits (Case 2, Gerald, single and unemployed). Work in exchange for food sharing (Case 3, Affah, student and unemployed), rational use of income (Case 4, Antoine, married, employed and father of three). I use these four examples to expatiate on the issues raised above.

#### **Case I: Mado: food acquisition strategies – a matter of prices, sales, quality and quantity**

Mado, from the DRC migrated to Spain in 2004 before the start of economic crisis in 2007. She noted that what has mainly changed with the economic crisis for her are the means (livelihood resources – finances)<sup>176</sup>.

*« ...avant les gens avaient la faciliter d'avoir un travail, si tu pars peut-être dépose ton curriculum quelque pas on pouvait facilement t'appeler même pour travailler dans le noire. Il y avait beaucoup le travail pour garder les vieilles personnes jusqu'à on chercheur même les gens mais maintenant il y a plus, ce ça le problème... » (Interview 19/03/2015)<sup>177</sup>.*

Since Mado migrated to Spain she has never had an employment with a work contract, she has mainly been working in the grey economy. She illegally migrated to the country and so when she arrived she did not have legal documents (papers) that would allow her work. Despite efforts in searching for a job and even going to the civic center to see if they could get her a job or any occupational training, she remained unemployed. When Mado went to the civic center seeking for employment or occupational training, they first enrolled her to take a computer course, which she did not because she had just had a baby and didn't want to take him to the classes and disturb the others. She attended the lessons two or three times and stopped; before that she had enrolled in a Spanish and Catalan language course which she never completed – she stopped when she was

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<sup>176</sup> ...ce qui a beaucoup changer ce sont les moyennes – l'argent quoi...

<sup>177</sup> ... before, it wasn't difficult to get a job, if you deposited your curriculum vitae somewhere you were easily called up to come work, even if it was to work in the grey economy. There was a lot of work to care for the elderly to the extent that they were looking for people to work in this domain; but now, there are no jobs, that is the problem...



seven months pregnant with her first child (she has three children: a daughter – age 14, and 2 sons of 10 and 8 years).

Despite the lack of language proficiency, or specific occupational training, Mado could still get a job in the grey economy, but she did not; she decided to depend on her husband who was working in the construction sector and earned enough money to take care of her and her children. Moreover, her husband did not like the idea of her working, he insisted she had to stay at home and take care of the children. The only activity Mado did, which she considered work she has ever done in Spain was hair braiding, mostly for other SSA immigrant women either in the homes of the other women or in her home:

« ... *bon, moi je m'en sortait parce que à l'époque comme je tressais bon je peux tresser deux ou trois ou quatre à la semaine, à l'époque il y'avais de l'argent quoi, une tresse pouvait me donner entre 30 et 50 euros* » (Interview 19/03/2015)<sup>178</sup>.

Things began to change for the worse for Mado; her husband divorced her and went to leave with another woman (a Spanish national). He left her with her three kids, two of whom had mental disabilities. With no official employment (no work contract), just left with the little she earned from her hair braiding activity, it was hard for her to take care of herself and her children. In addition to this, back then, Mado did not receive any state social protection benefits;

« ... je ne recevais rien avant, tout ce que je prends maintenant ce parce que je suis séparée de mon ex-mari, monoparentale et parce que j'ai deux enfants handicap mental... » (ibid.)<sup>179</sup>.

Nevertheless, around the time I conducted this interview with Mado she had been awarded an economic allowance for having dependent children under 18 years (*prestación económica por hijo o menor acogido a cargo*) under her care. This is an allowance given to parents who have dependent or foster children who depend on them economically and who are under 18 years or older with a disability that is equal to or higher than 33% or 65%. An amount of €291 is awarded per child in the case of large families for dependent or foster children under 18 years with no disability; and €1,000 in case of a dependent or foster child under 18 years with a disability that is equal to or higher than 33%. Beneficiaries of this allowance cannot be entitled to other allowances of the same characteristics in any social protection regimen of the state, and must not earn an annual income superior to the limits set by the state – €11,576.83, to which 15% is added for each additional dependent child or

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<sup>178</sup> ... well, I was managing, because since I used to braid other women's hair back then, so I could braid the hair of two, three or four people per week... back then there was money and each hair braid could generate some €30-€50

<sup>179</sup> I was not getting any assistance or support before, everything I am now receiving is because I separated from my ex-husband, because I am a single parent and because I have two children suffering from mental disability.

foster child from the second (see table 5.1 in annex for details on the attribution criteria)<sup>180</sup>. Also, Mado is entitled to an allowance from her ex-husband for their children, she noted that he had not been doing that and has reported him to the social services on several occasions to no avail.

Therefore, Mado's source of livelihood was the allowance she was receiving and sometimes from her hair braiding activity. However, she complained that with the crisis, her customers were no longer paying her as they usually did, instead of the €30-€50 they formerly paid; they paid between €20 and €30. With what she was receiving as allowance and no support from her ex-husband, Mado faced difficulties to take care of herself and her children. She was evicted from the house her husband had purchased from the bank but had stopped paying; that is how she was given a two-bedroom flat in a social protection home owned by the social services of the Tarragona city council to live with her three children.

### **Shopping in the context of the economic crisis**

I asked Mado if she had noticed any changes in the ways she now does her shopping, compared to the time before the crisis or before she divorced her husband. She asserted that many things had changed that before she did not have to make several calculations before shopping, that she just took her shopping bag and went to the supermarket. She explained that things had come to a time when everything is limited, and she is unable to purchase items the way she did in the past

*« ... oui il y a beaucoup de changements parce que avant quand tu aller faire les achats tu ne calculé rien, tu prenais seulement ton sac de marche pour aller, mais un moment arriver au tout est limiter, tu ne peux plus prends les choses (faïres les achats) comme tu faisais avant ; parce qu'il y a moins d'argent maintenant...» (Interview 19/03/2015)<sup>181</sup>.*

In addition, she echoed that she purchased most groceries from Carrefour Supermarket before the economic crisis and her subsequent divorce with her ex-husband, who always drove her there because it was quite a distance from where they lived. There were buses leaving from the area where she resided to the shopping center but as she highlighted, the bus hours were inconvenient – long waiting intervals. With the economic crisis Mado rarely shopped at Carrefour Supermarket

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<sup>180</sup> See Ministerio de Empleo y Seguridad Social. Prestaciones familia:

[http://www.seg-social.es/Internet\\_1/Trabajadores/PrestacionesPension10935/Prestacionesfamilia10967/Prestacioneconomica27924/Cuantias/index.htm](http://www.seg-social.es/Internet_1/Trabajadores/PrestacionesPension10935/Prestacionesfamilia10967/Prestacioneconomica27924/Cuantias/index.htm)

<sup>181</sup> Yes, there are several changes because before you didn't have to make calculations when you went shopping, you mainly took your shopping bag and went; but it's come to a time when everything is limited, you can no longer purchase items as you did before, because now, there is less money.

again, she said the only occasions she now shops there is when there are items on sales or when she is giving a Carrefour Supermarket shopping card by the Red Cross:

*« Nous à l'époque ont faisaient la majorité de nos achats au supermarché Carrefour, mais maintenant je peux faire six mois sans y aller. Les rares temps que j'y vais son peut être quand ils ont les soldes, mais si ce seulement pour aller faire les achats non ! En dehors de ça si peut-être on me donne la carte de shopping de Carrefour comme on m'avait donné l'année passer à la crois rouge, là je peux partir ». (Interview 19/03/2015)<sup>182</sup>.*

In addition to shopping mostly at Carrefour Supermarket in the past – every two weeks – Mado noted that she often spent between €60 and €80 per shopping; she purchased traditional African food products from an African shop in Torreforta- the ethnic grocery shop had shut down<sup>183</sup>. With the economic crisis, Mado changed from customarily shopping at Carrefour Supermarket to shopping more in *Mercadona* and *Bonarea* Supermarkets – but particularly from *Mercadona* Supermarket, firstly, because they have good products, and secondly, because they are also sold at good prices compared to *Lidl* or *Día* Supermarkets:

*« J'y vais plus au supermarché de Mercadona, y Bonarea (surtout Mercadona) premièrement parce que les produits son bon, et aussi parce que le prix est bon surtout Mercadona – para port a Lidl, para port à Dia. Les produits de Mercadona vraiment ce superbe, il vende moins cher mais aussi les produits ont une bonne qualité ». (Interview 19/03/2015)<sup>184</sup>.*

Mado did not only change her previous (and main) shopping venue for groceries – Carrefour Supermarket – she equally eliminated some food items from her foods and diets, principally because she considered they had become expensive;

*« Il y a certains aliments que j'achetais avant que je n'achète plus – il y avait un genre de jambon que j'achetais avant mais maintenant je n'achète plus parce que c'est un peu cher et il y a beaucoup des produits comme ça » (Interview 19/03/2015)<sup>185</sup>.*

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<sup>182</sup> Back then, we mainly shopped for groceries at Carrefour supermarket, but now I can stay for about six months without going there. The few times I go there is when they have products on discounts because if it is only to go shopping there, no! Apart from that if, I am given their gift card, as did The Red Cross last year I may go there and shop.

<sup>183</sup> I got in touch with the lady who used to run the ethnic grocery shop in Torreforta to find out why they had closed the shop, she explained that she had lost most of her customers because they had lost their jobs and didn't have money to purchase food items, even some of them who had taken food items on loan, could not pay for it. Moreover, because she was not getting enough revenue that could take cover the other expenses of the business (light, water, rents etc.) she decided to shut down the business.

<sup>184</sup> I do most of my shopping at Mercadona and Bonarea supermarket (but mostly Mercadona) because they have good products sold at good prices compared to other supermarkets such as Lidl and Día. Mercadona truly has good products sold at cheap rates

<sup>185</sup> There are certain foods I used to buy before, that I buy no more – there was a ham I used to buy, but now, I do not buy it because it is expensive and it is like this with many other products.

Thus, Mado mainly bought cheaper items that could last longer; she bought items on sales such as frozen chicken. She accentuated that she rarely bought frozen chicken or fish before, but that they are currently what she prefers buying because they are cheaper and of greater quantity:

*« Maintenant je prends seulement le moins cher, quelque chose qui peut mettre long (la quantité) – les aliments en soldes comme le poulet congeler qui sont moins cher. Donc je préfère aller prendre les produits congeler – quelque chose que je ne regarder même pas avant – c'était vraiment rare que j'achète le poulet, poisson congeler dans les supermarchés, nous on aimait acheter les produits frais mais maintenant tu pars dans les choses congeler parce que ce beaucoup » (Interview 19/03/2015)<sup>186</sup>.*

Several products are purchased specifically when there are sales (especially the type where there is 50% or more discount on the purchase of the second unit of the same or similar product – this was a common practice in *Día* and *Carrefour* Supermarkets) and are usually bought in large quantities.

*« Le poisson je prends beaucoup les congeler et comme maintenant il y a les soldes au supermarché Dia – si tu prends un paquet de poisson congeler c'est 3.90€ mais si tu prends deux paquets un sort a 1.90€. Le supermarché fait une offre de 50% de réduction pour le deuxième produit acheter, j'étais là-bas hier j'ai pris deux bouteille de savon, yogourt, crème (natta) parce que c'était tous en soldes, nous on suit beaucoup les choses qui sont en soldes. Donc on commence à entre beaucoup à Dia pour regarder les soldes parce que tous les jours il y a les soldes : de la viande, le poisson, les pizzas. Il y a les soldes a Mercadona aussi mais pas beaucoup, mais à Dia il y a quelque chose qui est en solde chaque jour » (Interview 19/03/2015)<sup>187</sup>.*

With a limited food budget, Mado carefully chose what supermarkets or markets to purchase groceries, and the type of food product to buy. She narrated how her choice of food products was guided by the price of the food item and the possibility of saving some few euros that could be useful for the purchase of some other food item or sugary drinks:

*« Par exemple si tu veux acheter un poulet frais ça va te coute au moins 4.50€ mais si tu regardes dans les congélateurs, il y a les cuisses du poulet qui vont te couter autour de 2€ ou 2.50€. Donc tu vas prendre le moins cher (les cuisses congeler) pour que les 1 ou 2 euros tu gagnes en ne pas acheter le poulet frais tu puisses les utiliser à acheter le jus » (Interview 19/03/2015)<sup>188</sup>.*

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<sup>186</sup> “Nowadays I generally buy the cheapest products, something that can last longer (i.e. in terms of quantity) - foods products on sales or discounts that are cheaper, for example frozen chicken. So I prefer to take the frozen products, which I previously never considered buying, it was rare for me to buy frozen fish from a supermarket – we loved to buy fresh produce but we are now forced to look at frozen products because in terms of quantity, it is much compared to fresh products”.

<sup>187</sup> I buy a lot of frozen fish, for instance there are sales in *Día* Supermarket – if you buy a pack of frozen fish it is €3,90 but if you take a second pack, it will cost €1,90. The supermarket gives a 50% discount for the second pack. I was there yesterday and I took two bottles of liquid soap, yoghurt, and cream milk because they were all on sales discount. We go a lot for products on sales discount. So, we are beginning to go a lot to *Día* Supermarket to look at the sales discounts there, because every day there are sales discounts for meat, fish pizzas etc.

<sup>188</sup> For example, if you want to buy unfrozen chicken it will cost at least €4,50 but if you check in the freezers, you will find chicken thighs that cost about €2 or €2,50. So you will buy the cheaper one (frozen chicken thighs) so that the €1 or €2 you saved for not buying the unfrozen chicken, you could use to buy a sugary drink.

Thus, soft drinks such as Coca-Cola whether light, zero, with caffeine or normal (bottle of 2 liters cost from €1,36 to €1,39), Fanta (2 litres bottle cost €1,11), Mado used to buy, she buys them no more because there are others that are like these main drinks; Coca-Cola and Fanta; drinks such as Cola (pretty much like Coca-Cola) were as much as twice cheaper than the previous soft drinks – 2 litres bottle cost €0,51.

*« ... maintenant quand je pars a Mercadona il y a un jus qu'on vend à 1€, ce 2 litres, ça dure plus que les jus que j'achetais avant – les coca-cola, les Fanta etc. maintenant quand je pars a Mercadona je prends leur cola parce que ce meilleur que les autres, ils ont deux sortes de cola là-bas mais il y a un qui coûte 0,51€ (2 litres) et tu sais avec les autres 1 ou 2 euros qui reste tu es capable d'acheter encore une autre chose » (Interview 19/03/2015)<sup>189</sup>.*

Mado's children made the decisions of the meals they ate, she always asked them what they wanted to eat and that was what she cooked. Nonetheless, as much as she loved to cook what the children asked, there were occasions when she could not do that, such as when the foods they wanted to eat was considered expensive by their mother. In such situations, Mado made cheaper but similar recipes:

*« C'est les enfants qui décide très souvent les menus de la maison, ils me disent qu'on veut telle chose. J'écoute beaucoup à mes enfants parce que moi si je veux cuisiner ce que j'aime je ferais plus les plats africains mes eux ils ne se donnent pas trop à ça. Ils aiment plus les macaronis, les viandes hachée, pian de viande – en vérité avant quand on achetait ça c'était aussi moins cher, mais maintenant c'est un peu cher, et parfois quand tu veux même acheter ça tu réfléchis deux fois et tu préfères laissez et allez a Bonarea et acheter les côtes de porc et avec ça je peux tourner quelque chose on mange » (Interview 19/03/2015)<sup>190</sup>.*

As pointed out by Mado, her children's food preference differed from hers, they liked foods like spaghetti, French fries, rice, macaroni with tomatoes sauce, they did not like sliced onions, bell pepper in their food – they preferred it ground and not sliced; and they hated vegetables and salads. This was problematic for Mado because if she did not train them to eat 'a little bit of everything' they were going to have problems with the foods and diets in school. Mado's kids had already faced challenges with the foods and diets served them at school:

*« ... à l'époque ils avaient vraiment les problèmes pour manger à l'école ; comme ils étaient petit et ils avaient des problèmes, ils mangeaient toujours la nourriture écraser et comme à l'école là-bas il fallait qu'il*

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<sup>189</sup> "... Now when I go to Mercadona there is a sugary drink that sells 2 liters for one euro, it lasts more than the other sugary drinks I bought before - Coca-Cola, Fanta etc. I take the cola drink from Mercadona because it is better than the others, they have two kinds of cola drinks but there is one that costs 0,51 € (2 liters) and you know I could use the balance to get another item"

<sup>190</sup> It is my children who often decided the menus; they tell me what they would like to eat. I follow what my children say because if I had to decide the menus and cook what I like, I would do African dishes, but they do not like that much. What they like more is macaroni, minced meat, meat loafs – the truth is these are the stuffs we used to buy before because they were cheaper, but now, there are a bit expensive, and sometimes, even when you want to buy that, you think twice and then you prefer to let go and go buy pork ribs at *Bonarea*, and with that I made a meal and we ate.

*mange les choses comme le riz non écraser et pas seulement écraser ils ne mangeaient pas tout sorts de nourriture. Surtout le plus petit, tous ce qu'il aimait c'était le riz, vous mettez les macaronis o ceci il ne voulait pas y pour manger même, il fallait mettre une cuillère de la nourriture, une cuillère de yaourt, si tu ne fais pas ça il ne va pas manger il va rester là ; et tu voire ça fait mal, je suis partir avec lui à l'hôpital, la bas on dire donner-les beaucoup de l'eau beaucoup de lait, mais il ne voulait pas aussi ça, donc, moi je lui donnait que ce qu'il voulait, et il ne voulait que le yaourt... » (Interview 19/03/2015)<sup>191</sup>.*

One of the ways Mado tried to have her children get used to eating other foods was eating out in fast food restaurants, particularly McDonalds.

*« Nous mangeons aussi parfois dehors dans les restaurants fast food – beaucoup des fois c'était à McDonalds. Je faisais ça beaucoup pour que les enfants puissent s'adapter pour être calme parce que comme ils étaient très neveux il fallait toujours sortie avec eux pour qu'ils puissent s'habituer quoi, pour s'adapter avec les gens (les autres) parce que à l'époque ils ne pouvaient pas supporter où il y'avait beaucoup des gens, ils devenaient encore plus nerveux » (Interview 19/03/2015)<sup>192</sup>.*

Food practices in Mado's home is characterized by a mix of African and Spanish cuisine; there are recipes she does that are typically African and others that are typically Spanish. This dietary style, particularly the incorporation of Spanish foods and diets is mainly influenced by her children's food preference, which is in turn the result of her children's exposure to the foods and diets of the Spanish society in school:

*« Il y a la recette que je faire ici à la maison qui sont typiquement espagnol, comme les lentilles, en vérité moi je ne connaissais pas ça, les lentilles, brocoli, la soupe (la sopa) les choses comme ça, parce que nous on a notre soupe mais on a notre façon de préparer la soupe, la purée – ils aiment écraser les pommes, alors que nous on mange les patates mes on aime la manger sans écraser ; les macaroni – bon ce vrai que nous aussi on prépare les macaronis mais eux ils ont les façon de faire les macaroni avec beaucoup de tomate au-dessus comme ça. Eh bien on mange un peu mélangé ici à la maison – Espagnol, Africain » (Interview 19/03/2015)<sup>193</sup>*

Indeed, if it all depended on Mado, she would prefer foods and diets that are much more African than Spanish. This is the reason why from time to time she goes to African grocery shops to buy

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<sup>191</sup> ... They had eating problems at school in the past, this is because when they were little, they always ate food that was mashed and since they were served food that wasn't mashed in school, such as rice, they weren't eating all sorts of foods. Especially the youngest, what he liked was rice, and didn't want macaroni or any another food, but even for him to eat the rice, you had to give him first a spoon of yoghurt and a spoon of rice without which he would deny to eat it. So, you see, it is painful, I have taken him to the hospital and they said I should give a lot of water and milk, but he didn't want that neither, so I specifically gave him what he wanted, and what he wanted was yoghurt...

<sup>192</sup> We sometimes ate out in a fast food restaurant – mostly at McDonalds. I did that a lot so that my children could adapt and be calm since they were very anxious, I always had to go out with them in order that they be accustomed to having other people around them; because in the past it was impossible for them to be where there were many people, it made them more anxious.

<sup>193</sup> There are recipes I do here at home that are typically Spanish, such as lentils... the truth is that I didn't know these foods: lentils, broccoli, soup (*la sopa*) because we have our own kind of soup – our own method of cooking soup...for example, mashed potatoes – they like mash potatoes while we like eating potatoes but not mashed; macaroni – well it is true that we also cook macaroni but they have their way of doing it with much tomatoes on it, like that! Well, here at home we do a mix – Spanish, African.

traditional food products, specifically used in the preparation of typical African delicacies (*la nourriture de nous*):

« Je faire aussi les achats dans les boutiques de provision africain, c'est à dire quand je pars là-bas ce pour acheter que les aliments d'Afrique – la nourriture de chez nous »<sup>194</sup>.

Per Mado, African grocery shops had a large clientele before, which has gradually been dwindling with the economic crisis, to the extent that some of them in Tarragona have crumbled or shut down<sup>195</sup>. Those that are still operating have incorporated other products (non-African) to attract other group of customers – Latinos. African grocery shops in Tarragona are located in *Torreforta* neighborhood, currently there are four known African grocery shops spread out in *Torreforta*; in Lleida there seven African grocery shops in the *Centre Històric* (see table 5.2 in Annex).

Concerns with getting much food at the most minimal cost possible guides Mado's food acquisition behavior and choice of where to purchase food items. 'Día', 'Mercadona' and 'Bonarea' are the preferred supermarkets from where most groceries are obtained. This is mainly because of their prices, acknowledged to be cheap and affordable (especially, 'Mercadona') for many, and because of the possibilities of discounts on several products on sales. This is comprehensive given her affordability scenario shows the budget she is left with every month after her expenses is insufficient to get her family a nutritive food basket as estimated by Carrillo Álvarez et al. (2016).

**Table 17: Affordability Scenario for Mado**

Monthly Income		Monthly expenses	
Shelter allowance €143	Personal allowance €200	Shelter €350	Power €60
Childcare allowance €450		Water €20	Telephone/internet €43,87
<b>Total Income €793</b>		Transport €22	Other expenses €100
		<b>Total Expenses €595,87</b>	
<b>What is left? €197,13</b>		<b>Spanish Healthy Food Budget €573,80</b>	

Mado's benefited from social protection scheme for single mothers with children under their care, €150 per child and paid after every six months. Thus, for her three children she got a total of €450 after distribution per month. She also got shelter allowance from the autonomous community

<sup>194</sup> I also buy from African shops, I mean when I go there, is to buy African foods – our food.

<sup>195</sup> At least this is the case in Tarragona, not in Lleida.

(Catalonia)<sup>196</sup>, an amount of €143. Mado spent a total of €573,80 on shelter, power, water, transport, telephone and internet, as well as other expense (such as purchase of personal care items). After expenses, Mado was left with €197,13 which is far below what she needed for a balanced food basket (SHFB).

### **Case 2: Gerald: understanding the seasons and the time, strategic shopping time**

Gerald is a 35-year-old SSA immigrant from Gabon; he is single and migrated to Spain 10 years ago. Like Kika he came to Spain by means of family reunification with a foster family that lived in Zaragoza. His principal objective migrating to Spain was to continue his baccalaureate studies get a job and help his parents and siblings back in his country. Things did not go as planned, he fell out with his foster family, could not get into college nor get employment. His differences with his foster family and desire to work motivated him to change his resident status. He eventually left Zaragoza and settled in Tarragona, where he was working in the first two years he was there. However, in the process of getting a different residence status he paid (bought) a work contract, thanks to which he could change his residence status. However, two years after he got to Tarragona his legal residency was cancelled after the authorities discovered his work contract was not authentic and he was asked to leave the country. Hence, he has been unemployed since then with no social assistance benefits, but he was 'surviving' by doing little jobs in the underground economy and was getting some money from out-renting two rooms in the flat he lived in; sometimes he placed his bedroom for rent (one month) to get more money. However, Gerald's condition became so difficult because the main tenants he had in the rooms left and he could not find their replacement; and jobs in the grey economy became rare. Therefore, he decided to move in with a family in the city from his country; it was the family that suggested he move in with them until he could take care of himself again. Gerald was hesitant from the beginning but indicated that he was eventually going to move in with the family. He reported that he has been worried on several occasions that he might run out of the little funds he had and out of food and not be able to buy food.

Below is Gerald's affordability scenario for a nutritious food basket per Carrillo Álvarez et al. (2016) estimate:

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[http://dogc.gencat.cat/ca/pdogc\\_canals\\_interns/pdogc\\_resultats\\_fitxa/?action=fitxa&documentId=722809&language=ca\\_ES](http://dogc.gencat.cat/ca/pdogc_canals_interns/pdogc_resultats_fitxa/?action=fitxa&documentId=722809&language=ca_ES)



**Table 18: Affordability Scenario for Gerald**

Monthly Income		Monthly expenses	
Shelter allowance €100	Personal allowance €350	Shelter €150	Power €45
		Water €26	Telephone/internet €24.60
		Transport €50	Other expenses €150
<b>Total Income €450</b>		<b>Total Expenses €419,6</b>	
<b>What is left? €30,4</b>		<b>Spanish Healthy Food Budget 172,94</b>	

Before Gerald's residency was cancelled, he worked for a couple of years and was eligible for unemployment benefits, but because his residency was cancelled following the fraud discovered with the employment contract he used to regularize his stay in the country, he became ineligible to receive the unemployment benefits. The reason being that without the status of a legal residence the unemployment office cannot authorize the payment of such benefit. Therefore, he had been surviving by out-renting the two bedrooms and sometimes his own bedroom in the flat he was living in; sometimes he rented it out to tourist visiting the country. When I asked him to estimate what his monthly income could be and the source, he said €450 and mainly from rents collected from the tenants of the rooms, he rented out. Then we both did an estimate of his expenses on shelter, bills (power, water, internet, and telephone), transport and other expenses, which were mainly the other things he needed not related to food. Sometimes it included remittances to his family in country of origin. Together, Gerald had monthly expenses of about €419,6, which was almost all his monthly income. Thus, looking at what was left from his monthly income after expenses, getting a nutritious food basket is an impossible mission for Gerald: a Spanish healthy food budget for a single man as estimated by Carrillo Álvarez et al. (2016) will cost a total of €172,94.

These financial restraints greatly shaped Gerald's food procurement behavior at the time of choice of what place to shop for groceries. If in the first case (Mado) we saw how shopping behavior is shaped by varying possibilities of purchasing more food at the cheapest price possible – i.e. discounts and sales; Gerald's is in addition to this guided by the interplay of opportunities (the possibility of bargaining the price tagged for food items with the vendors), quality and price. There are certain products of good quality (fresh products) that can be purchased at cheap and affordable prices or even cheaper than the original price. However, this depends on having knowledge of where to purchase it and especially on how and when; i.e. at what time of the day to go shop the

products. This category of products (vegetables and fruits) are generally bought in open-air markets (farmers' market) like in the Sunday markets of Bonavista that run from the morning hours to 2:00pm. Most of the products sold in this open-air market are fresh and often directly from the fields. Since, most of the products are perishable products, many vendors aim at selling all if not most of the products from the field because they are difficult to conserve fresh until the next market day. Many SSA immigrants like Gerald understand this underlying need and do explore it to their advantage.

*"The fruits and vegetables we consume here at home, we buy it from the market in Bonavista, I go there at the 'rush hours' when vendors begin to pack the unsold products to leave... at this hour you get products at giveaway prices; fresh fruits and vegetables of good quality. For example, 15kg of fresh potatoes is sold for about 3€ during normal sales hours in the market but if you get there when they are closing, you can get it for 1.50€ or 2€. The same quantity of potatoes at the supermarkets will cost you some 7€ or more...15kg potatoes is a lot and we can eat it for the next one month or so if you conserve it well"*  
(Interview 12/04/2016).

Thus, Gerald often purchased food at the Bonavista market at specific hours. SSA usually know about the market and the best hours to go shop for groceries through other immigrants. Shopping for groceries is usually in large quantities and though most of the purchases are perishable items, they developed conservation techniques to have them last longer periods. For instance, Gerald indicated that when he bought potatoes in large quantities he would peel and freeze them; or would sometimes cook them before freezing.

Also, Gerald's choice of the Bonavista market to shop for groceries is shaped by the opportunity to bargain the prices of items with the vendors. He explained that price bargaining is a common practice in the markets in Gabon, and that Africans, especially the women are good at bargaining prices with vendors to get items at the cheapest price possible. Therefore, the choice of where to shop for groceries is shaped by price, quantity, and quality, and characterized by knowledge of discounts offers, bargaining opportunities and abilities, and knowledge of strategic shopping hours (rush hours). These are taken into consideration at the time of choice of where to shop for groceries. So, While Mado was keen on the prices and quantity of the products on sales at the supermarket, especially 'Mercadona' and progressively, 'Día', Gerald's food procurement behavior is shaped by the possibility of getting fresh and good quality food items at 'giveaway prices' during the 'rush hours'.

I also asked Gerald if he sometimes ate away from home, he indicated that he did not, not only because of his financial situation – no job, but also because he was not confident of the foods in

restaurants. However, he emphasized it was more because he was not working any longer, that he avoided certain 'luxuries':

*« Manger hors de la maison dans un restaurant non pour moi non car en ces moments je ne peux pas me le permettre. Parce que non seulement à cause de mes problèmes économiques mais aussi parce que depuis mon enfance j'ai toujours eu peur de manger dans des restaurants à cause du manque d'hygiène de certains restaurants. Mais en vérité c'est beaucoup plus dû au fait que je ne travaille plus, je me réserve de certaines dépenses de luxes » (Interview 12/04/2016)<sup>197</sup>.*

It is interesting to note how Gerald described eating out as a luxury, several SSA households equally noted they rarely ate out of home and did eat out of home on specific occasions – on the birthday of a child. Going to a fast-food restaurant such as McDonalds was the simplest way of celebrating a child's birthday because as SSA immigrant parents report, their kids like to go there because there they meet with other kids they can play with.

During my interview with Gerald, I realized how much he associated most of the issues we discussed to his unemployment status. For example, I asked him what food items he bought when he went shopping and where he bought them, and he responded thus:

*« Je fais mes courses dans le supermarché dia. Quand je travaillais j'avais une carte mensuelle de transport et vu que j'aimais souvent faire de petite balade j'allais au supermarché Carrefour qui se trouve à Gavarres y faire des achats. Mais actuellement le plus souvent je le fais au supermarché Mercadona et le supermarché Bonarea » (Interview 12/04/2016)<sup>198</sup>.*

Gerald also noted that when he used to work and had a stable income he mainly ate fruits, changed the content of certain meals with fruits, and that what had changed in his shopping habit is that he no longer bought as much food as he did before and that sometimes he almost buys nothing. Because he did not have much money as in the past to buy the same amount of fruits he bought in the past. He further emphasized that before he mostly ate fish, which he now ate less and mainly ate the basic – that is trying to eat something that is balanced, which has protein:

*« Quand je travaillais et que j'avais un revenu régulier je ne mangeais souvent que de fruit, je changeais le contenu de certain plat par des fruits ; maintenant le changement est que je n'achète plus autant qu'avant et très souvent je n'achète presque pas. Parce que je n'ai plus autant de ressources pour acheter la même quantité de fruit qu'avant. Avant dans mon plat je pouvais juste avoir du poisson aujourd'hui je le mange*

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<sup>197</sup> It is not possible for me to eat away from home like in a restaurant because at this moment I cannot afford it; not only because of my financial situation but also because it is not something I was used to before – when I was a child I always was afraid to eat in restaurants because of the lack of hygiene in some restaurants. However, it is more because of the fact that I am not working, reason why I cannot afford certain things I now consider luxuries.

<sup>198</sup> I do my shopping in DÍA supermarket. When I was employed, I had a monthly transport card and because I always liked to walk around a little, I often went to Carrefour supermarket at Gavarres to shop. Nevertheless, currently, I mostly buy from Bonarea and Mercadona Supermarket.

*en petite quantité qu'avant. Actuellement je mange le basic si l'on peut dire... c'est-à-dire j'essaie de manger complet par exemple toujours avoir un apport de protéine dans le corps » (Interview 12/04/2016)<sup>199</sup>.*

Financial restraints made that Gerald couldn't take the bus any more to Gavares (shopping center in the outskirts of Tarragona city) and shop at Carrefour supermarket, which it should be noted that it is comparatively more expensive than the other supermarkets like Bonarea, Día and Mercadona. The proximity of the other supermarkets (Día, Mercadona) to where he lived, and the relationship quality – price are the pulling factors for Gerald's choice of where to shop for groceries:

*« Très souvent quand j'y vais c'est pour certains produits comme : le riz, les conserves de tomates, de thon la carotte, les pâtes, les produits de nettoyage et les vins et liqueurs. Le supermarché Dia se trouve à quelques pas de ma maison donc j'y vais quand je n'ai pas envie de me rendre jusqu'au supermarché Mercadona ». (Interview 12/04/2016)<sup>200</sup>.*

Shopping is no longer a frequent activity for Gerald, unlike before when he did shop on biweekly basis and stored up food in his apartment; he now shops on basis of need – only if there is need for a food item, does he go down to the supermarket to buy it:

*« Je le fais très souvent quand je me rends compte de qu'il me manque quelque chose à la maison. Très souvent en rentrant de mes promenades juste en passant près d'un super je m'arrête pour m'octroyer un article dont j'aurai besoin dans un futur proche ainsi je m'évite les allées et venues. Donc je n'ai pas de fréquence normale ». (Interview 12/04/2016)<sup>201</sup>.*

According to Gerald, he does not have a 'normal' shopping habit. When I asked him why he described his shopping habit as not being 'normal,' he responded: *'because a normal shopping habit will be if you shopped every week and had food stored up in your house and not when you go to the supermarket mainly to pick an item and come back home'.*

Commenting about the foods and meals he ate most, Gerald mentioned that his diet was a mix of Spanish and African diets depending on the food items he found in the market because sometimes eating solely African delicacies was costlier for him, so what he did was prepare the meal with the

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<sup>199</sup> When I was working, I had a regular income and I often ate only fruits I changed the contents of certain meals I made with fruits; now the change is that I do not buy as much as before and very often than not, I buy almost nothing because I do not have as much resources to buy the same amount of fruits as before. In the past, I ate mostly fish in a meal, but today I eat a very small quantity of fish. Currently, I eat the basic so to speak... i.e., I try to eat a balanced meal for example, to have always a protein intake in the body.

<sup>200</sup> Very often, when I go there is for some products like rice, canned tomatoes, tuna, carrot pasta, hygienic products, wine and liquors. The Día Supermarket is located a few steps from where I live, so, I go there when I do not want to go to Mercadona Supermarket.

<sup>201</sup> I do it very often when I realize I am missing something at home. Is often when I am coming back from my walks that I stop by a nearby supermarket to purchase an article that I will soon need; in this way, I avoid the goings and comings. Therefore, I do not have a normal frequency.

products he found in the market. That is, he substituted some of the items used for a typical African recipe with similar products that were available in the supermarkets:

*« Je peux dire que je fais une cuisine mixte car il y'a des plats espagnoles qui me plaisent énormément. Je cuisine des fois 100% espagnole et des fois 100% Africaine. Mais j'essaye souvent de cuisiner avec les produits que je rencontre sur le marché par ce que cuisiner exactement un plat comme en Afrique me revient beaucoup plus cher donc très souvent j'essaye d'adapter ces plats au produits facilement présent sur le marché » (Interview 12/04/2016)<sup>202</sup>.*

However, the dishes Gerald made most were rice with tomato sauce, spinach with ground pistachio nuts:

*« Les plats que je fais le plus ces derniers temps sont : du riz avec de la sauce de tomates, des épinards avec des grains de pistaches moulus. Le pistache est un fruit sec qui provient d'un fruit de la même famille que la pastèque et le melon » (Interview 12/04/2016)<sup>203</sup>.*

Moreover, on occasions when he had guest, he mainly made plantains and tomato sauce, three delicacy rice and fried pork, fried fish and salad:

*« Quand j'ai eu à recevoir mes amis à la maison et que j'ai eu à faire un repas, je le dis parce que souvent j'en ai organisé ou nous avons juste bu et il y'avait juste des amuse-gueules. Donc quand j'ai eu à cuisiner, j'avais au menu du plantain à la sauce de tomates, du riz trois délices, des côtelettes de porc frits, du poisson frit et une salade » (Interview 12/04/2016)<sup>204</sup>.*

Gerald provided a detail description of how he made his tomato sauce:

*« La sauce de tomate se fait de la manière suivante. Nous découpons la viande et bavons la tomate dans une casserole j'y mets de l'huile et je fais dorer directement la viande car au Gabon je l'aurai cuit au préalable celle d'ici étant de la viande de veau il ne tarde pas à cuire. Une fois sortie la viande de la casserole j'y mets l'oignon hachée le poireau et les céleris que je fais revenir ensuite j'y ajoute la tomate que je laisse cuire tout en remuant de temps en temps l'idée ici est de le faire perdre ce gout acide qu'il a et une fois la tomate cuite j'y mets les morceaux de viandes afin qu'il s'imprègne du gout de la tomate, 5 minute après j'y mets les épices j'aime particulièrement le poivre noir et blanc et du curry sans oublier des morceaux de cube. Et une fois la casserole quittée du foyer j'y ajoute l'ail haché très finement. On peut le manger avec du riz des macaronées des pâtes, du plantain mûres » (Interview 12/04/2016)<sup>205</sup>.*

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<sup>202</sup> I can say that I do a mixed cuisine because there are some Spanish dishes/meals that I like a lot. Thus, sometimes one hundred percent of what I cook is Spanish and on other times African. However, I always endeavour to cook with the products I find in the market because to cook an exact African delicacy is more expensive for me. Therefore, what I often do is try to use the products easily accessible in the market adapt to the delicacies.

<sup>203</sup> Lately, the dishes I do most are rice with tomato sauce, spinach with ground pistachio nuts. Pistachio is a dry fruit from a fruit of the same family as the watermelon and melon.

<sup>204</sup> When I have had to host my friends at y home and had to make a meal, I say this because I have often organized meetings with friends where we mainly shared a drink and some appetizers or snacks. When I have had to cook, I had plantains with tomato sauce, the three delights rice, fried pork chops, fried fish and a salad.

<sup>205</sup> Tomato sauce is done as follows: I cut the meat in slices and mince the tomatoes in a pan, I then add some oil directly into the pot and jointly cook them together, though if I was in Gabon I would have cooked the meat beforehand, but because what I use here is meat from the calf, it does not take long to get ready. Once I'm done with the meat, I put it down and then add chopped onions, leek and parsley and then add the tomato to let it cook while I

As highlighted in this case, Gerald's food practices are by large shaped by the financial constraints he faced, which he repeatedly associated with his unemployment status. His choice of where to shop groceries were guided by the opportunities to bargain and get food items of good quality, fresh foods and fruits at the cheapest price possible – what he called 'give-away' prices. Financial hardships he faced also made it difficult to shop from distant places because he couldn't afford transportation anymore; distance now determines where he shop for groceries as well. Gerald's story is just one of the many stories of SSA households in Tarragona and Lleida – challenges they face in accessing food in ways they used to do before is not because of lack – not that food is scarce, but rather it is the result of their unemployment status. Many we would like to work, do not find the jobs and those who used to work have lost their jobs. For some, their personal allowance dwindled to the point where they essentially depended on friends and families to eat or traded their labor for food. Such is the situation in the next case study.

### **Case 3. Affah: food sharing, food for work, friendship and solidarity**

Money is not always the resource for the exchange for food, when households or individuals' financial resources run the risk of not meeting food needs other non-financial sources were exploited. Friends, family and food banks are alternative recourses in situations of limited access to or shortage in food supply resulting from financial constraints in individuals and households. One of the commonly used sources to mitigate food insecurity in most western societies as noted in the literature is the recourse to programs that are part of the formal or official food safety net like the network of food Banks (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2014). This recourse option was revealed as the least utilized the last option for many SSA immigrants. My next case study (Affah) in addition to the food insecurity mitigation strategies analyzed above, accessed food through food assistance programs; he also exchanges work for food.

Affah is a doctorate student from Ghana, he migrated to Spain in 2007 to further his studies and the person who encouraged him to travel abroad and further his study made him believe he would be able to get a job once in Spain while also studying. Things were okay for him when he got here; he was offered a remunerable job at the university where he studied. That helped him in his day-to-day subsistence until he got his master degree. He then enrolled for a doctorate program in the same university but had lost his job and was unable to get a new job in neither the university nor elsewhere. Though there were many job offers for him and employers who were willing to hire

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stir it from time to time lose the acidic taste of tomatoes and once the tomatoes are cooked and add the slices of meat so that they get the taste of the of the sauce. After five minutes, I add the spices I particularly like, white pepper, curry and a stalk cube. Once the pot is taken from the cooker, I add very finely chopped garlicks, and it is ready to eat, we can eat it with rice, macaroni, spaghetti or ripe plantains.

him, his resident status (as a student) made it difficult. He could not get a job as a student and so could not continue his studies, to get a job he needed to change his resident status. To do that he likewise needed to provide a job contract. Unable to get an employment contract (at least a one-year employment contract) and determined to change his resident status (which was the only way for him to be 'fit' for employment), he decided to get into a legal relationship with a Spanish native. His legal relationship with a Spanish partner now entitles him to a legal resident status as a European Community Resident and entitles him to work, though since he got it he has been having only short-term (three months) contracts. He notes that his inability to work when he had a student resident status was not only due to the 'the student status' dilemma because the laws of the Spanish state make provision for students to work part time; he notes that it was also because the country was in crisis. He could subsist from day-to-day from the little income he had then; this is because Affah did work some months, but did not qualify to apply for unemployment benefits when he was not working. This is because the little jobs he did were often for a period less than six months; he noted that one of the longest work contract he had lasted for two months. This implied that he could not become a beneficiary to the social protection scheme for the unemployed; the social protection systems required that he worked full-time and contributed to the unemployment benefits scheme for a period of at least six months.

Below is Affah's affordability scenario for a nutritious food basket per Carrillo Álvarez et al. (2016) estimate:

**Table 19: Affordability Scenario for Affah**

<b>Monthly Income</b>	<b>Monthly expenses</b>	
Personal allowance €300	Shelter €250	Power €35,87
	Water €28	Telephone €10
	Transport €16	Other expenses €45
<b>Total Income €300</b>	<b>Total Expenses €384,87</b>	
<b>What is left? €-84,87</b>	<b>Spanish Healthy Food Budget €172,94</b>	

Affah was not on any employment benefits nor any other form of assistance from the state's social protection system. His main source of income came from his family back in country of origin, and as already indicated, almost of the money went to paying his rent. When I did an estimate of his monthly income and expenses as reported by himself, it showed that he was working on a negative

budget on monthly basis – he lacked €84,87 to cover his needs (expenses). This meant that Affah's budget was far from the estimated €172,94 a single man needs to access a nutritious food basket – a healthy food basket according the Carrillo Álvarez et al. (2016).

Seeing that his resources could not meet his needs, including food, Affah had to craft ways through which to access food; one of these ways was to work in exchange of food:

*"I went to the 'seaport' with some friends that work in the fishery industry, I went there sometimes when they came back from fishing and needed assistance in the selection, cleaning and packaging of the fishes they had caught. I went there in most of the mornings at about 9:00am to assist in the cleaning, selection and packaging of the fishes. Slightly damaged or injured fishes were kept aside and often given to those who helped in the cleaning, selection and packaging. We were sometimes paid for that but the main interest, at least for me was not in the little money paid us but in the rejected fishes we were given, I was happy to take it home with me."* (Interview 11/03/2015).

This is a strategy common in the food insecurity and coping mechanisms literature in low resource countries; that is, the exchange of labor or workmanship for food to mitigate the effects of food insecurity (Corbett, 1988; Kerr, 2005).

In addition to work in exchange for food, Affah sometimes accessed food through family and friends. He noted that he had a supportive family and friends who came to his rescue in those difficult times when he did not have food nor resources to purchase food.

*"I had a supportive family, friends and neighbors whom I recourse to, especially because I had neither job nor money back then... I sometimes got financial assistance from home but neither the food from caritas nor the assistance from home could sustain me here. The financial assistance from home was mainly to pay my rents and after that, I could not buy any other thing. The only way I could have adequate feeding was to recourse to friends and I had supportive friends, I regularly ate at their homes. We lived in a kind of solidarity. When I say I made recourse to friends, it is not to a single friend; I had an African family where I ate dinner and sometimes got food to take home and eat at lunch the next day. In addition, I had immediate neighbors I shared flats with - they were all Senegalese and worked in the fishery industry, they always invited me to share their meals. We had this strong bond in the flat, wherein none could eat and do not care if the other was without food. So, they cooked and we jointly ate from the same 'bowl', from the same dish, sometimes it was rice, sometimes 'couscous' and sometimes some other Senegalese recipe. On some occasions when I was not home and food was ready, they waited until I came back so that we could all eat. So, we had this spirit of sharing which really helped me and they all knew my situation"* (Interview 11/03/2015).

Sometimes he got financial assistance back from home – i.e. from family in country of origin; however, was not very common because the family back home expected him to send money to them and not the other way around. Moreover, his family in country of origin was not wealthy, and when they sent their support, it was not much and what Affah mainly did with the financial support was to pay for the room he was renting in a shared flat. Thus, the support mainly went to his rents



and he was again without resources to buy food, and he had to rely on friends, neighbors for food supply and eventually on food assistance programs. As many other SSA households I interviewed, Affah indicated that resorting to food assistance programs for food was his last option. He tried to access food through the food assistance program of two other institutions (the Social Services of the City Council and the Red Cross) before finally resorting to one (Caritas). He explained that at the Social Services and the Red Cross he was asked to provide a series of documents, which he could not access – prove of unemployment status, *documento de empadron* (i.e. registration as resident in the city), and residence card and so on. He could not provide these documents because he had lost his legal residence now, and could not get registered at the unemployment office (ENEM), so he could not show prove of unemployment status, besides he never had a work contract that ran for more than two months. However, when he went to Caritas to find out if they could assist him with food, he was not required to provide all the documentations requested at the Red Cross and the Social Services of the City Council:

*“As far as I remember I went to Caritas and declared that I was not working, just a simple declaration, without need of providing documental evidence; and that I would love to have their assistance; this was at their head office. Therefore, they directed me to go to a certain Parish, a church situated around where I lived. I was told at the parish to come every two weeks and get some food items; and that was it”* (Interview 11/03/2015).

Each time Affah went to the parish he had a pre-prepared food basket kept for him, he highlighted that the food basket contained rice, a litre of sunflower oil, a litre of milk, some cookies, uncooked beans, uncooked chickpeas, and uncooked lentils. The food baskets were prepared per the structure of the destined families. Affah went there himself on Tuesdays – twice every month and got his package. However, food from food assistance programs was insufficient to meet household food intake. As Affah highlighted, the quantity of food he got from Caritas for a period of two weeks, was less than the quantity of food he needed, on several occasions the food got finished before the two weeks were over. Also, Affah decried the fact that the food package always contained the same food items and that most of the items were either near the expiry dates or already expired:

*“... sincerely, I am grateful to Caritas for their assistance but sincerely, the state of the food items was deplorable, they were mostly already expired food items or items that were going to expire in few days to come, so you cannot store them for long if you don't want to eat expired food. However, sometimes, we did not mind, I ate it after the expiry date. I will also like to mention that I have eaten expired food on several occasions, not only food from Caritas but also that offered by friends – drinks and foods that were already expired. I had to do with that; moreover, the quantity of food I got from Caritas was small. I would have loved to have more since I got it twice every month, just a litre of oil, a litre of milk, and a kilo of rice cannot last two weeks, so it was small, but it was helpful because it is what I had and I had to deal with it...”* (Interview 11/03/2015).

Food from food assistance programs did not meet Affah's food needs. He had to combine three strategies to be able to meet his food needs: he worked at the seaport in exchange for food (fish); recourse to food assistance through Caritas; and supplemented the inadequacy of the food from Caritas by recurring to friends and neighbors. His friends and neighbours invited him on regular basis to share in their supper and had him take the leftovers with him, which became his lunch for the next day. Though Affah indicated that accessing food through food assistance programs was his last resort, food he received from Caritas was his main source of food (at least for some months) and the other sources – friends and neighbors, mainly supplemented his food supply. Thus, comparing his food practices back in his country of origin to that in Spain, Affah emphasized that:

*"... There has been a radical change in my whole life because I was used to being around my family but now I am mostly alone. This is the first major change for me because my mum and other relatives were in charge of the shopping and cooking activities at home; I did not do much at home. Now I do everything and my eating habits has greatly changed because back in my country I ate a great variety of foods in terms of fruits, different sources of protein. Here in Spain, I eat basically the same thing, the foods I eat are limited in variety, and they are not as varied as in my country of origin..."* (Interview 11/03/2015).

Among the many changes in Affah's food practice, he emphasized on the lack of variety in his current diet in Spain compared to when he was in his country of origin. He emphasized that the changes are mainly the result of lack of resources:

*"...I think this is a result of the means, because if I had the means, I would have surely explored more foods, more variety of foods. I think I am limited to what I eat now because that is what my means allows. I don't think it is adequate food, I am always repeating the same food over and over, and the truth is I would like to change my diet but I am not able to do that now because I think what I have now is what I can afford..."* (Interview 11/03/2015).

I asked Affah what he would change in his diet if he had the resources. He noted that, *'I would love to eat more seafood, fish and some other kinds of foods I am not eating now, I would love to cook broader varieties of foods, use a variety of cooking techniques like baking, I don't even remember the last time I baked something...I would also like to eat with wine...'*

Food sharing is a common practice among SSA immigrants, who believe that food is the least you can offer a friend, visitor or family irrespective of the person's condition – whether poor or rich, in need of food or not. For some SSA immigrants who had experienced real hard times and had other person's help them out of their hardships, assisting *'paysan'* (compatriot or SSA immigrant) is an act that does not need second thoughts; they readily offered to help expecting nothing in return. I observed a unique solidarity among SSA immigrants – those who had food shared with those who did not have – they often sat together around the food and ate together in such a way that you could never tell who provided for that food to be cooked. I interviewed one of the SSA

households Affah indicated often invited him for supper and gave him the leftovers to take home; and was interested in knowing more about their food sharing practices with other SSA immigrants like Affah who was not a fellow countryman – Affah was from Ghana and the SSA family from Cameroon. The breadwinner of the house stated that:

*“I was raised by my uncle who welcomed me into his home and family when I was 11 years old and I lived with him until I turned 28. He was not obliged to take me in but he did with joy, and provided my every need as though I was one of his children, he never mistreated me in anyway but gave me everything I needed whenever he could food, accommodation and education. When I came over to Spain, I had no relative or friend yet another person; a stranger gave me shelter, food and many other things free. The persons I have referred to were not obliged to be nice to me. They were not obliged to be hospitable and caring but they did. So, it is my turn to show kindness and help others because many people have also helped me in this life. You know a parable from my land says; ‘once food is ready, it is ready to be dumped’; i.e., cooked food cannot be kept, once it gets into your mouth and goes down the throat, its taste is forgotten. So, why not share it with another person” (Interview 21/03/2015).*

The SSA household pointed out that Africans are generally supportive and that food like drink sharing is a characteristic of the African culture: an African share whatever he has, whether small or big, little or much. They further, explained that it common in Africa, to offer your guest to drink or eat and that even when they declined your offer, you beg on them to at least drink a glass of water, because if they do not it makes you feel like you are a bad host. Moreover, most men in African societies sit around a table of food and/or drinks and converse, argue about politics, football and exchange important information. This kind of ambiance is often lacking in the foreign land where they are too busy with work or searching for work; hence sharing your food or drink with another SSA immigrant is a perfect opportunity to come together and socialize and reproduce those things they miss in Africa. Thus, for this family, sharing the little their own way of socializing and solidarizing with other SSA immigrants; they indicated that God only gives to those who gives. Therefore, food sharing or food solidarity is not just a recourse to punctual and usual shortage of food supply for some SSA immigrants, it is mainly a characteristic of the culture of many of the immigrants and a means of socializing and recreating the activities, practices of the place of origin.

This was Affah’s condition when I conducted this interview with him in 2015; however, a few months before completing my dissertation (2016) I was fortunate to meet with him again in an event organized by SSA immigrants. I was interested in knowing how things had unfolded for him and he indicated that he was now working in Barcelona. He noted that once he changed his residence status from that of a student to member of the European Community because of his relationship with his Spanish partner, he got several jobs offers, he chose the job in Barcelona. The updates from Affah come to highlight the fact that for many SSA immigrants’ precariousness, food

insecurity is a matter of denial of certain collective rights to SSA immigrants – such as the right to work.

#### **Case 4. Antoine, the rational use of income**

Martín Cerdeño (2014) suggests that expenses for food is one of the more flexible among household or individual expenditures, and one of the first to cut in situations of reduction in or limited household disposal income. This is what is observed in many of the SSA immigrant families in this study; there has been cuts in food budgets expressed in what they say is the rational use of limited household budget. In this regard eating in restaurants is not a common practice in SSA immigrant families. The rare times SSA families eat away from home is on occasions like their children's birthdays, and on such occasions, they go to the cheap 'fast food' restaurants like McDonalds and Burger King.

Antoine, age 44 from Cameroon is married and the father of three children. He came to Spain on two occasions – for a three-month training program for Spanish speakers (teachers) organized by the Spanish embassy in Cameroon. He travelled back to Cameroon after the first training program but decided to stay when he came for the second training program- he stayed illegally in the country and was fortunate to have his residence legalized at the time because of the massive legalization process of undocumented immigrants undertaken by the socialist government (PSOE). Once his residency was legalized, he moved from Madrid to Tarragona and was hired as a gardener in a private institution. With a stable job, he went ahead and applied for reunification with his wife who had stayed back in Cameroon. During the years, their family started increasing and they were five of them at the time I conducted this interview with Antoine – the couple and their 3 children (2 boys aged 10 and 5 and a girl aged 7). They lived in a three-bedroom apartment in the Torreforta neighborhood.

Unlike my previous case studies (Mado, Gerald and Affah) Antoine was employed<sup>206</sup>; he noted that he had not experienced the economic crisis in Spain as others had, especially as was experienced by people he personally knew in his entourage – Cameroonians. This was mainly because Antoine had stable job with an indefinite contractual duration; and because he did not experience any cuts in his salary because of the crisis:

*« ... que je le veuille ou pas je suis obligé de partager le même avis, il y'a des personnes qui vivent au jour le jour la crise dans mon entourage que je connais et particulièrement dans le milieu camerounais. Je n'ai pas vécu la crise tout juste parce que j'ai un travail constant régulier et de contrat indéfini je n'ai pas subi*

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<sup>206</sup> He has never been unemployed since he got hired as a gardener (with an indefinite work contract).

*de baisse de salaire, donc ma vie en réalité n'a pas changé avant ou après la crise... » (Interview 11/02/2015)<sup>207</sup>.*

Talking about other SSA immigrants that were affected by the economic crisis, Antoine noted that there were many undocumented immigrants who used to work before the crisis that were forced to leave the Spanish territory because they could not maintain the work contract they initially had – that gave them legal residence:

*« Et comme je disais il y'a eu beaucoup de personnes camerounaises qui étaient là sans papier qui travaillaient avant la crise qui ont dû quitter le territoire espagnol ou qui ont perdu leur papier, parce qu'ils n'ont pas pu maintenir le contrat de travail qu'ils avaient au départ. Donc la crise je la touche mais je ne la vie pas particulièrement » (Interview 11/02/2015)<sup>208</sup>.*

Thus, unlike many SSA immigrants, Antoine did not experience the crisis because he kept the contractual relation that gave him legal residence in the Spanish territory. However, as Antoine highlighted, he lived in the context of the crisis but was not personally affected by the crisis. He explained he was touched by the crisis in the sense that some additional jobs he regularly did (in the grey economy) before the crisis had become rare: *'Mais ce que je peux dire à propos est que certaines activités extra-laborale que je menais de façon régulière ce sont vu réduite (Interview 11/02/2015)*. This meant he was not getting the extra money he usually got from these jobs. In addition to having seen additional jobs reduced in the grey economy, Antoine's family increased in size ; *'disons que de 2004 à 2015 ma situation n'est pas resté la même je suis passé d'être une personne célibataire à être une famille de 5 membres'<sup>209</sup>*. This was another way Antoine highlighted he lived in the context of the crisis but was not personally affected by it. Reduced jobs in the grey economy – the source of additional household income – and growth in family size pushed Antoine and family to coin out ways to best-manage the resources they had. Below is Antoine's household affordability scenario for a nutritious food basket per Carrillo Álvarez et al. (2016) estimates:

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<sup>207</sup> ... Whether I like it or not I am obliged to share the same opinion, there are people in my entourage, especially Cameroonians I know, who live the crisis daily. I have not experienced the crisis just because I have a stable and indefinite work contract. My salary has known no cuts, so, my life has remained the same as it was before the crisis...

<sup>208</sup> As I was saying, there are many undocumented Cameroonians who were working before the crisis who either have left Spain or who have lost their papers (legal residence) because they were unable to keep their jobs. Therefore, I live in the context of the crisis but specifically, I am not affected by it.

<sup>209</sup> ... Let us say that from 2004 to 2015 my situation did not stay the same; I went from being a single person to being a family of five members.

**Table 20: Affordability Scenario for Antoine and family**

Monthly Income		Monthly expenses	
Personal allowance (Wages) €900		Shelter €400	Power €120
Childcare allowance €450		Water €40	Telephone/internet €68
<b>Total Income</b> <b>€1350</b>		Transport €150	Other expenses €200
		<b>Total Expenses</b> <b>€978</b>	
<b>What is left?</b> <b>€372</b>		<b>Spanish Healthy Food Budget</b> <b>€573,80</b>	

Like Mado, Antoine’s main source of monthly income is his salary and childcare allowance from the social security funds for having three children under his care – i.e. €1350. His estimated monthly expenses summed up to about €978, which included transport, shelter, power, water, telephone and internet. According to Carrillo Álvarez et al. (2016) the Spanish Healthy Food Budget for couple + two children (which the largest family size contemplated by the model) should be at least €573,80; meaning for Antoine and family (couple+3 children) it should be more than €573,80. Considering these estimates, it means Antoine and family cannot afford a nutritious food basket; Antoine will need at least €201 more to be able to provide a balanced food basket for a family of four and probably more for a family of five like his – that is according to SHFB estimates. However, as indicated Carrillo Álvarez et al. (2016) estimates are based on the Catalan family model (size) and food culture. In as much as it may serve as a tool for estimating household food security, it doesn’t capture every segment of the population resident in Catalonia – does not capture their food practices – whether food budgeting or foods and diets.

However, going back to the present case under study, Antoine and family were conscious of the resources they had, and so devised ways to manage it efficiently and rationally so that they did not experience a shortage in their food supply. One of the several ways they did this was mainly eating at home and not in restaurants except on rare occasions:

*« ... mangez hors de la maison, si ce n'est pas allé manger chez un des nôtres, on peut faire un maximum de trois sortir par an on va manger dans un restaurant de fast-food c'est peut-être à l'occasion de l'anniversaire de l'un de nos enfants. Alors moi particulièrement au travail je mange de la nourriture qui vient de la maison je ne mange pas au restaurant j'ai une micro-onde au lieu de service offert par mes employeurs où je peux chauffer les aliments. Mais certain jour je peux manger du pain mais très souvent des fruits. Très peu de jour j'y vais avec du pain je préfère aller certain jour avec 4 cinq pommes et deux*

*poires pour toutes la journée et c'est dans la soirée une fois à la maison, que je mange avec la famille »*  
(Interview 11/02/2015)<sup>210</sup>.

Eating out of home is not common practice for Antoine and family who mainly ate at home and could eat out in a restaurant on rare occasions such as on the birthday of one of their children; even when they ate out they chose the fast-food restaurants because the prices were affordable for the family. Antoine explained that they saved a lot of money when they ate at home compared to when they ate out. Thus, their rational use of the resources they had, eating more at home helped avoid any potential impact on their budget that could result to a reduction in their food budget. Sometimes, the rational use of limited resources entailed the careful organization of household cooking activities, distribution of menus and portions per days and the cooking of large quantities of food that are stored and consumed over a long period.

*"In my home, we cook sauces that can be consumed on two, three, four and five occasions, we can eat tomatoes sauce that's cooked today (Sunday), the same tomatoes sauce can be consumed again on Tuesday, then on Friday. That said, in some houses this same quantity of food may be cooked and consumed on one occasion and a lot of what's left of it is subsequently trashed, so by rationalizing we have variety and manage better the little we have"* (Interview 11/02/2015).

Thus, Antoine and his family did most of their meals over the weekends; they prepared several delicacies, which they consumed during the week. Unlike in his country of origin where cooking was mainly done by women (his mother, sisters and aunts), Antoine had to learn how to cook when he arrived Spain and was all alone – before his spouse came over to be with him. Thus, he assisted his wife in most of the cooking activities during the weekends. They cook different kinds of sauces like the pistachio nut sauce - to be eaten with couscous within the week; tomatoes sauce - to be eaten with rice during the week; and a typical African dish (a compliment) known as 'ndolé'<sup>211</sup> - to be eaten with couscous, cocoyam, rice or cassava. The meals are kept in portions, according to rations that will be consumed on the particular days of the week; rations that will be consumed in the next two days are stored in the fridge, while those that will be consumed later than 2 days are stored in the freezer. Some of the recipes that are typical ethnic recipes such the 'ndole' are not made on regular basis because they are more expensive and time consuming to make as well; for such recipes, each time they are made, it is in large quantities such that it last longer – could be eaten over a month. Antoine explained that cooking in large quantities and storing them in portions or rations according to scheduled consumption helped them not waste food; save time spent in

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<sup>210</sup> ... Eating out, if it is not to eat at one of ours, we can eat out at most three times per year, we may go to a fast-food restaurant and eat, this may be on one of our children's birthday. As for me, at work, I eat food that I bring from home, I do not eat at the restaurant, and I have a microwave at my jobsite offered by my employers where I can heat food. However, there are days that I can eat only bread at work but most often, I eat fruits. There are very few days that I go to work with bread, I prefer to go some days with five apples, two pears for the entire day and it is in the evening once I am home that I eat with the family.

<sup>211</sup> A typical Cameroonian dish consisting of a stew of nuts (groundnuts) indigenous West Africa bitter leaves and fish or beef. It may also contain shrimp or prawns.

cooking, save energy, and that in general, it was economically productive for them. They compare what they spend on the meals they cook over the weekends to that consumed by an individual in a restaurant and note that it is far less than the latter.

Managing their resources, the family had, in an intelligent way also meant the careful choice of where to purchase food items as underlined in the previous cases. For Antoine,

*« ... de 2004 à 2015 j'ai changé de maison trois fois si je change de domicile automatiquement les lieux où je fais les achats change. Mais il faut dire que pendant toute cette période j'ai pu cibler les réseaux de ravitaillement. Au départ j'achetais du poisson particulièrement au super marché Mercadona et la viande dans les charcuteries du marché centrale de Tarragona et aujourd'hui j'achète la viande chez des marocains ou chez des pakistanais parce que leur offre est beaucoup plus moins chère par rapport aux autres charcutiers locaux. Par rapports au poisson j'achète du poisson à Reus lorsque le prix est vraiment bas les week-ends particulièrement le samedi à la dernière heure de vente. Concernant les autres aliments je les achète soit chez les pakistanais soit au marché de samedi et dimanche. Voilà mes principaux lieux de ravitaillements... » (Interview 11/02/2015)<sup>212</sup>.*

Over the course of the years of his stay in Spain and particularly with the presence of the economic crisis, Antoine has changed the places where he purchased groceries; he went on to target a specific network of grocery shops. Before, he bought fresh fish at the Mercadona Supermarket and meat from the butcheries in the Tarragona central market but later he purchased meat mainly from Moroccan or Pakistani butcheries because they sold meat at a much cheaper price than that of the local butchers. Also, he stopped buying fresh fish from Mercadona Supermarket and bought it at Reus when the prices were low on the weekends – on Saturdays at the last hour of sales. He also purchased other food items from Pakistani shops or at the Tarragona open market on Saturdays (in Torreforta) or on Sundays (in Bonavista). As in the other cases, it is the prices at which specific food items are sold at these establishments that explains why they are the chosen places to shop for groceries for Antoine and family.

*« ... je peux dire qu'après avoir connu les différents réseaux pour pouvoir faire les achats, c'est à dire savoir que la viande de bonne qualité et quantité se vend à Reus alors je préfère attendre que j'aille à Reus avec quinze euros j'arrive là-bas je dis garçon voilà 15 euros donne-moi de la bonne viande. Cette viande pour quinze euros peut se consommer pendant un mois et plus. Lorsque je vais acheter du poisson ; avant je l'achetais à Mercadona et un seul me coûtait vingt euros, lorsque je vivais seul j'achetais tout un saumon pour moi seul je ne le consommais pas en une seule journée ou semaine et pouvait me coûter 23 euros avec les même 23 euros aujourd'hui à Reus je peux m'acheter plusieurs kilos de sardine*

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<sup>212</sup> From 2004 to 2015 I have moved flats three times, automatically, the places I shop for groceries change. However, within this period I have could target some specific grocery shops. Initially, I bought fish from the Mercadona supermarket and meat from the butchers' shop in the Tarragona Central Market, however, today, I buy meat from either the Moroccan or Pakistani shops because they sale at cheaper rates compared to the local butchers. Concerning fish, I buy from Reus when they are sold at low rates, i.e., during the weekends, specifically on Saturday at the last hour of sales. Regarding other food items, I purchase them either from the Pakistani shop or from the Saturday or Sunday markets (farmers' market). These are the main places I shop for groceries.



*de poisson et autres ; donc ayant connue des réseaux d'achat le budget est le même mais avec une quantité beaucoup plus supérieure. Avant j'allais dans les supermarchés Mercadona, Dia ; Pour deux kilos de pommes et d'oignons, mais aujourd'hui je vais chez le pakistanais je prends un sac de 15 kilos de pomme au prix de 5 kilo de pommes du supermarché » (Interview 11/02/2015)<sup>213</sup>.*

The knowledge of the network of food suppliers from where a person can purchase foodstuff at a cheaper price and in larger quantities in comparison to other places (like supermarkets), is a vital for the rational management of limited resources. As Antoine explained (in the quotation above), being able to know different food supply establishments where he can purchase a food item at a cheaper rate and in a larger quantity guided his food purchasing habits. For instance, before, he used to spend €23 to buy a single salmon at Mercadona Supermarket but he could buy several kilos of fish such as sardine fish and others in Reus (a city close to Tarragona) with that same €23 once he knows it was sold at cheaper rates in the last hours of sale in Reus.

In addition to knowing where to buy at cheaper rates and larger quantities, Antoine emphasized that the key to surviving the crisis for them is not only knowing places to purchase at cheaper rates and in larger quantities but also purchasing in bulk:

*« ... il faut savoir qu'à tel endroit on vend le kilo de pomme à tel montant et l'autre à tel montant ; tu compares et cherches aussi à savoir la différence de l'achat en détails et en gros car il est mieux d'acheter en gros et jeter le reste après. J'achète 15 kilos d'oignons à 3,50 euros. Ce sont des oignons pour un ou deux mois voir plus chez moi. Si je dois aller au supermarché chaque fois pour acheter du sel des oignons chaque fois : je dépenserai en temps, en carburant ; alors généralement je prends une grande quantité même le riz je l'achète en sac (25kgs.). Alors l'achat en gros, et savoir des pôles d'achat c'est la clé pour pouvoir s'en sortir en temps de crise ; ... » (Interview 11/02/2015)<sup>214</sup>.*

Antoine evaluated the difference between buying in bulk and buying in retail to know what the more economical option is. Buying in bulk for SSA households is not only cheaper, but also time saving as it means going less to the supermarket and spending less on gas.

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<sup>213</sup> I can say that after knowing the different places I could shop for groceries, i.e., knowing that good meat in quality and quantity is sold in Reus I will wait until when I am going to Reus and with €15 ask for the butcher to serve for me meat of good quality. Meat bought at this price can be consumed for a month or more. Before, I bought fish at Mercadona Supermarket and I spent about 20 euros for a single fish; when I lived, alone I could spend about 23 euros for a salmon, which I consumed on more than one occasion. Today, with the same amount of money (€23) I can buy several kilos of fish (sardine and others) at the market in Reus. The grocery budget has remained the same but the quantity I now buy is more than before because of knowledge of where to purchase specific food items. Before, I went to Mercadona, Día, Supermarkets to buy two kilos of potatoes and onions, but now, I get 15 kilos of potatoes from Pakistani at the price of 5 kilos sold at the supermarket.

<sup>214</sup> It is necessary to know at what price a kilogram of potato is sold at different sales points such that you can compare the prices. It is also important to know the difference between the price in bulk and in retail because it is preferable to purchase in bulk and later discard what is left than to purchase in retail. I get 15 kilograms of onions at €3,50, onions that can last one or two or more months in my home. If I must always go the supermarket to buy salt or onions, then I will be spending more on gas and in time, hence I purchase them in bulk, even food items like rice, I buy them in bags (25kgs). Therefore, buying in bulk and knowledge of where to buy are key to surviving in times of crisis.

In addition to the different strategies Antoine employed in order not to run short of food, I was also interested to know if the diets and foods consumed in his family were Spanish, African or a mix of both Spanish and African (ethnic) foods and diets. First, Antoine indicated that eating African in Europe was expensive – that it could be as expensive as the price of a simple Spanish meal multiplied by four; *‘the cocoyam (the underneath stem of the taro or the yam) for example costs €3 per kilo, while a kilo of rice is not even up to a euro’*. Foods and diets consumed by Antoine and family are not completely African, for instance, they ate rice and peanut sauce or fried tomatoes in which was many spices; Europeans also eat rice and fried tomatoes, however, the main difference in the recipe is with the way both groups cook it. Thus, in a family like Antoine’s they are obliged to do a complete mix (*un brassage*) of Spanish and African foods and diets. On certain days, they ate typically African, and some other days a recipe that is neither African nor European, something in-between:

*“In a family like this one, we are obliged to do a mix – a complete mix; on certain days we eat foods completely African or foods that are in-between European and African recipes: rice with tomato sauce, with peanut, other days’ wheat semolina in the form of couscous with a typical African sauce. There are other days when we have typically African delicacies like plantains with meat and Other days typically African dish like plantain (a member of the banana family, eaten cooked) with meat or ripe plantains with omelettes, or with fried fish or meat made with typical African spices. Thus, it is mixed...”*  
(Interview 11/02/2015)

It is important to highlight here that unlike Mado, Gerald and Affah, Antoine, my last case study, was not directly affected by the economic crisis in Spain. He kept his job despite the crisis and consequently his legal residence in the Spanish territory as well. Though his affordability scenario revealed that his food budget after expenses was insufficient to purchase a nutritious food basket; Antoine coined out strategies that allowed him and his family not experience abrupt food shortages. His strategy emphasized the rational use of limited resources, good knowledge of food supply networks with best price rates and quantity; and buying in bulk, as well as good organization of the cooking activity, distribution and food consumption.

So far, in this chapter, I have presented the results of the household food security questions of my interview guide in which I emphasized on the limitations of household food security measurement techniques that emphasize an income-based and biological conceptualization of hunger. For instance, if viewed uniquely from the perspectives analyzed above – responses to the questions relating to household food security; conclusions based on the affordability scenario, household’s ability to access a healthy or balanced food basket as estimated by (Carrillo Álvarez, Cussó-Parcerisas, & Riera-Romaní-, 2016), then we would likely conclude that many immigrant households are food insecure and/or experience hunger. However, if we do that we would fail to capture those non-monetary and economic, aspects of hunger that equally provide deeper

understanding of the issue as relating to a specific geography and to a particular group. As (Juárez, 2013) suggested, there is need for a cultural methodological analysis of hunger that goes beyond the theoretical background that has placed it as the reverse of culture, or a political issue where experience of “suffering” is presumed universal (ibid:210). The experience is not universal; it is not always about running out of money before the month comes to an end or repeating the same meal for several days. Hunger for some SSA households in Lleida and Tarragona sometimes interpreted their sociocultural – integration (adaptation) into the society and access to basic rights such as the right to work, which they articulated as the key to their wellbeing and health. Several times when SSA immigrants talked about experiences with hunger, they mainly alluded to issues not directly related to food but rather to issues that qualify them for legal and continues residence in Spain – employment.

How they experience hunger is different from our understanding of hunger as the lack of access to adequate food resources resulting from financial constraints. First, the definition of hunger for many SSA households in Lleida and Tarragona articulates a situation of food shortage and not compromised access because of financial constraints. Their hunger is more about worries of having rights of access to the labour market.

## INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH TO FOOD AID; A QUESTION OF METHOD?

The *Fundació Social Sant Ignasi de Lloia* (*Fundació Arrels*) was created within the Sant Ignasi de Lloia Parish Community because it saw the need to provide specific-choice-care for the poorest people of the city (Lleida). It began by distributing sandwiches to seasonal workers (*temporeros*) who came to Lleida to work during the fruit seasons. The need to provide solutions to a complex problem that arose from this early activity (sandwich distribution to seasonal foreign workers) led to the creation of the foundation's first two programs – that emphasized the iconic word 'arrels' (meaning roots). These centers are "*Arrels Centre Obert*" (meaning the Roots-Open-Center) and "*Arrels Reinserció*" (meaning the Roots of Reinsertion). The foundation has since then grown and incorporated new programs – new 'roots' programs, one of which is the so-called *la Botigueta* food distribution program; a sort of grocery supermarket for the deprived.

**Picture 9: La Botigueta (Fundació Arrels) – overview of supermarket-like structure, fresh food products, donations from the European Union and volunteer preparing fresh produce for users**



Photo by author

*La Botigueta* functions in the form of a supermarket for users – those with assisted access to food. It should be highlighted that more than 20 years ago when *Arrels* was created its services were directed towards the homeless and drug addicts; and that over time; it expanded its services to include the social accompaniment of socially vulnerable individuals and persons at risk of social exclusion and poverty. Two profile of users of the services of the *Fundació Arrels (La Botigueta)*; are the homeless and drug addicts, originally the target population of the *Fundació* and whom they

referred to as *'nuestra gente de toda la vida'*<sup>215</sup>. To these two are the socially vulnerable; and persons at risk of social exclusion and poverty. The latter is a new category of users for whom the services of the *Fundació Arrels* were not originally directed to; these are persons who progressively had seen their livelihood sources diminish and eventually cut-off with the prolonged economic crisis. As the social workers at the *Fundación Arrels* indicated, these new profiles of users were often an entire family unit, people who used to work in stable jobs, people whose monthly income could not provide for their basic needs and so on.

**Picture 10: La Botigueta (Fundació Arrels) – Cross-section of food items from the European Union, a fridge for lactose products and a volunteer working at the background**



Photo by author

These were the profile of persons the *Fundació Arrels* distributed food to; however not every person who presented himself to the establishment requesting food assistance was served; there were conditions to fulfil, many of which did not depend on the *Fundació*, it was the responsibility of the social services of the city council to determine which individual or household 'qualified' for assisted food access, particularly for registered residents of the city (*los que estan empadronados en la ciudad*). I will expatiate more on this in the next lines, but first I will like to emphasize the assignation of assistance – that is which institution assigned help and to what profile of users. Persons and families in situations of social vulnerability and at risk of social exclusion and poverty, who were registered in the city council as resident in the city, were the responsibility of the City Council (*Ajuntament*). That is the *Ajuntament* oversaw the follow-up of such individuals and families to ensure their social

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<sup>215</sup> Our people of always



integration into the society through the provision of a series of social services including food assistance. Thus, individuals not registered in the city council as residents (*no empadronados*) but who lived in the city, were not covered by those services provided by the city council including food distribution or assisted access to food. For this group of individuals and families, charity of non-profits like the church (Caritas) was the way in which they accessed several of their basic needs, including food. Thus, unregistered families and persons (*personas y familias no empadronadas*) access to social services was through organizations such as Caritas, The Red Cross and Fundació Jericó. It was mainly these non-profits that provided access to several social protection services including assisted food to these families and individuals. The Red Cross accompanied family units, while Fundació Arrels, Fundació Jericó and Caritas covered the needs of individuals and families. *Caritas*, *Fundació Arrels* and *Fundació Jericó* are all non-profits of the Catholic Church and Caritas is like the umbrella institution of the foundations. What Caritas did was refer individuals and families to services appropriate to them – services provided by the church – through its social action foundations among which is Fundació Arrels and Fundació Jericó. When the social workers in Caritas determined, a family needed accommodation, depending on the family structure, they referred them to their social protection homes. Some families were referred to Fundació Jericó, which provided short stay and long duration accommodation and operated a social kitchen. Many seasonal workers (*temporeros*) who came to work during the fruit season (many of them SSA immigrants) were provided accommodation and provided access to food in the foundation's social kitchen (*el comedor Jericó*). Also, Caritas referred families and individuals with difficulties with access to food to Fundació Arrels.

I focused on Fundació Arrels because the Social Services of the city council, The Red Cross, and Caritas referred families to the foundation for food assistance. It was a kind of meeting point for different profiles of users of assisted food services. Food distribution at the Fundació Arrels was mainly done at its *la Botigueta* – a big hall of more than 300 meters designed in the form of a conventional supermarket (see pics). Fundació Arrels, La Botigueta had been distributing food to the profile of the population it was meant for (the homeless and drug addicts) for over 10 years; this mainly consisted of the preparation of food baskets/packages (*bolsas de alimentos*), which follow-up users collected from the establishment. However, six years ago, the Fundació thought its way of reaching out to users of assisted food, was not dignifying – that it did not only have to be about handing over the food packages to users. Therefore, they decided to bring some innovative ways of providing food assistance to the socially vulnerable, to persons at risk of social exclusion and poverty. They invested some funds and got a bigger, more hygienic and organized property – they

set up a food distribution point in the form of a supermarket with sections for specific food items (fresh food products, donations from the European Union, etc.) and with contingencies (coupons).

*“... y aunque íbamos improvisando cositas para que fuera mayor pues no era perfecto hasta que decidimos y optamos, y optar en las entidades sociales significa poner dinero para hacer una distribución más bien hecha... ahora tenemos un local mucho más grande, más limpio, mucha más digno y organizado como por zonas...”* (Interview 06/07/2015)<sup>216</sup>.

*La Botigueta* was managed by two social workers both working part-time; they ensured that there was an appropriate and adequate distribution of food; an appropriate treatment of users of the services of *la Botigueta* and the volunteering personnel. Apart from the two social workers who supervised the food distribution program, the remaining personnel of the establishment were all volunteers (8 in total).

Generally, individuals and families who accessed food through *la Botigueta* were, mainly those that were registered in one of Fundació Arrels' main programs (from Centre Obert Arrels, and Arrels Reinserció for the homeless and drug addicts, referred to *la Botigueta* by the professionals working with them); and persons who could but were not registered (*empadronadas*) in the city council as resident because they were in an irregular situation (undocumented) – these were individuals and families referred from Caritas. However, a large proportion of families and individuals with assisted access to food at *la Botigueta* were referred from the Social Services of the Ajuntament.

As highlighted by the social worker, manager of *La Botigueta*, the restructuring of the establishment was done with the aim of being able serve well and dedicate more time to the users:

*“... The objective was not to offer help or support to many persons, our goal was to improve the nature of services we offer users, to ensure that users were being assisted in the most dignifying way possible... that as professionals and/or volunteers of this establishment we had time to interact with users”* (Interview 12/06/2015)

With this objective, the establishment provided food to a maximum of 20 households per day. The users went to *la Botigueta* on a prescheduled date and 'shopped' for groceries – they went from section to section and from shelf to shelf, and picked the lots of food items they were entitled to; unlike in other food distribution establishments, individuals and households accessing food through *la Botigueta* were not handed over pre-prepared food baskets, they walked around the big food distribution hall and picked the food items themselves into their shopping cart. The environment and activity looked more like shopping from a conventional supermarket only in this

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<sup>216</sup> “... and although we were improvising such that things be better because things weren't perfect until we decided and opted – an opting in social entities means investing money – for a better distribution... we now have a bigger, cleaner, more dignifying and organized distribution center – it is organized in sections...”

one, the individuals did not go over to the cashier or sales persons to pay for the items; rather they went over to the administrative desk to sign forms on which was indicated the amount of food they had picked up, their personal details and signature. However, the foundation holds that this distribution approach gave users the notion that they have the right to access food and not that the establishment or some individuals were doing them a favor offering them food:

*“Apostamos por que la gente se sienta bien atendidas, se sientan reconocidos como persona y que vivan el recibir alimentos como un derecho...no les estamos haciendo ningún favor a nadie dándole alimentos, al contrario, ellos tienen derecho porque todos tenemos derecho a comer, por lo cual les estamos simplemente posibilitando que este derecho sea cumplido” (06/07/2015)<sup>217</sup>.*

Well, this was in theory what was hoped for at the level of the establishment but it was not the case in practice – it was not as easy as said. Individuals and households using food distribution services are different, particularly in their understanding of the whole concept of assistance, which shaped their behaviour with the system – towards the social workers and volunteers. Those who understood food assistance as a right, something they were entitled to irrespective of whether they qualified to receive food aid or not, was characterized by an aggressiveness towards the social workers and volunteers of the establishment serving them. Scenes in which a user quarrelled, insulted or verbally aggressed a social worker or volunteer of the *la Botigueta* were common; and it often took the intervention of the law enforcement officers to restore peace and tranquillity there. Social workers and volunteers narrated incidences with specific users (especially those from Maghreb and Spanish nationals) in which they felt they were victims of ‘the other person’s’ machismo. Such users ended up being told what the establishment tries to avoid; they were reminded the right to access food distributed at the fundació was in the hands of the social workers – the establishment. A reminder that if the social worker wanted, she could stop that person’s right to access food there at the establishment. In other words, this translated as ‘rights’ are owned by food distribution institutions (social workers), and it is these institutions that allocate/determine who to allow that right, when and how. A kind of reproduction of the corporate food system in which consumers have lost the right to know where their food come from; their right to culturally appropriate food (Friedmann & McMichael, 1999). Thus, in one way or the other food poor people seeking access to assisted food end up being reminded of the injustices in food distribution, of the limited rights they have regarding access to food, by the same persons and institutions advocating for the right to food for all.

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<sup>217</sup> “Our goal is to provide good service to the people we serve, that they feel recognized as persons and experience food assistance as a right... we are not doing anybody a favour giving him or her food, on the contrary, they have right to food because we all have the right to eat; therefore, we are merely ensuring that this right be met”



Hence, as highlighted by one of the social workers of *la Botigueta*, it is a difficult to put into practice the theory. Even more difficult is the task of determining which individual or household qualifies for assisted food and which does not. It is difficult to know for sure those individuals and families that truly need food assistance and those who do not, to determine which families and individuals to allow the right to assisted food and those not to. This choice was at the discretion of the social workers of the food distribution establishments, trusted by the system to have the expertise and power to determine food poor individuals and families. Therefore, access to assisted food was governed by criteria that were either inclusive or exclusive and on several occasions, subjective and bias. For instance, though access to assisted food at the *Fundació Arrels, la Botigueta* was mainly for non-registered persons (*personas no empadronadas*) in the city council of Lleida; they also went through an evaluation process with the social worker to become users of the services provided by the organization. The social worker (manager) of *la Botigueta* evaluated the individual or family's socioeconomic situation to determine if they were indeed in need of food assistance, and determine whether they fell within the category of people for which food assistance is contemplated – the socially vulnerable, persons at risk of social exclusion and poverty. The social worker at *la Botigueta* indicated that though there were basic documents she asked applicants to present, documents that showed proof of the need for assistance, she relied more on intuition and compassion than on those 'documented proof' for aid. She noted that there are individuals and families that have deceived her to believe they were in need whereas they were not because they have sufficient resources to cover their basic needs but duped her so that they could get free food. However, her guiding criteria of assignation of the right to assisted food was intuition and compassion. Once an assessment ended with an approval, the person or family was assigned either a punctual (timely, one-time) or a continual / prolonged (accompanied) assistance. Successful applicants were given users card with which they accessed food on specific dates – usually, two times per month for large families with access to storage and kitchen equipment; or a more regular access for individuals without access to storage or cooking equipment. For this group of users, they can pick food items in the section of precooked or canned foods.

Residents in Lleida city not registered in the city council and who need to access food through organizations like *Fundació Arrels' la Botigueta*, are required to go through the Social Services Unit, Social Inclusion Area and have their socioeconomic situation assessed by a professional (social worker or social educator), who would then refer them to *la Botigueta* or to some other not-for-profit organization with a food distribution program (The Red Cross, *Fundació Jericó*). In my interview with the coordinator of the Social Inclusion unit of the *Ajuntament de Lleida* (Lleida City Council), the unit in charge of all services directly related to providing care for the basic necessities

of the residents of the city, who are in situations of severe residential or social exclusion (*personas en situación de exclusión social o residencial grave*); persons in situations of economic poverty (*personas en situación de pobreza económica*) or persons in situations of social vulnerability (*personas en situación de vulnerabilidad social*). The last group of beneficiaries or users of the services of the social inclusion unit of the *Ajuntament de Lleida* were persons who because of personal problems, family problems, problems with employment or because of the economic crisis found themselves in a situation of exclusion, their vulnerability was not as that of the homeless but they were suddenly found in situations of exclusion. These were the group of people who used the services of the Social Inclusion Unit of the *Ajuntament de Lleida*. Among the services provided by the unit – emergency shelter and accommodation, hygienic services (*servicios de ducha*), social inclusion apartments (*pisos de inclusión social*) – was food assistance, mainly through its social kitchen (*el Comedor Municipal*).

To qualify for or to be an approved user of the food assistance services of the Social Inclusion Unit of the council, an individual needed to fit the profile of the ‘socially excluded’; the individual had to demonstrate that he did not have an income or if he had, that it was insufficient to sustain him in an autonomous way. Hence, like the social worker at the *Fundació Arrels (La Boutigueta)* professionals of the Social Inclusion Unit conducted an interview with the person asking for aid and examined several facets of the person’s live to see if he qualified for assistance. They asked questions such as whether the person was receiving any type of pension, benefits, if he was working, or if he had a family or had friends or somebody that helped him. He was also asked if he had a health problem that prevented him from being able to work; if what the person wanted was a job, then the social worker provided him with information and orientation so that the person was trained in a specific job or was assisted in the process of the job search. Thus, professionals of the Social Inclusion Unit examined the social and economic situation, as well as the administrative situation of persons who resorted to their services for assistance. Apart from the socioeconomic assessment of the person’s situation, an administrative assessment was equally done by professionals of the unit. The assessment was to determine if the person applying for assistance were in a regular or irregular situation – i.e. if they were legal or non-legal residents:

*“...los profesionales te harán una entrevista para evaluar todos los ámbitos de tu vida contigo con lo que tú quieras contestar, te preguntarán si estas cobrando alguna prestación, una pensión o si estás trabajando o si estas esperando para empezar a trabajar, cuando hace que no estás trabajando; si tú tienes familia o algún amigo o alguien quien te esté ayudando o no lo tienes; si tienes algún problema de salud o no; o que te impida por poder trabajar... o si tú lo que buscas realmente es un trabajo te facilitarán la información y la orientación para que tú puedas formarte o buscar un trabajo o empezar a trabajar a través de una*

*entidad con la que nosotros trabajamos habitualmente... básicamente harán una exploración de tu situación social y económica y también al nivel administrativo...*” (Interview 04/06/2015)<sup>218</sup>.

It should be highlighted that many people were increasingly falling into situations of administrative irregularities – they were not able to regularize their administrative (residency) situations in the short, medium or long term because of the crisis situation (no jobs). According to the coordinator of the Unit, for many of these people it would take a miracle to regularize their administrative situation. An identification document, generally the *Número de Identidad de Extranjero* – NIE (Foreigner’s Identification Number), was a major required document to present for all seeking aid at the Unit, and immigrants without a NIE presented another identification document – their passport.

*“... cuál es tu situación porque también es verdad que cada vez hay más personas que están en situación administrativa irregular y sin posibilidades de poder ser regularizadas por corto plazo, ni a medio y para muchos diríamos que nunca a no ser que haya un milagro... entonces con todo este tema de arraigo o de ver en qué manera esa persona al menos podemos conseguir al menos que tenga un pasaporte, que tenga al menos algún documento que le identifique por todo este tema de soporte al nivel burocrático y administrativo también se hacer con la personas de origen extranjero...”* (Interview 04/06/2015)<sup>219</sup>.

It was impossible to access aid at the Social Inclusion Unit without a valid identification document (NIE or passport); failure of presentation of these documents was synonymous to refusal of assistance. Therefore, non-municipal food distribution institutions like the Caritas through its network of social action organizations mainly covered the needs of those left out by the state/administration. Here, we once again see how the criteria set by institutions is exclusive, discriminatory and inappropriate, especially, taking into consideration that the more vulnerable persons, groups to situations of social exclusion and poverty are those who have lost their livelihood sources (their jobs) and exhausted their social protection schemes. Persons and groups that have lost legal residence. These are the groups to whom assistance should be directed to and that needs be integrated into the socio and economic life of the society such that they do not get to fall deeper into exclusion and poverty. However, these group (among which are immigrants) is

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<sup>218</sup> “... you will have an interview with professionals to evaluate all areas (those you want to talk about) of your life, they will ask you if you are receiving any benefits, a pension or if you are working or if you are waiting to start working, or for how long you have been unemployed. They will also ask you if you have a family or a friend who is helping, if you have any health problem; they will also ask you if there is anything preventing you from working. If what you are truly looking for is a job, they will provide information and guidance so that you are trained or assisted in the process of searching for a job. Also, you may start work with a collaborating enterprise of the City Council. In general, they will assess your social and economic condition and your administrative (legal) status...”

<sup>219</sup> “... what is your situation because it is true that more people are in an irregular administrative (illegal) situation; situations that are impossible to regularize in a short or mid-term or that may never be regularized unless by miracle. Hence, the issue of *arraigo*, assisting a foreign national to get a passport or some identification document, support him or her with the administrative procedures for the regularization of their residence are some of the things we do for immigrants...”

blocked by the administration to remain in the situation where they are, a position where there is no way forward but rather a way downwards in severe poverty and exclusion. Thus, the Social Inclusion Unit indicated that it provided support to undocumented – immigrants in irregular situations, to access at least a minimum assistance; but it mainly covered the documented and not the undocumented, and in many of the case, assistance to this group was a one-time assistance. Documented users and users followed up by a professional at the Unit were allowed a prolonged and regular access to the social kitchen (*el comedor social*) – six vouchers per month. Referring people who came seeking for assistance (food aid) at the Social Inclusion Unit to non-state social kitchens or food distribution institutions seemed a normal procedure to the coordinator of the Unit;

*“... hombre eso en el comedor municipal, pero hay otros comedores no municipales en que pueden ir cada día, lo mismo que pasa con el alojamiento, hay personas que están aquí comiendo y cenando de lunes a domingo desde hacer un mes, dos meses, un año... depende de las circunstancias de cada persona. Es un poco en función de las posibilidades de poder mejorar las situaciones y las ganas que tiene las personas realmente a hacer un proceso de inclusión, nosotros trabajamos desde un modelo de planificación centrada en la persona en la cual nosotros podemos acompañar procesos, pero no pasa por delante ni de decidir lo que la persona tiene o no tiene que hacer, pues en función de cómo la persona se va abriendo, va utilizando los servicios, se va vinculando a los profesionales o no...”* (Interview 04/06/2015)<sup>220</sup>.

The coordinator of the Unit did not think it was any issue that they referred people who in theory fell within the category of those for whom the services they provided was meant for – the socially vulnerable and at risk of social exclusion and poverty. She reiterated that for these groups they rejected they got assistance from non-municipal – non-state food aid programs. Many individuals and families with assisted access to food in non-state organizations (Fundació Jericó, Fundació Arrels, through Caritas and The Red Cross), were immigrants, especially, from Sub-Sahara African countries (Senegal, Mali, Gambia, Nigeria – see Table 14 & 15 above). Thus, the reason why most users of the services provided by the church (Fundació Arrels) including food assistance, are immigrants? Why are they the group mostly referred to these organizations? Why does the City Council of Lleida (represented by the Social Inclusion Unit) always refer undocumented immigrants to Caritas (Fundación Arrels, and fundació Jericó)? Alternatively, why are they slow in assessing and responding to the situations of SSA immigrants seeking assistance at the services? These questions arose from the interview with the coordinator of the Social Inclusion Unit of the Ajuntament de Lleida and from exchanges with SSA immigrants with assisted access to food. I

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<sup>220</sup> “... man this in the municipal canteen, but there are other non-municipal canteens where they can go to daily, it is the same with accommodation; there are people eating and dining here from Monday to Sunday for over a month, two months or a year now... it depends on each person's situation. Is kind of in function of the possibilities to improve peoples' conditions and their desire to go through the process of inclusion, we work from a person-centred planning model in which we can accompany (support) inclusion processes but we do not take the place of the person or decide what the person has or does not have to do... well depending on how the person opens-up, how he goes on using the services, he could be linked to professionals or not...”

started to ask how inclusive the Social Inclusive unit of the City Council was. Some immigrants who requested for food assistance at Fundació Arrels had been to the Social Inclusion Unit of the city council on several occasions; the professionals there had evaluated their situations and promised to grant them access to the assistance program, but never received the food assistance vouchers or beneficiary cards. However, because their situation was aggravating on daily basis, they could not wait, hence, they went seeking food assistance at Fundació Arrels. The City Council's 'collaborators' in social inclusion activities also criticize this attitude. A manager (social worker) of one of the food distribution organizations in Lleida emphasized on the aspects she did not like in the collaboration relationship with the Social services (Social Inclusion) Unit of the Ajuntament de Lleida:

*“Lo que no me gusta...pero bueno el más de mucho es la sensación de desprotección por parte de las instituciones, es decir, tendríamos que recibir unas subvenciones del cupón porque estamos atendiendo a una población que tendrán que atenderlo los servicios sociales, y no lo hacen, entonces claro que bien que lo hacer la iglesia no...y eso me fastidia porque es dinero público, es mi dinero y yo quiero que vaya destinado a una serie de cosas y como yo pues hay otra gente también que le quiere. Y mientras este dinero estamos desperdiciando en cosas que no pides como hacer un puente de diseño o como hacer un teatral en que puede ir solo la gente privilegia porque ponen como minimum las entradas a €40...sabes, eso me indigna, y no es solo al nivel de la Ayuntamiento, también al nivel de la Generalitat y al nivel del Comité Central...eso no me gusta y menos mal que no mando mucho porque si no me meteré en problemas porque lo diría y lo demo-quería... los servicios sociales deberán dar al abasto, pero no entonces en una situación así que haces, podrías decir que, pues ya está, pero cuando tienes una sensibilidad o cuando tienes unos valores, cuando tienes unas ideas sabes que hay unas determinadas injusticias que no las puedes permitir...” (Interview 12/07/2015)<sup>221</sup>.*

The director of a non-profit further emphasized on the cunningness of the Social services in collaborating with them in offering similar services that aim at the social inclusion of the socially vulnerable and poor:

*“...son como muy sutiles porque históricamente cuando nos creamos lo que era la distribución de alimentos que hacia el ayuntamiento (servicios sociales) se hacían fuera de la ciudad y nos ofrecimos o aceptábamos que nos envían la gente que no podrían ir porque era difícil desplazarse o tenia circunstancias distintas o*

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<sup>221</sup> “What I don't like... well the most of all is the sensation of no protection by the institutions, i.e., we had to receive subsidies for the coupons they give to users because we are serving a population they should be serving. They do not care for this population and do not give us those subsidies because it is nice that the church doing the job, right! This annoys me because the money they have is public money – from our taxes – and I want it destined to certain issues. Several other people like me want public funds destined to certain issues. Rather, the public money is wasted on things we have not asked for such the building or designing of a bridge or a movie theatre where only a few privileged people to access because of the high entrance fee (€40). This annoys me, and my anger is not only at the level of the City Council, but also at the level of the *Generalitat* and the Central Committee. I do not like what is happening and unfortunately or fortunately, for me, I am not in charge, if not I would be in trouble because I would speak against these injustices. The Social Services of the City Council must provide food assistance to this population, and it should not be done under such conditions. What are they doing? From our side, we could sit and fold our arms and do nothing, but we can't because we are sensitive to the issue and have values and ideas that push us to do something and not permit these injustices”

*por tipología de alimentos no tenían suficiente con lo de la UE y que no sean más de 25 personas, podríamos recibirlos...esto fue derivando, luego establecimos unos copos con el ayuntamiento, actualmente tenemos copos establecidos pero tenemos la de Maranyosa que es la de la pobreza que nos derivan a quien quieren y como quieren y esto no lo tenemos bien organizado con la sensación compleja de que para las donas del ayuntamiento nosotros hacemos poca cosa sobretodo en comparación con otras entidades que también trabajan con pobreza, y la sensación nuestra es que es un abuso constante lo que esta haciendo el ayuntamiento...” (Interview 06/07/2015)<sup>222</sup>.*

She highlighted administrative breaches and abuse of authority on the part of the administration, they failed to respect the terms of the onset working agreement and began to refer individuals and families to access assisted food at the non-profit organizations, without prior consultation. The director indicated that the administration (the Maranyosa Social Inclusion Office) sent families and individuals as it liked, so that they be allowed access to assisted food without prior consultation with the food distribution organization. She considered this an abuse of authority and trust, and a lack of coordinated efforts on the part of the administration to address the issues that led many people to resort to food assistance programs. Food distributed in organizations such as Fundació Arrels comes from the food bank of Spain – which are donations from the European Union; as well as from the foundation’s partners and personal donations. In years past the foundation used to buy part of the food they distribute; however, they do not buy food any longer. Thus, food distributed in many non-state organizations like the Fundació Arrels come not only from the State (i.e. EU donations) but also from private sources. So, if Social Inclusion Unit may be referred the needy (i.e. the socially vulnerable, socially excluded and poor people) to such organizations on basis that the food they distributed was from the state, and then maybe it was not necessary to consult the organization prior to sending potential beneficiaries there. However, all food items distributed by the organization is not from the state (the EU), and besides, why does the ‘state’ (social inclusion unit) send families and persons it is supposed to guarantee access to food to non-state organizations? In addition, the director of the non-profit organization highlighted that the state subvention (€17,000) (from the *Ajuntament de Lleida*, *Diputació de Lleida*, and the *Generalitat de Catalunya*) is insufficient in comparison to the organization’s total budget (between €700,000 and €800,000).

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<sup>222</sup> “... They are like very subtle because when we started the City Council (Social Services) distributed food outside the city. Therefore, we offered or accepted that they referred some of the users of the food bank to us; those who could not access food from the distribution centre because of difficulties in displacing themselves, or because the food they got (from the European Union) was insufficient. We made it clear that they should not be more than 25 people because we could provide assistance to 25, not more. Later, we agreed on using some coupons (vouchers) with the City Council; actually, we have established number of coupons (i.e. number of users they can refer to the fundació) with the City Council but they do not respect it. For instance, the City Council at Maranyosa which directly works on the issue of poverty refer who they like and how they like it without consulting first with us. In our opinion this is not well organized, our feeling is that the women at the City Council think we do very little, especially in comparison with other entities working with the poor. Our feeling is that it is that of a constant abuse of trust by the City Council...”

Non-profit organizations like Fundació Arrels has shown its disapproval of the state's approach to social assistance, particularly for the immigrant population. Their disapproval was not so much from an economic perspective as from an ethical perspective:

*“Nos quejamos más al nivel educativo que al nivel económico, es decir nos molesta más que una persona nos diga, es que a mí me tenían que atender pero no me han atendido durante 4 meses y aquí hay una llamada inmediatamente de que conio está pasando, que no por el hecho económico, es decir subvencionan suficientemente o no nos subvencionan, nos molesta más es el que se creyó una base de datos común y sea para evitar duplicidades que no que se creyó una base de datos común para conseguir atender mejor a las personas, son dos objetivos para mí probablemente a la práctica complementaria pero donde pones el acento importantes en la vida!”* (Interview 06/07/2015)<sup>223</sup>.

Indeed, where is the emphasis placed on the issue, is it on the help itself or on the issues that lead people to seek food assistance in the first place. It will seem at the level of the state (administration) emphasis is on the help, how to manage the help, avoid duplicity – user fraud, define criteria of access and so on. That is, a kind of control system has been established that flows from the European Union through state administration (the social services) to the food distribution organizations. A system of control in the guise of accountability and transparency in which assisted food users and distribution agencies were assigned ‘control forms’ – follow-up forms with the personal details of the beneficiary of the food aid (address, names, identification document, household structure), amount of food items received, reception date. This information was saved in a common database managed by the *Ajuntament de Lleida*, it served to monitor the food distributed and the people receiving the distributed food. It also served as a control mechanism of the distributing agencies in the sense that it ensured the food they received was distributed the people for who it was destined. These control and administrative bottlenecks distributing agencies had to go through to receive donated food from the EU (the state) was an issue also strongly criticized by non-profit organizations. They complained a lot about the paper work involved in the administrative and management aspects of food received from the EU, considering it both an advantage and a handicap. An advantage and a handicap because first, they never knew when they would get the food donations from the EU, the amount they would receive, and the type of food items they were going to receive, and in addition, they were subject to a great and absurd amount of time consuming bureaucratic tasks. Tasks that changed from time to time in such a way that as

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<sup>223</sup> We complain more at the educational (ethical) level, i.e., we are more worried when a person says, ‘they had to attend to me but they have not done so for four months’. Nevertheless, when it has to do with them, there is an immediate call to ask what is happening here. So it is not about the funding, the economic part of the issue, i.e., whether or not we get enough subventions from them or not, what borders me more is the institution (*Ajuntament*) that created a common database to improve peoples’ conditions. They are two objectives, which to me are complementary but where do they place emphasis on – what things are important in life!

they were getting comfortable in doing the tasks, there were again changed – new ones were introduced:

*“...entonces esto es una ventaja y un hándicap primero porque no sabes nunca cuando vas a tener los alimentos, cuantos alimentos vas a tener y la tipología de los alimentos tendrás y te obligan a una cantidad de burocracia absurda que es matador, a ver normalmente las educadoras sociales se quejan...tampoco es una burocracia establecida que dura 10 años y al final la dominas, sino que va cambiando...”* (Interview 06/07/2015)<sup>224</sup>.

Also, there were complaints about the donations (food items) from the European Union; these were complaints from the food distribution organizations (*Fundació Arrels*). It rejected some of the food donations because it was not sure of distribution it within the timeframe set by the EU and because there were food items least requested by users:

*“... este año nos hemos encontrado renunciados alimentos que sabíamos que no podríamos distribuir no por falta de necesidad sino porque nos piden que este distribuido antes de la siguiente fase o son alimentos que son por ejemplo como legumbres secas que es lo último que quiere la gente...entonces es como complejo...”* (Interview 06/07/2015)<sup>225</sup>.

As indicated, the main sources of food distributed at the *Fundació Arrels' La Botigueta* were food donations from the EU. The Spanish Food Bank, the local food Bank in Lleida, distributed these donations. There were equally personal donations (in cash) from individuals, specifying what food items to purchase with it, as well as in kind donations from individuals who gave specific food items the organization had requested. Also, the organization organized specific food campaigns to receive specific kinds of foods for which they were short. Conscious of the criticisms common in the sector and the little commitment by the administration, the *Fundación Arrels' La Botigueta* devised innovative ways to aid the needy. First, by trying to 'normalize' the process of access to food supply through assisted food – i.e., through its supermarket approach to food distribution and improved care for users. It further worked on its discourse; it advocated for a discourse that emphasized the benefits of providing access to milk (food) for everybody and not just a privileged few. A discourse that emphasized understanding does not have fewer rights than the other because the latter is poor:

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<sup>224</sup> “... This is both an advantage and a disadvantage because you never know when you will get the food items, how much food items you will get and the type of food items you will get. In addition, it entails very demanding bureaucratic tasks - the social educators often complain about this. Moreover, it is not a bureaucracy that could last 10 years or so, such that you end up knowing how to go about it; it often changes...”

<sup>225</sup> We have found ourselves rejecting food donations we knew we would be unable to distribute, not necessarily, because they were not wanted, but because they had to be distributed before the beginning of the next distribution phase and were food items such as dried legumes, which are the last kinds of foods users want. So, it is complex...”



*“...intentando trabajar el discurso que para nosotros es importante no salir de la idea de que Bueno soy yo que doy leche a ti sino a que bien estará construir un mundo en que todos tuviéramos leche... de poder entender que no por ser pobre tiene menos derechos que tu...”* (Interview 06/07/2015)<sup>226</sup>.

According to the Fundació Arrels', just as an individual goes to the supermarket, chooses what he wants, users of *La Botigueta* also have the right of choice. However, this choice is a much-limited one because users can only choose from what *La Botigueta* offers and from the amounts assigned to them:

*“...porque tu cuando vas a supermercado eliges si quieres lentejas o quieres garbanzos o quieres no sé qué, pues el (beneficiario) también tiene derecho a elegir...claro es una pena, pero puedes elegir menos, porque puede elegir solo entre lo que nosotros podemos ofrecer y sobre las cantidades que nosotros podemos ofrecer...”* (Interview 06/07/2015)<sup>227</sup>.

It is this idea of the right to choose from the options available that the Fundación advocated for a food distribution that gives the beneficiary the impression he is shopping at a supermarket. In addition to working on its discourse and establishing a rights-based approach to food distribution, the foundation owned a community garden where it cultivated fresh food products for distribution at *la botigueta*. It also coordinated a *taller de cocina* (cooking workshop) with many beneficiaries, in which they were taught different ways of cooking the food products they got from *la Botigueta*:

*“...si en la Botigueta puedes elegir en esto, esto y esto, que combinaciones posibles tienes no! como cocinar los garbanzos hay 30 mil maneras distintas...es un poco como aprender a con lo que tienes pues poder poner vida hacia adelante...”* (Interview 06/07/2015)<sup>228</sup>.

This seemed a very interesting initiative by the foundation giving that the food products it distributed were European – meant for the European community, meanwhile many of those receiving the food products were non-Europeans (mainly Africans). Thus, knowledge of how to elaborate these food products was not only helpful for the beneficiaries but also ensured that they used the foods received and not discard them for lack of knowledge on how to elaborate the food and nutrition knowledge was therefore important for this group of users. The kitchen workshops were launched because the foundation realized that many beneficiaries did not know how to appropriately use the foods they received; for instance, many SSA immigrants preferred foods like rice and not macaroni, which was one of the food products in the food donations of the EU. Thus,

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<sup>226</sup> “... Endeavoring to work on our discourse because it is important, for us to get into the idea that I am a good person because I give you milk. Rather, we should think about how nice the world would be if we all had milk...”

<sup>227</sup> “... because when you shop for groceries at the supermarket, you choose what you want, whether lentils or chickpeas or whatever food item you want; well users of *La Botigueta* also have the right to choose. Of course, it is a shame that their window of choice is limited to what we can offer, to the amounts allocated to them...”

<sup>228</sup> ... If you choose this or that food item at *La Botigueta*, what meals or recipes can I possibly prepare with the products! For instance, there are thirty thousand different ways of preparing chickpeas. It is like learning how to move on with life with what you have...”

knowledge of how to elaborate (cook) the food products was a way of teaching beneficiaries how to make the most from the least they had:

*“...con muy poco dinero puedes sacar un plato fantástico...la sabiduría en cómo saber sacar máximo provecho de esto...”* (Interview 06/07/2015)<sup>229</sup>.

This knowledge sharing also ensured that the foods received were used and not discarded for lack of knowledge on how to elaborate the products. The foundation made use of the unserved foods (cooked) from the school canteens of seven colleges, in collaboration with the Department of Health of Lleida city. The colleges got the unserved food from its canteens, stored them in sealed packs and froze them, then sent them to *la Botigueta*.

The initiatives taken by *Fundació Arrels* has led to a new model of providing food assistance to the needy. A model that endeavors to put into practice the welfare of the beneficiaries, builds on the weaknesses of the ways in which food assistance is managed specifically by the state; endeavors to look beyond the problem of lack of food to the factors causing hardships to access food. For beneficiaries in accompaniment, followed-up by the social workers of the foundation, their general welfare is at the center of the actions of the foundation; it supports them through a process of inclusion (socioeconomic inclusion) in the larger society and the labor market. Like several other non-profits, *Fundació Arrel* tries to put into practice the theory advocated by the social services (administration). The latter is expert in saying it does this or that when it does the very opposite of what it says it does. It perceives everything as if it was a political campaign to consolidate power (for example, in the city of Lleida, the administration in place has been there for the last three or so decades – a supposed socialist government - PSC that is more conservative than the conservatives – the PP and obsessed with control. A government that wants to be in control of everything not for the interest of the thing but for fear of not keeping its guard against possible attack, criticism or opposition. The administration is so obsessed with control such that it had to sit in a plenary session to study the objectives of my project, decide on what to respond to and how to respond to the questions I was going to ask them concerning this study. It chose the person with whom I had to conduct the interview – a person they were confident represented the interest of the administration. This same control is seen in the management and use of the ‘joint database’ created for all organizations engaged in social inclusion and food assistance to the public. A joint database that was supposed to be the basis for a joint effort to provide collective solutions to issues of hardships to access food in the population. Instead, it became a control tool for the administration for monitoring the food distribution activities of its partners; i.e., whether they are

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<sup>229</sup> “... You can prepare a delicious dish with very little money... wisdom on how to get the most of it...”

appropriately distributing the food received from the EU. A control mechanism through which beneficiaries are indiscriminately referred to partner organizations without prior consultation.

With this established control system, is the obvious differential/discriminatory treatment of the users of the social services, social inclusion services. Some users were allowed only minimal access such as a one-time access to food aid, while others had prolonged access that lasted for months and sometimes years. Meanwhile specific groups of users were referred to specific (non-municipal) food distribution institutions. The administration's discriminatory approach to such issues has always been strongly criticized by its collaborators, users of their services and civil rights associations or the opposition; but it does not react until when it goes public – to the press, until when it became bad publicity for the administration and the image of the city that it took actions. For instance, because of the harsh criticisms and medialization of the conditions of temporary workers (many of who were SSA immigrants) who came to work in the fruit industry in the summer of 2015<sup>230</sup>, the administration decided to consider the condition of the seasonal workers and provide a situation for this year. Though it strongly believed the problem with the seasonal workers was a political issue for which some political parties made an issue out of, and pressurized the council to take measures and at least provide accommodation for seasonal workers (*los temporeros*) that came to work in the fruit sector in summer;

*“... lo del año pasado fue una cuestión política porque las personas que estaban en situación de calle es una cosa que hacer 30 años que se produce en nuestra ciudad; que el año pasado hubo grupos políticos que pusieron la alarma y de alguna manera presionaron para que se hizo algo al nivel de alojamiento...”*  
(04/06/2015)<sup>231</sup>.

The administration was reluctant to take on measures and provide a solution to the issue; they argued that they provided services to the homeless and not to seasonal workers because more than the issue of employment, seasonal workers had more personal hardships: they were unemployed, waiting for an employment offer, or had come to the city in search of opportunities. Thus, their problems were different to those faced by the homeless people for whom their services were meant;

*“... nosotros entendemos que hay situaciones que son susceptibles de ser atendidas de una red a personas sin hogar como una persona sin hogar y otra es un temporero que no tiene otras dificultades personales más que no tengo trabajo; estoy esperando trabajo y he venido aquí porque me estoy buscando la vida. Para mí son situaciones y circunstancias muy distintas; yo entiendo que desde los servicios sociales hay que dar una respuesta en el primer impacto de esta persona que llega en la ciudad, poderle facilitar unos mínimos para*

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<sup>230</sup> Many of the workers were sleeping in the streets and the municipal police poured water on seasonal workers – SSA immigrants that slept at the foot of *La Sen Vella* (the main touristic attraction of the city),

<sup>231</sup> “... What happened last year was a political issue because the issue of the homeless is something that dates as far back as 30 years ago in our city. Last year, there were political groups that set the alarm and pressurized such that something was done at the level of accommodation...”

*que él pueda moverse y buscar trabajo y si él no le encuentra, continuaremos haciendo el proyecto que se hacer cada año con otras entidades, ver cómo ayudarles...*" (Interview 04/06/2015)<sup>232</sup>.

Hence, the administration (*Ajuntament de Lleida*) emphasized that their role was limited to providing the minimum services it could – first response services (giving them sandwiches for lunch and dinner) to seasonal workers in their search for employment. It noted that, if the workers could not get a job, then they collaborated with other institutions working in the domain of social inclusion to support them; these are the same organizations they often refer immigrants in situations of irregularities to (*Caritas, Fundació Jericó, Fundació Arrels, and The Red Cross*). In other words, the administration shifted the responsibility of providing support to this group (*temporeros*, who were mainly SSA immigrants); support in terms of shelter, and nutrition to other organizations, and mainly played a supervisory role. However, pressure from other political groups and activists who raised an alarm on the issue, obliged the City Council to provide a solution to the situations of many seasonal workers the following year. They provided shelter to each seasonal worker for the period of 14 days – that is for the first 14 days the worker came into the city; if he was unable to get a job within those 14 days, he was asked to move out;

*"... este año sí que se facilitará el alojamiento durante los 14 primeros días en la ciudad. Y si la persona no encuentra trabajo después de estos 14 días, pues se tiene que mover porque nosotros gestionamos un albergue para personas sin hogar que no es un trabajador temporero..."* (Interview 04/06/2015)<sup>233</sup>.

The City Council argued that it was the employers or the seasonal workers themselves to make provisions for their accommodation in the city. They highlighted it was like this in other cities – it was the employer who covered the accommodation of the workers in other cities that had hostels for seasonal workers. In Lleida, there were no hostels for seasonal workers, the Council held pointed that it was an issue that needed to be articulated to those directly concerned – the Housing Department, the Provincial Council of Lleida, and the Regional Councils, and not to the social services that was meant to care for the homeless;

*"En realidad, el alojamiento del temporero se tendrá que asumir el empleador o el mismo trabajador...es el empleador quien tiene que asumirse del alojamiento de temporero como se hacer en otras ciudades en que tiene albergues para temporeros que estén trabajando o no, cosa que aquí no hay y esto es una cosa que*

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<sup>232</sup> "... We understand there are situations that are susceptible to attend to, for instance, there is a difference between a network of homeless people or a homeless person and a seasonal worker. The latter does not have any additional personal challenges except that of not having a job, moreover, he comes to the city to search for a job – to work. To me these are different situations and circumstances. I understand that there is the need to provide first response solutions from the Social Services to seasonal workers that have come to the city. Need to provide some basic services so that they can go around and search for jobs, and if they find a job, we will continue with the project we do every year with other organizations. We will see how we can help them..."

<sup>233</sup> "... of course, we will provide accommodation this year during the first 14 days in the city and if after these 14 days the person is unable to secure a job, he will have to leave because we are managing a residence for the homeless and not for seasonal workers..."

*debería articularse desde quien corresponde que es el Departamento de Ocupación, la Diputación de Lleida, los Conseils Comarcas, y no unos servicios sociales que atienden a personas sin hogar” (Interview 04/06/2015)<sup>234</sup>.*

The problem of seasonal workers in the fruit sector in Lleida is complex: characterized by the shifting of responsibilities from ‘supposed’ competent sectors (Social services, provincial, and regional councils and the Department of Housing) to the third sector. The latter has fewer resources compared with the state. As the issue of seasonal workers in Lleida city, such is the management of the hardships caused by the economic crisis – among which is access to food:

*“El problema de la temporada agrícola aquí es muy complejo y con muy pocas ganas al nivel de la provincia de implicarse, de poner una respuesta acorde de las necesidades de los trabajadores temporeros que no son personas sin hogar...” (Interview 04/06/2015)<sup>235</sup>.*

Again, we observe a shift of responsibility on the part of the supposed competent organ (the social services, social inclusion services – the state), to the third sector. A sector in contact with the day to day experiences of those affected by the economic crisis; that has seen a change in the profile of those seeking its services;

*“... nosotros no notamos inmediatamente la crisis porque nuestro perfil habitual de usuarios estaban en crisis antes de la crisis, es decir no le afectaba la hipoteca, porque ni si les habían ocurrir que puedan tener la hipoteca, es como... que acabo de poco tiempo, nos encontramos con más gente que necesitaba Botigueta (ayuda) que eran perfiles más normalizados, que no eran sin techo, que eran más normalizadas pero ahora necesitaban teóricamente una ayuda puntual que luego algunos sí que fue puntual pero que luego fue un puntual bastante que se alargue con el tiempo digamos, y que eran perfiles como más normalizados y que ahora han pasado realmente desde la normalidad a la vulnerabilidad por ponerlo así...” (Interview 06/07/2015)<sup>236</sup>.*

What these individuals and families need is not social support as the one offered them by third sector organizations or the social services of the Municipal, Provincial or Regional Councils; they don’t need food charity – this is helpful but it is and should be a punctual – timely solution. The solution is not in the cuts in social protection programs: cuts in the subventions for PYMES (Small

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<sup>234</sup> “... in fact, accommodation for seasonal workers has to be the responsibility of the employer. It is the employer who has to provide accommodation for the seasonal worker as it is done in other cities that have shelter for seasonal workers that are working or not. This is something we do not have here and should be directed to those it concerns, i.e., the Department of Occupation, the Provincial and District Councils of Lleida, and not to the Social services that serves the homeless...”

<sup>235</sup> “... The problem with the agricultural season here is a very complex one and there is very little desire at the level of the province to commit themselves to solving the issue; to provide an appropriate response to the needs of seasonal workers, who are not homeless...”

<sup>236</sup> “... we did not immediately notice the crisis because our usual profile of users were in crisis before the crisis, i.e., they were not affected by the inability to pay mortgages because it had never occurred to them that they could have mortgage. It is like in a short period, we met people who needed *Botigueta* (assistance), who were more standardized, who all of a sudden needed a timely help. The timely help became a more extended help with time for people who had a more standardized profile; now, we can say they have passed on from normality to vulnerability...”

and Medium Size Enterprises), accommodation plans, and vocational trainings. What these individuals and families in situations of hardship with provided access to assisted food, need, is political and psychological support but not from the sphere of seeking social assistance; but from the scope of building socioeconomic and political environments that will enable those individuals and families already in crisis situations (those that are down there) to come out of their hardships; as well as prevent those that are not yet in crisis situation but who are at risk, from getting down there (into situations of crisis). Thus, there is a clear political option to prevent those that are already down there from falling deeper and taking away the barriers to their ascension (recovery); it is important to link access to food to access to employment as a norm – that is, it is not only important to demand a series of documents from those seeking food assistance – personal information, employment history, city council registration, etc. but also do something to help them get a job, because no food beneficiary is able to live well with the food products he receives.

*“... pero que piensas que están todo el día pensando que bien, que voy a vivir tan bien con los alimentos que recibo...es que no ser lo que se piensa...es como quitar a la gente la dignidad...”* (Interview 06/07/2015)<sup>237</sup>.

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<sup>237</sup> “... but what are they thinking, that I spend the day thinking that nice, I will live so well with the food basket that I receive? I do not know what they are thinking; it is like talking away a person’s dignity...”

## RESULTS OF REPEATED 24-HOUR RECALLS: AN OVERVIEW OF THE NUTRITIONAL STATUS OF SSA HOUSEHOLDS

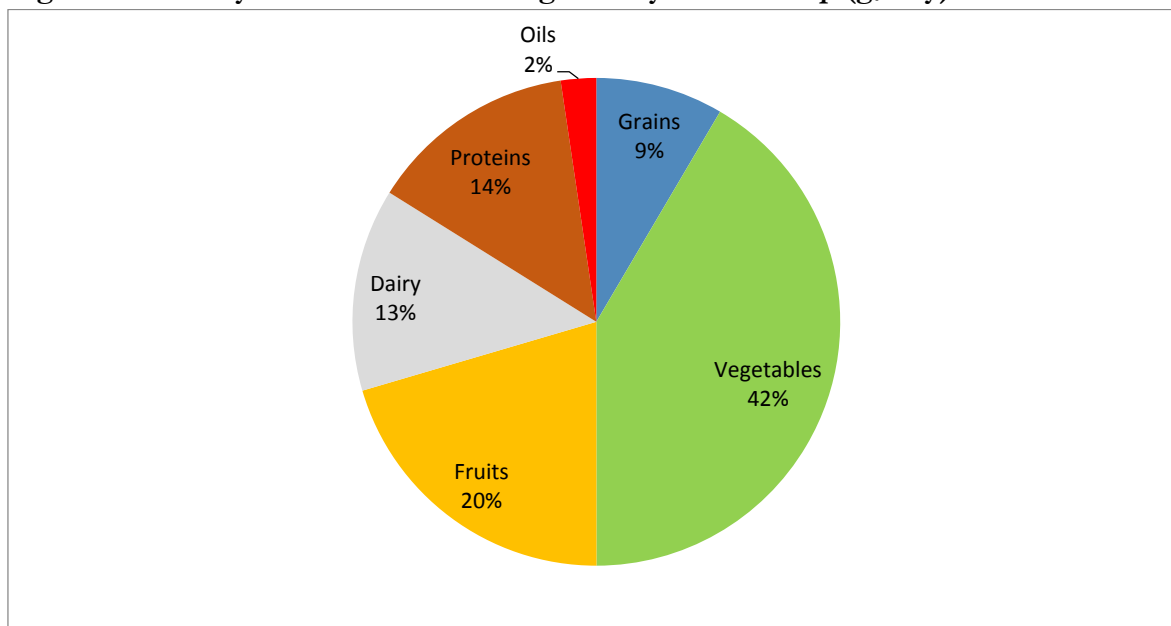
The general and theoretical objective of nutrition has always been to know the energy and nutrient needs and the actual dietary intake of the population or an individual, and to use it as the basis for dietary planning and assessing nutritional status. The 24-hour diet recall method and the household food inventory survey of 20 of the 30 informants, provided data of SSA immigrant's nutrient and energy intake. SSA immigrants' food intake was compared with the current Dietary Recommendations (RDAs) for Spain, spelled out in the nutritional objectives of the country; it highlights the degree to which they meet, exceed or fall below the RDAs for Spain. Dietary intakes lower than the RDAs do not imply dietary deficiency in the group (because there is need for confirmation with a biochemical or clinical assessment); it suggests the probability of risk for deficiency - energy and nutrient intake in the group (Moreiras, Torres, Vives, Pozo de la Calle, & Moreno, 2009)

**Table 21: Anthropometric Data for SSA Immigrants**

	Women	Men	Total (n=20)
<b>Weight</b>	64.55	80.45	73.3
<b>Height</b>	163.66	178.45	171.8
<b>BMI (kg/m<sup>2</sup>)</b>	24.1	25.27	24.74

The SEEDO (*Sociedad Española para el Estudio de la Obesidad* – Spanish Society for the Study of Obesity) uses the BMI (Body Mass Index) to define obesity risk. The SEEDO defines BMIs below 18.5 as underweight; 18.5-24.9 as normal weight; 25-26.9 –as grade I overweight; 27-29 –as grade II overweight (pre-obesity); 30-34.9 as type I obesity; 35-39.9 –as type II obesity; 40-49.9 as type III obesity (morbid) and; 50+ as Type I obesity (extreme). Together, the BMI of the SSA immigrants analyzed here is within the normal weight category of the SEEDO classification. This may be interpreted as the absence of the risk of overweight or obesity in the group.

**Figure 17: Dietary Intakes of SSA Immigrants by Food Group (g/day)**



SSA immigrants' dietary behaviour about food groups exceeds the RDA of 400g of fruits/day and 300g of vegetables and legumes/day for the Spanish population. There is lower intake of dairy products, grains and oils in the group.

**Table 22: Daily Energy and Nutrient Intake of SSA Immigrants**

		Eaten	Recommended*			Eaten	Recommended
<b>Nutrients</b>	Total Calories (kcal)	2512	2650	<b>Minerals</b>	Calcium (mg)	969.55	1000
	Protein (g)	103.5	47.5		Potassium (mg)	3935.25	3500
	Carbohydrate (g)	267.1	55		Sodium (mg)	3710.3	≥30 - 175
	Dietary Fiber (g)	30	27.5		Copper (µg)	2387.1	900
	Total fats (% calories)	39.8	-		Iron (mg)	20.2	14
<b>Vitamins</b>	Vitamin A (µg RAE)	880.2	900		Magnesium (mg)	637.2	340
	Vitamin B6 (mg)	2.515	1.7		Phosphorus (mg)	637.2	700
	Vitamin B12 (µg)	6.12	2		Selenium (µg)	125.4	62.5
	Vitamin C (mg)	208.1	60		Zinc (mg)	16.25	15
	Vitamin D (µg)	3.2	15				
	Vitamin E (mg AI)	17.1	12				
	Vitamin K (µg)	230.4	105				
	Folate ((µg DFE)	576.15	400				
	Thiamin (mg)	1.89	1.05				
	Riboflavin (mg)	1.88	1.6				
	Niacin (mg)	26.5	17.5				
Choline (mg)	379.55	≥30 - 175					

\*Mean, men and women as per the average age of the sample (20) and as indicated in the RDA Tables of the Nutritional Objectives of Spain



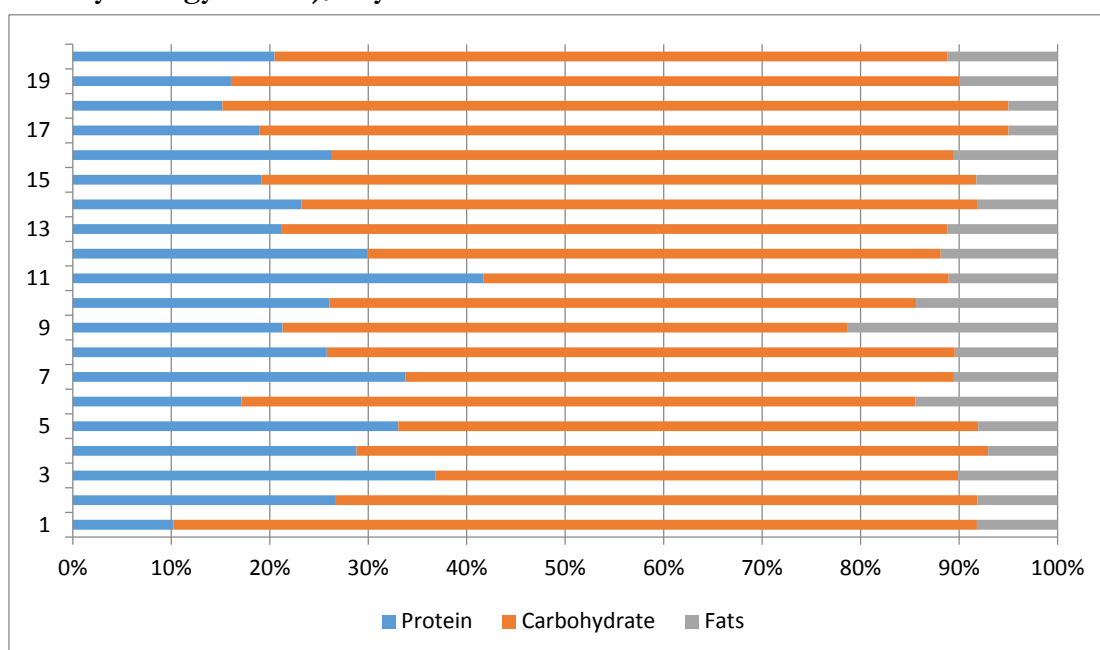
The mean age of informants in this study is 31 years, and the recommended energy intake for the Spanish population for persons 20-39 is 3000kcal for men and 2300kcal for women. That is a mean energy/calorie intake of 2650kcal for this sample. SSA immigrants' calorie/energy intake is slightly below the RDAs for the Spanish population. This may be explained by the fact that many SSA (especially the men) do not eat breakfast, and energy intake from beverages other than water is low. Skipping breakfast is not associated to limited resources but to how important or less important it is to the day's meal. Many SSA immigrants do not consider breakfast an important meal of the day and generally do not have time to eat breakfast.

Daily fiber intake for the SSA group (30g/day) exceeds recommended allowances (27.5g/day) and that eaten by nationals (18.8g/day) (Moreiras, Torres, Vives, Pozo de la Calle, & Moreno, 2009). Calcium (969.55mg/day) and phosphorus (637.2g/day) intake of the group do not meet the RDAs - 1000mg/day and 700mg/day respectively. Meanwhile dietary intake for potassium (3935.25mg/day) and sodium (3710.3mg/day) exceeded recommended allowances - 3500mg/day and 3017.5mg/day respectively. In addition, Sodium/potassium ratio for the group (0.94) did not meet RDA of  $\geq 1$ . Although dietary intake for calcium and phosphorus minerals did not meet RDAs, the calcium/phosphorus ratio (1.52) does exceed the RDA ( $\geq 1$ ). The proportion of sodium/potassium (0.94) does not meet recommended allowances of  $\geq 1$ .

Vitamin D is needed by our system to be able to absorb calcium; insufficient intake of vitamin D implies our system's inability to produce sufficient calcitriol and there will be low absorption of dietary calcium. A ratio of 800mg calcium/day and 5 $\mu$ g vitamin D (a value of 160) is recommended for men and women between 20 and 39 years. Calcium/vitamin D ratio of the sample (303) exceeds RDAs for the Spanish population. This means the group's intake of vitamin D is sufficient for the quantity of calcium it eats.

Per the nutritional objectives for Spain, a meal/diet is considered of good quality when the quantity of nutrients per energy unit (1000kcal) is high. Apart from calcium (969.55mg), Vitamin E (17.1mg) and vitamin A (880.2) for which intake does not meet the RDA, protein intake (103.3g), iron (20.2mg), zinc (16.25mg), vitamin A (880.2  $\mu$ g), folate (576.15  $\mu$ g), vitamin C (208.1mg) and vitamin D (3.2  $\mu$ g) meet and exceed RDAs. This means SSA immigrants' dietary intakes are high in density and of good quality.

**Figure 18: Energy contribution per macronutrient to total energy contribution (% of Dietary Energy Intake)/day**



The energy contribution per food group to total energy contribution, i.e. the relative caloric contribution is recommended to be between <30 and 35% fats, 10-15% proteins and 50-60% carbohydrate. Energy contribution from carbohydrate and proteins to total energy contribution is within recommended allowances. Meanwhile energy contribution from fats (39.8%) to total energy contribution exceeds recommended allowances.

**Table 23: Omega-3 Fatty Acids (g/day) / Omega-6s/Omega-3s Intake**

	$\alpha$ -Linolenic Acid (g)	EPA + DHA (g)
<b>Recommended</b>	0.2-2	0.25
<b>Average eaten</b>	2.16	0.23
	Omega-6/Omega-3	
<b>Recommended</b>	4/1-5/1	
<b>Total Eaten</b>	13.2/1	

The balance between omega-6 and omega-3 fatty acids is important for health and has often been associated with diseases like cancer, arthritis, depression, dementia and heart problems. Excess of omega-6s compared with omega-3s in the body is dangerous for health (Sanchez-Mejia, et al., 2008). SSA immigrants' omega-3 fatty acids intakes exceed the RDAs for Spain. Intake for Eicosapentaenoic Acid (EPA) + Docosahexaenoic Acid (DHA) (0.23g/day) does not meet the RDAs (0.25g/day). The omega-6/omega-3 ratio for SSA immigrants is 13.2/1 – higher than that of the African population (mainly from Algeria, Morocco, Senegal, and Tunisia) in a study carried out in 2009 (Moreiras, Torres, Vives, Pozo de la Calle, & Moreno, 2009). This may be the result of

many highly processed omega-6s in most western societies, which excludes most of the original nutrients in the process. Although a clear challenge for those living in the western world, there is a clear need for both plant and animal-derived fats.

Omega-6s ratio for SSA immigrants in this study is higher (13.2/1); this can be explained by the fact that many omega-6s fatty acids in Western countries are genetically modified and highly processed, excluding most of the original nutrients in the process. There is need for both plant and animal-derived fats, although it is clearly a challenge in Western countries. Most nutritionists recommend a shift to more omega-3s and a reduction of omega-6s in diets. Also, there is less vitamin A (880.2µg/day) and vitamin D intake (3.2µg), falling below the recommended allowance of 900 µg and 15µg respectively.

Some studies have found a relationship between individuals experiencing food insufficiency/insecurity and lower energy intakes than those who reported food sufficiency/security (Cristofar & Basiotis, 1992; Kendall, Olson, & Frongillo, 1996; Rose, & Oliveira, 1997; Tarasuk & Beaton, 1999). Other studies found no difference in energy intake between individuals from food-insufficient and food sufficient-households (Dixon, Sundquist, & Winkleby, 2000; Zizza, Duffy, & Gerrior, 2008). No direct relationship has been observed between poverty, food insecurity and the dietary intakes of SSA immigrants in Tarragona province. The daily total energy and nutrients intake of the group meets recommended dietary allowances for the Spanish population. However, SSA immigrants' ways of accessing/purchasing food items which constitutes socioculturally acquired, rational use of resources, food sharing and consumption behaviours demonstrate their ability to interpret and mobilize an array of resources (cultural 'schema'/knowledge – both newly acquired and originally constituting their array) to act on constraining situations such as insufficient/insecure food; though they may not be in conventional or socially acceptable ways in the country.

SSA immigrants' diets/meals is still closely like that eaten in their countries of origin; a diet/meal characterised by high intake of foods rich in complex carbohydrates, tubers (cassava, yam) little portions of protein animal foods, much vegetables and fruits (Moreiras, Torres, Vives, Pozo de la Calle, & Moreno, 2009). However, this quality dietary behaviour may change with inverse effects on the nutritional status of SSA immigrants, if the current crisis persists and there is more job loss and precarious access to common social protection schemes (social assistance) for SSA households.

## FINAL THOUGHTS

In this study, I have attempted to show how SSA households experience challenges about access to food, showing how this issue is constructed, where the problem resides and how SSA households respond to the issue. Through SSA immigrants' migration history, I have explained the pull and push factors explaining the motivations for leaving their country of origin to settle in Europe. I have indicated that these pull and push factors contribute to the building up of a specific migration objective that guides whatever activity, the period of stay of the migrant in his new environment. For many the key migration objective is the betterment of the living conditions of their families back in country of origin, as well as for themselves. An objective that explains the usual remittances sent back to country of origin and the complications and stress SSA immigrants go through once their ability to take care of the responsibilities that rest on their shoulders – their ability to fulfil the main objective (improvement of the living conditions of family back in country of origin and here). The stress and complications in SSA immigrants resulting from loss of employment, and thus a source of livelihood is reflected in the stories of SSA informants to this study.

I have also highlighted some of the early experiences SSA migrants go through once they arrive in their new environment (Spain) and have particularly emphasized on the regularization process they are submitted to go through; their adaptation and “supposed” sociocultural integration into the Spanish society. I have noted that for many SSA immigrants the feeling of integration into the society is very absent. Instead, they feel discriminated and alienated by the society, not only do they go through rigorous regularization process to obtain legal or renewed residency, they are technically excluded from many social protection schemes (healthcare, unemployment benefits, and economic assistance to single mothers for childcare and so on). I have shown how most of these changes - immigrants' exclusions from social protection schemes and subjection to a rigorous process in obtaining or renewal of legal stay in Spain is determined both by the economic crisis and by the coming to power of the conservative government (*Partido Popular* - PP) since 2011. With the economic crisis, the PP government implement harsh austerity measures that had far-reaching consequences for the entire Spanish population but particularly for immigrants and more specifically undocumented immigrants. Austerity measures introduced budgetary cuts in major social protection programs, including programs that were geared towards citizenship and integration (*Plan Estratégico Ciudadanía e Integración 2011-2014* - Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration), and towards healthcare – undocumented immigrants were excluded from the Spanish health care system. These austerity measures in addition to stricter migration policies and reduced or eliminated social spending on specific social protection schemes (citizenship and integration)

has specifically impacted immigrants households (especially undocumented immigrants or immigrants in unstable socioeconomic situation) in the sense that they are excluded from state social assistance schemes and either abandoned to survive by themselves or depend on the charity of non-profit organizations such as *Fundació Arrels*, *Caritas*, and the Red Cross. Thus, for many SSA households I interviewed, they expressed feelings of being insulted when they talk about integration into the Spanish society; they preferred to talk about surviving and not integration.

Thus, I argue that the poverty experienced in SSA immigrant households is the result of a denial of choices and opportunities, a violation of the dignity of this group of the population who are denied the basic capacity to participate effectively in the Spanish society. Thus, SSA immigrants are vulnerable to food insecurity and hunger as they are increasingly forced to live in fragile environments. There is a dire need of a clear integration strategy for the immigrant population in Spain a citizenship and integration strategy that is more inclusive and less exclusive. A strategy that may result to seeing immigrants someday in positions of authority in the Spanish public service as observed in other countries like France with a prime minister originally from Spain. It is obvious that the rigid and anti-migration policies of the conservative government is what pushes immigrants into fraudulent and smuggling activities such as the falsification of an inexistent employment contract necessary for the renewal of residency.

I have also shown that the food practices of SSA households is not strictly under their control as it was in country of origin, where most of what was eaten in families was cultivated by the families; here immigrants who came from an agricultural background, do not have farmlands where they can grow their own foods. All of what they now eat must be bought from the supermarket or market; they have lost that strict control of their food practices, which the economic, sociocultural environment of the host country now conditions. This has serious implications for SSA households here in Spain – the first is that they now have a unique source to access food (supermarket) and to be able to do that they need to have money (a job); there is no other socially accepted way of accessing food. Secondly, when they cultivated their own food, they had variety, but with limited budgets and few familiar foodstuffs in the supermarkets, SSA immigrant families' food intake is characterized by fewer variety of food. Most of what is consumed in households are foods familiar to the household (mostly, rice, macaroni, spaghetti, tomatoes sauce). The economic crisis in Spain has generated constraints, especially financial ones – limited household disposable income available to SSA immigrant households –that further makes it even more challenging for immigrant households to vary their diets. Many SSA families I interviewed noted that they would varied their diets if they had more money, especially to include fish in their meals and eat more fruit.

I have shown how SSA households faced with financial constraints resulting from the loss of employment in the context of the economic crisis change their food practices, particularly, food purchasing, preparation and consumption habits to be able to access food and mitigate the effects of food insecurity and hunger. I used four cases to show how the economic crisis has changed the consumption patterns of immigrant households in Spain. I have indicated that there has been changes in the establishments where SSA immigrant households shop for groceries and how that choice is conditioned by the price of products sold at the establishment. That choice is also conditioned by the amount of food that can be bought with a limited budget, the larger the amount at a minimal price, the greater the motivation to shop at the establishment. Also, through the four case studies, I have shown that households have lowered the volume of food products they purchase, as well as the kinds of products they buy. Many immigrant households tend to replace the most expensive foods with cheaper ones, thus, there is reduced consumption of food products such as fish.

I argue that the economic hardships immigrants face and challenges in accessing sufficient food, makes them to turn to the 'charity' of the social services and non-profits organizations to supplement their food needs. While these organizations have become an essential actor in providing food assistance for a part of the population, they did not have food distribution in their original objectives or if they did was meant for a specific part of the society - the most vulnerable, 'the poorest of the poor', these were usually the homeless people and people with addiction problems. As non-profits, such as the *Fundació Arrels* began to take care of people at risk of poverty and social exclusion when the economic crisis struck, state institutions are cunningly passing on their responsibilities to such organizations as one of the directors of the non-profit I interviewed notes;

*"...son como muy sutiles porque históricamente cuando nos creamos lo que era la distribución de alimentos que hacia el ayuntamiento (servicios sociales) se hacían fuera de la ciudad y nos ofrecimos o aceptábamos que nos envíen la gente que no podrían ir porque era difícil desplazarse o tenía circunstancias distintas o por tipología de alimentos no tenían suficiente con lo de la UE y que no sean más de 25 personas, podríamos recibirlos... esto fue derivando, luego establecimos unos copos con el ayuntamiento, actualmente tenemos copos establecidos pero tenemos la de Maranyosa que es la de la pobreza que nos derivan a quien quieren y como quieren y esto no lo tenemos bien organizado con la sensación compleja de que para las donas del ayuntamiento nosotros hacemos poca cosa sobretudo en comparación con otras entidades que también trabajan con pobreza, y la sensación nuestra es que lo que está haciendo el ayuntamiento es un abuso constante del trabajo que hacemos nosotros, un abuso a la gente que pasan por esta situación..."* (Interview 06/07/2016)<sup>238</sup>

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<sup>238</sup> It is cunning because historically, when the organization was created, they city council (social services) used to provide food assistance, but they were doing the distribution in the outskirts of the city. So we offered ourselves, asking that they send to us those individuals who could not go to the city council's food distribution point because it was difficult for them to displace themselves or because of different circumstances or may be because they didn't have

Another director of a non-profit further emphasized on the attitude of the state concerning food assistance to people at risk of social exclusion and poverty. She highlighted that her complaints to the state are more from an educational than from an economic perspective; she feels bad when a person they know should be receiving assistance from the social services comes to them to ask for help because the person the social services failed to attend to the person. Complaints from such organizations only come to add to the several criticisms to the Spanish state, which although it has endorsed and signed several international treaties that recognize the right to proper nutrition, still lacks a clear policy to ensure proper nutrition. Therefore, there is need for clear policy to ensure proper nutrition in the country, and one of the first steps will be acknowledging that food insecurity and hunger is a reality in the Spanish society, and then set up food insecurity (not food safety) database through which concrete food insecurity scenarios are considered for effective policy response. Carrillo Álvarez et al., (2016) estimated Spanish Healthy Food Basket is an excellent starting point for effective policy development if focused on providing proper nutrition and promote health. However, the proposed or estimated Spanish Healthy Food Budget suggested by Carrillo Álvarez et al. (2016) is arguably exclusive in the sense that the possible families included in their focus groups to confirm their estimated food budgets was mainly Spanish and Catalan; meaning the different healthy food baskets may be valid for Catalans or Spanish and not for immigrants. There is need to include other family profiles and specific groups for a food budget and a nutritious food basket that is more representative of the whole population in Spain. The affordability scenario (Williams et al., 2012) used in the different case studies (regarding Carrillo Álvarez et al. estimated SHFB) can serve as a good technique to gather food insecurity data in specific groups of the population for effective for future regulations as Carrillo Álvarez et al. (2016) note. Examining the ways immigrant households are constrained in their food choices may serve as a very important form for measuring inequities in economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984).

I have also argued that the capacity to manage limited resources in precarious conditions is essential for SSA immigrant households. SSA immigrants' past experiences with economic or other hardships (civil war) in their countries of origin or on the onward journey to Europe, as well as in host society contributes to building resilience in the face of similar or new hardships. Thus, building

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enough with the distribution done by the council (food from the EU), we said if they were not above 25 people we could help...so these people we asked for started coming and later we established some coupons with the council (tickets the council could give to people seeking help from their services to go get food from the non-profit. We currently have these established tickets with the council but those at Maranyosa (city council) send whosoever (beneficiary) they like and how they like...this is not well organized because it seems the ladies at the city council, we do less work compared to other organizations fighting against poverty...and our sensation is that what the city council is doing is a continued disrespect for the work we are doing and for the person in such situations.

from previous experiences, immigrants put into practice strategies that employ on old and new knowledge to mitigate the effects of food shortage resulting from financial constraints. As one of the informant's notes:

*"For those of us, who come from a 'crisis', we know what crisis is...we know how to manage an economic crisis; we spend only on what is necessary and when it is necessary, if something isn't necessary we do not spend on it because if you do where else will you get money from? We do not have another source of income here, no father or mother who can support you. On the contrary we are supposed to send money back home and take care of our parents, our families."* (Interview 12/05/2015)

SSA immigrants in a crisis stricken Lleida and Tarragona province manifest an extended flow of contemplated and actual causal interventions to leverage the effects of the crisis on their food access, food practices and nutritional health. Those who have experienced crisis situations before (in their countries or in their migratory trek to Europe) have knowledge of how to manage precarious conditions. Their expenses are for the most indispensable things and prioritized as important, they are conscious of what for them remains a reality, that they came to 'the old continent' for a better life for themselves and their loved ones and that they have no other person, besides themselves, to support them. On this basis, they are careful to use limited resources wisely, expressed in their food acquisition strategies, food-sharing practices and rational use of resources in food consumption as described above. Conscious of the realities in which they live, their fundamental purpose of migration, they call on their previous experiences with crisis, as a vital resource that they put to work to influence situations of immediate and unusual shortage of food supply.

By exploring how SSA immigrants' food practices are shaped by migration and the economic crisis, I have situated the cause in the socioeconomic and cultural context as well as in exposure to the culture of the host society. I have argued sociocultural (integration, adaptation, exposure to a new food system) economic (employment), political (legal status) condition the extent to which immigrants change their food practices<sup>239</sup>. It is my hope that this research, which provides knowledge of the everyday experiences of food insecurity in immigrant households, will help inform better policy. If food insecurity among immigrant (especially undocumented) groups must be addressed in a dignifying and effective way in Spain, there is need for a reconceptualization of the country's concept of food safety to a new concept that acknowledges the reality of poverty and food insecurity and takes clear measures to tackle the issue. Also, there is need for a

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<sup>239</sup> For more on factors explaining changes in migrants foodways, see, see satia, 2003; Satia et al., 2000; Pan et al., 1999; Raj, Ganganna, & Bowering, 1999



reconceptualization of social protection schemes that recognize beneficiaries not only on basis of residence status, employment or country of origin.

## POSTFACE

The writing of this dissertation has been both a learning and lived process. As I investigated the experiences of Sub-Sahara African immigrants in Tarragona and Lleida, I got to understand several issues that shape the socioeconomic welfare of the group in the Spanish society. These issues could only be learned through research; as highlighted in the preface of this study, I could identify myself with the lived experiences of several of the SSA households I interviewed, specifically prior to being awarded the Predoctoral Fellowship for the training of University and research centres teaching and research staff, by the Catalan Agency for the Administration of University and Research Grants (AGAUR). At that point of my stay in Spain I started to live in a pretty stable way, economically and psychologically because the stress and fear of not having a source of livelihood that would permit me fulfil my objectives (studies) and duties (supporting family back in Cameroon), was gone; at least for the next four years, so I thought. This is because the Predoctoral fellowship was a work contract signed with the Universitat Rovira i Virgili as a novel teaching and research staff – what they called *PDI-Laboral*. It was a three-year work contract renewable annually for the three-year period: and with guaranteed unemployment benefits of at least 12 months at the end of the contractual relationship. For me this was good enough to go through my studies and meet some major objectives I had; moreover, this meant having the status of a legal residence in the Spanish territory for those three years.

Well, things didn't work quite that way; first, I didn't understand that my 'legal residence status' was linked to my employment status – precisely in the three years of my contractual relationship with the Universitat Rovira i Virgili, I had to renew my resident status every year. This was different for me because I understood that once an immigrant's residence status changed from residence for studies to long duration residence with the right to work (*estancia de larga duración con derecho al trabajo*), renewal of residence annually was maintained only for the first year when his first contractual relationship is established; after which he was given a two years legal residence in the first renewal and another two years in the second renewal of his residence; and with the third renewal he was automatically given a longer duration residence of five years. This was not the case here, when I inquired at the immigration office, I was told the type of employment contract I had with the university was different and that in my case I would continue to renew my residence annually. Secondly, the expiry date of my NIE (residence card) was always on the same date that my employment contract with the University ended. I did not understand the implications of this until the last year of my contract with the university: in that year (2016), my contract was scheduled to end on August 31 and my NIE expired on the same date, August 31, 2016. The issue here was that, for me to access the unemployment benefits (12 months' period if I did not find a job within the

period) I was entitled to; I needed to register at the ENEM office 15 days following the termination of my work contract.

This for me was a major issue because my NIE was no longer valid; it expired on the same day my contract was terminated. My contract was terminated but I was not yet done with the writing process of my dissertation, in fact, I was at the heart of the process and needed the unemployment benefits to finish my doctorate studies. All the stress I had experience before I got the Predoctoral Fellowship resurfaced and this time it was more because I was no longer living alone in Spain, I was with my wife and we were expecting a baby. The thoughts and fears of not being able to take care of them produced so much stress in me that I was sometimes unable to focus on the writing. I checked with the human resource office of the university to see if they could intervene, and they told me there was nothing they could do; it is the same response I got from the unemployment office, that also emphasized I needed to present a legal residence or prove that I have applied for one that was being processed. I further checked with the immigration office to see the possibilities I had of getting my residence renewed. There, I was told the only way to obtain legal residence or renew mine was with a work contract of at least 12 months. One of the ladies at the office, an acquaintance suggested that I apply for the *arraigo* residence (a specific type of regularization based on either the pre-existence of a labour relationship in Spain or on the social integration of irregular migrants - principally in the form of family relationships). The issue still with the *arraigo* residence was that I still needed to present an employment contract of at least 12 months in the required documents. I also had to present a social integration report form the social and welfare department of the City Council of Tarragona and a non-conviction certificate from Cameroon. It was either this option or that of traveling back to Cameroon and applying for a student visa to come finish my studies.

It happened that during this period, a non-profit I had worked with in Mali, based in Bilbao were interested in hiring me as coordinator of a project they planned to implement in Mali; the contract was conditional in the sense that it depended on if the Basque Government (Regional Government of Bizkaia) were awarded the funds to execute the project. All the same, we signed the pre-contract and with it I applied for the extension of my residence; I got proof of the application in process and with it registered at the unemployment office. With that, I was authorized to receive the benefits, but the authorization was for a one-month period instead of three as it was normally done. They explained that they couldn't authorize three months because the document I had presented was not final and that once I had the resolution from the immigration office I should bring it to them before I would be authorized a three-months unemployment benefit renewable every three months.

I got the resolution from the immigration office in the next one month that followed and to my surprise; my application for *arraigo* residence was approved. However, it was approved on condition that I present proof of effective service with the non-profit (*alta de trabajo desde la seguridad social*) before I could go do a new NIE at the immigration police. I had a timeframe of 30 days to do this; failure of which the authorization would become void and null. This meant I could not access the unemployment benefits because that resolution would be rejected by the unemployment office on basis that it was a conditional residence. Moreover, the non-profit's project was still pending funding from the Basque Government, so I could not begin work. Somehow, I went to the unemployment office with the resolution and was given a three-month access to the benefits (until January 2017). I was given this number of months because the person who received the document did not read it through – the conditional residence was mentioned towards the end of the page – she mainly read the introduction of it that mentioned approved; her mistake was my miracle. It is my hope that before January, I should be out of this unpleasant situation.

I have narrated this experience – my experience to underline a structural construction of insecurities, precariousness, systematically set-up by the administration. If immigrant's access to unemployment benefits is conditioned by residence, which is conditioned by an employment status, then many immigrants like myself will hardly access these benefits. Some of the questions I considered while of these was happening are: why did my NIE must expire on the same day my contract ended with the University? Why couldn't the university consider that a contractual doctoral student could have his working relationship ended with the institution and not be done with his studies; and so, consider a period of extension of his contract or facilitate a reversal to a student residence to allow that he access what he is entitled to? Why is unemployment benefit tied to residence?

The Spanish system (lead by the conservative government – PP) is constructed in a way that exploits immigrants' services for its benefits and not the other way around – it is not interested and watches over that immigrants do not access basic services even when they are entitled to them. Coming out of the hardships, precarization and insecurities (including food insecurity) would mean access to livelihood sources and to basic social benefits. My experience and that of the thirty Sub-Saharan African immigrants in this study are examples of the experiences of many immigrants in general and SSA immigrants.

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## APPENDICES

### Interview Guide (English)

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#### Living conditions back in country of origin

- 1) Tell me a little bit about your family structure back in country of origin; how many siblings, are you the eldest?
- 2) How were (are) living conditions for you and your family back home (country of origin)
- 3) Where you employed in country of origin – what kind of job?
- 4) What part of the country did you live in back home, was it an urban or rural area)? – If it was a rural area, did you live in the city (or urban area) before migrating to Europe – for how long?
- 5) Did you have any formal education before and after migration – if yes what kind/level?

#### Preparation, structure of meals in country of origin:

- 6) How many times did you eat per day – structures of meals (breakfast, lunch, supper or other)?
  - a. At what time of the day did you often had the meals (breakfast, lunch, supper or other)?
  - b. Was (is) every product (food item) that is consumed purchased from the market or were (or are) there some food items that are not bought or produced, what did you often buy from the market and what did you produce?
  - c. Who did the shopping and the cooking?
  - d. Could you please give the names (local names) of some staple meals you often ate back in country of origin (the main ones)
    - i. How are they prepared (cooked) – ingredients or spices used, cooking technique, time invested, cooking equipment or tools used, etc.)
    - ii. The hours (time) at which the meals were consumed, - time spent in eating/feeding?
    - iii. The context or place where meals are consumed (kitchen, sitting room, dining etc.)
    - iv. The structure of the meals (unique dish/meal; combined; two meals + dessert; other)
    - v. Type of drink drunk at meals if any
- 7) What was (or is) for you the most important meal of the day and why?
  - a. Was that the same even when you were in your country, or it changed after migration?
- 8) Did you always eat to your fill; ate whatever you wanted back in country of origin, or were there moments when you went without food or didn't eat as much as you would have wanted?
- 9) Did you always eat at home or where some meals you ate out (in restaurants, work place etc.)?

#### Migration trajectory

- 10) What country are you originally from?
- 11) When did you migrate to Spain and what motivated the migration – what were your migration objectives, both prior to the migration and now?
- 12) Are you in line with these objectives – are they being fulfilled or reached: if yes, how, if no why?
- 13) Could you explain how you came to Europe – the means or trajectory you used?
- 14) Was Spain your original migration destination, if yes why did you choose Spain?
- 15) Before settling here (Tarragona province – Spain) where else (countries, cities or places) did you live in and why did you leave the previous places of residence?

#### Early migration experiences

- 16) What was your first impression when you first arrived here, could you share with me some of your experiences in the early days when you got here (in terms of employment, social life, your status as a legal/illegal migrant, your race)?
- 17) How did you get to legalize your residency, explain the process it entailed; what did getting the legal status imply/mean to you?
- 18) How was your encounter with Spanish cuisine – did you ever or do you eat Spanish cuisine, what impression do you have of Spanish cuisine – what did you eat, did you like it or not, and why?
- 19) Could you please share with me some of your early shopping encounters once you got here in Spain; some of the difficulties or not you had with shopping at the supermarkets or open space markets, and how you overcame them?
- 20) With time, did you get used to the society, the food, social life, administrative procedures etc.?

#### **Socioeconomic integration in arrival society**

- 21) Would you consider that you are fully integrated into the Spanish society, or you aren't, if no why? If yes, how?
- 22) Compared to your country of origin, what has changed for you (and your family) here in Spain, and how has it changed for better or worse?
- 23) Looking back to when you first got here (Spain – Tarragona) and now, do you notice any changes? If yes, what changes (economy); and have these changes affected you in any way? In what ways?

#### **Perception of the economic crisis**

- 24) What does it mean to be in a crisis situation, in an economic crisis?
- 25) Do you share the idea that Spain is undergoing a period of economic crisis, why do you think so?
- 26) Has this crisis situation affected you (personally) in any way, how?
- 27) Is there any word in your dialect that refers to crisis or economic crisis – what word, what will be its closest literally translation (in English, French or Spanish language)?
- 28) Do you consider the context you living in as that of a crisis (economic crisis) (yes or no)?
  - a. What would be for you a crisis situation?
  - b. Have you once lived in 'a crisis situation' before, where and what type (dimension) of crisis?
- 29) Have you once considered living Spain (may temporally or definitely in the past 4 or 5 years) for another country (what specific country) and why?

#### **Current socioeconomic and legal status of SSA Migrants**

- 30) What residence status do you have here in Spain?
- 31) Are you currently employed (with a working contract or in the black market)?
  - a. If yes, for how long, what type of contract and in what sector?
  - b. If no, for how long have you been unemployed, what jobs did you work before; do (or did) you receive any forms of benefits – which ones and from what institution?
  - c. Alternatively, do you receive any form of assistance outside those stated above?

#### **Food practices (post migration)**

- 32) What kinds of food did you mainly shop when you first arrived, from where and why? (Were they similar or typical African culinary products or Spanish...)
- 33) For how long did this culinary practice go on, has there been changes in food or eating styles; what has changed and why has it changed?
- 34) Did you (or do you) cook / eat 'Spanish food' with time, what types of Spanish dishes do you know how to cook and what motivated you to learn how to cook it and eat it – on what occasion did you eat / cook your first Spanish dishes?

- 35) Are there some staple meals (of country of origin) you do cook and eat here in Spain, which ones and how do you obtain (access) them?
- 36) How are these products in terms of prices; are they accessible; in terms of quality; what is the reason for purchasing them (if they are expensive)?

#### **Household food-related activities (and organization) – Shopping (current)**

- 37) Who is in charge of: (1) shopping, (2) cooking, (3) cleaning, in the household, was (or is) it like this in country of origin
  - a. If yes, explain?
  - b. If no, why this changes, what has motivated the change?
- 38) Are all of your meals taken at home or there some meals taken out?
  - a. What meals are taken out and on what occasions, where?
  - b. Whom are those who participate in the meal
- 39) What products (food items) do you mainly purchase when you go shopping?
  - a. Where do you mostly purchase food products?
  - b. What is the motivation for the choice of shopping venue or place of purchase?
  - c. What's the motivation for the choice of products purchased?
- 40) How often do you go shopping for foodstuff (daily, weekly, monthly)?
- 41) How much time is often spent shopping?
- 42) How much money is spent on food (per shopping)?
- 43) Is a shopping list always used in shopping?
- 44) What distance is often covered for shopping?

#### **Household food-related activities, shopping before the economic crisis**

- 45) Compared to the years you first arrived Spain (before 2008) and now, do you note any changes in the way you shop food products?
  - a. If yes, what changes have you noticed – what precisely has changed?
  - b. When did that change occur for you, in what year, and how?
- 46) How was shopping done back then (before the crisis): from what supermarket or market did you shop often, what products did you purchase and why the supermarket and products?
- 47) How often did you purchase food products (shopping frequency, and quantity)?
- 48) Are there some food items you no longer buy, what products and when did you stop buying them and why?

#### **Household food-related activities, food preparation**

- 49) How is cooking done in the household?
  - a. Who decides the menus, how and when is the decision made (daily, weekly, monthly etc.)?
  - b. Who prepares the meals (or what meals do specific household members prepare)?
  - c. When is cooking done, time and period (weekdays, weekends, etc.) spent cooking?
  - d. What equipment is used for cooking (electric/gas cooker, oven, microwave, mixers, types of cooking pots and pans)?
  - e. What are the cooking techniques employed (steaming, boiling, stewing, baking, grilling, frying, raw), and which are the preferred techniques?
- 50) How (where) did you learn how to cook?
- 51) What recipes are mostly consumed in the household (African, Spanish, both or other)? – frequency of its consumption, and the occasions in which they are consumed.
  - a. Examples of Spanish recipes (or dishes) elaborated and consumed in the household
  - b. Examples of mix recipes (dishes) elaborated and consumed in the household
  - c. Example of recipes (dishes) typical of country of origin.
- 52) What recipe (dish) or food is mostly consumed in the household (recurring dish), and why?
- 53) How do you prefer your meal to taste and why?

- a. What to you is the most important component / ingredient in a meal, without which you may be unable eat it?
- 54) Do you use spices and condiments in your cuisine, which ones are more frequently used?

#### **Household food-related activities, food consumption**

- 55) How many times do you eat per day (here in Spain), at what time to you do so and why at that time?
- 56) Do you always eat home or are there some meals or times you eat outside?
- a. What meals are consumed out of home?
  - b. On what occasion?
  - c. With whom
  - d. Its composition (single dish, combined, 2 dishes plus desert)
- 57) Which meal of the day is for you the most important, and why?
- 58) Are there special meals you do for special occasions (here in Spain), which ones, could you name them, and describe how one of such meals is done?
- a. What about drinks, do you drink during meals or at meals, what do you drink at meals?
  - b. Are there any specific drinks for special occasions, what kind?

#### **Household food insecurity (I)**

- 59) Have you or your family ever been worried that you could run out of money before the month runs to an end or before you next get money to shop for food; if yes when, how often?
- 60) Would you buy more food than what you buy now if you had more money; if yes what foods would you buy?
- 61) Have you or your family been without food because you didn't have money to shop food?
- 62) Have you or your family repeated the same meal for several days because you did not have enough money to buy different food?
- 63) Have you ever eaten less quantity of food because you didn't have money to buy more food or because you had money but that was budgeted for other needs?

#### **Household food insecurity (II) – people who resort to food aid**

- 64) Have you benefited (or are you receiving) any aid in the form of food?
- a. If yes, from what institution?
  - b. Where is it given – do you need to go there to get the package or it is delivered to you at your address?
  - c. What is the content of the aid (what food products are donated)?
  - d. The frequency of the distribution (daily, weekly, monthly etc.) and duration as beneficiary?
  - e. What are the prerequisites to qualify for the aid; do you find it challenging; if yes how?
  - f. What is your appraisal of the aid (quantity, quality, frequency of distribution)?
    - i. Does it meet your needs?
    - ii. When it doesn't meet your needs, how do you obtain more food?
  - g. Was (is) this the first time you ever recourse to food aid, if yes, how did you feel when you had to go there for assistance and why did you feel that way?

#### **Household food habits and perception of health**

- 65) What does it mean to have a healthy diet or to eat healthy?
- 66) Do you think you have loss / gained weight because you are not eating foods you would normally eat had you enough money to buy?

- 67) Is there any food or diet you are prohibited from because of a medical condition or because of other reasons related to your health, which you no longer respect because there isn't enough money to buy / eat the kinds of food / diet for your condition?
- 68) Are your children on any diet recommended by the pediatrician or college, if yes:
- a. What kind of diet?
  - b. Why was it recommended?
  - c. What is your opinion about the diet, what do you think about it?



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## INTERVIEW GUIDE (SPANISH)

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### Condiciones de vida en país de origen

- 1) ¿Cuéntame de la estructura de su familia en tu país (de origen), cuántos sois – cuántos hermanos tienes, eres el mayor?
- 2) ¿Cómo fueron (o son) las condiciones de vida para ti y para su familia en tu país de origen?
- 3) ¿Tenías trabajo en tu país, de que trabajabas?
- 4) ¿En que parte del país vivías, en una zona urbana o rural (un pueblo); si era una zona rural, viviste en la ciudad (una urbanización) antes de emigrar a Europa, por cuánto tiempo?
- 5) ¿Tuviste (o has tenido) alguna educación formal antes and después de la migración a Europa? En el caso afirmativo, ¿qué tipo o nivel de educación formal?

### Preparación, estructura de las comidas en el país de origen:

- a. ¿cuántas veces al día comías, cuál era la estructura de los platos (el desayuno, almuerzo, cena o de otro tipo)?
  - b. ¿A qué hora del día suele comías (desayuno, almuerzo, cena u otro)?
  - c. ¿Los alimentos que consumíais eran comprados (en el mercado, supermercado) o algunos eran cultivados por la familia misma (venía del campo de la familia)? ¿Qué alimentos suelen compráis en el mercado / supermercado)?
  - d. ¿Quién iba de (o hacia la) las compras en la casa y quien cocinaba?
  - e. ¿Me podrías citar algunos nombre locales de los platos típicos que se comer a menudo en tu país? (los principales)
    - i. ¿cómo se cocina – los ingredientes o especias utilizadas, la técnica o método de cocción, tiempo invertido, equipo de cocina o herramientas utilizados, etc.)
    - ii. las horas en la que se comer los platos, - horas utilizadas para comer o en la alimentación
    - iii. el contexto o el lugar en el que se consume los platos (en la cocina, el salón, el comedor etc.)
    - iv. la estructura de los platos (plato único, combinado, dos platos + el postre, u otro)
    - v. Tipo de bebida tomado en las comidas
- 6) ¿Que era (o es) para ti la comida más importante del día y por qué?
    - a. ¿Era el mismo incluso cuando estabas en su país, o cambió después de la migración?
  - 7) ¿cuando estabas en tu país, siempre comías a tu satisfacción; comías cualquier cosa que querías, o había momentos en que estabas sin comida o en que no comiste tanto como hubiera gustado?
  - 8) ¿Siempre comías en casa o había veces en que comías fuera )¿(en un restaurante, el trabajo, etc.)?

### Trayectoria de Migración

- 9) ¿cuál es tu país de origen?
- 10) ¿En qué año viniste a España, que era el motivo principal de la migración a España – antes y ahora?
- 11) ¿Y estos objetivos, ya son cumplidos o están en mancha hacia su cumplimiento? - en caso afirmativo, ¿cómo?, en caso contrario, ¿Por qué no?
- 12) ¿Podrías narra cómo llegaste aquí a España – el medio de transporte o la trayectoria utilizado?
- 13) ¿su destino original era España? En caso afirmativo, ¿Por qué elegiste España?
- 14) ¿antes de establecerse aquí en Tarragona en que otros (países, lugares o ciudades) viviste (al menos unos meses), y porque te fuiste de ahí?

### **Primeras experiencias de la migración**

- 15) ¿Cuál fue su primera impresión cuando llegaste por primera vez aquí, cuéntame algunas de sus experiencias en los primeros días, semanas, meses cuando llegaste aquí (en relación con el empleo, la vida social, su estatus como inmigrante, su raza)?
- 16) ¿Cómo conseguiste a legalizar su residencia aquí en España, explicar el proceso que implicó; que significó conseguir el estatus legal para ti?
- 17) ¿Cómo fue tu encuentro con la gastronomía Española – comiste (o comes) la comida española?; en caso afirmativo, ¿qué comiste? ¿te gusto? Y ¿por qué?
- 18) ¿Cómo eran u primeros encuentros de compras cuando llegaste?; cuéntame de algunos – dificultades o desafíos con las compras en los supermercados o mercados, y ¿cómo los superaste?
- 19) Con el tiempo, ¿te acostumbraste a la comida, la vida social, los procedimientos administrativos, etc. del país no?

### **Integración socioeconómica en la sociedad de acogida (llegada)**

- 20) ¿Consideraría que estas plenamente integrado en la sociedad (o comunidad) española, sí o no? En caso negativo, ¿por qué no?; en caso afirmativo ¿en cómo?
- 21) ¿En comparación con su país de origen, que ha cambiado para ti (y tu familia) a esta aquí en España, y cómo ha cambiado, para bien o para mal?
- 22) Mirando hacia atrás a cuando llegaste aquí (España, Tarragona) y ahora, ¿notas algún cambio? En caso afirmativo, ¿Qué ha cambiado (economía)? Y ¿estos cambios te han afectado de alguna manera? ¿cómo?

### **Percepción de la crisis económica**

- 23) ¿Para ti, qué significa estar en crisis, está en una situación de crisis económica?
- 24) ¿Compartes la idea de que España está en crisis (que el país está atravesando un periodo de crisis económica)? ¿por qué te parece así?
- 25) ¿has sido afectado por la situación de crisis (a nivel personal)? ¿En qué manera – cómo?
- 26) ¿Hay alguna palabra en su dialecto que se refiere a la crisis o crisis económica? ¿qué palabra es? ¿cuál será su traducción más cercana literalmente (en inglés, francés o en español)?
- 27) ¿Considerarás el contexto actual en que vives como un contexto de crisis (crisis económica)?
  - a. En caso negativo, ¿Qué sería/significaría para ti está en crisis, está en una situación de crisis económica?
  - b. ¿Has vivido o estado alguna vez en una situación de crisis? - ¿Dónde?, ¿qué tipo de crisis era (o cual era la dimensión de la crisis)?
- 28) ¿En los últimos 4 o 5 años has pensado alguna vez irte de España a otro país (quizá de manera temporal o definitiva)? - ¿a qué país has pensado irte y porque has querido (o quieres) marcha?

### **Estatus socioeconómico y legal de los inmigrantes de ASS**

- 29) ¿Qué tipo de residencia tienes aquí en España?
- 30) ¿Estás actualmente empleado (con contrato o sin contrato, en el negro)?
  - a. Si trabaja, ¿desde cuándo, que tipo de contrato tiene, y en qué sector?
  - b. Si no está trabajando, ¿desde cuándo está en el paro, en que se dedicaba antes, ha recibido o no algún tipo de ayuda/asistencia – que tipos de ayudas y de que institución?
  - c. ¿A parte de estas ayudas, ha recibido cualquier otro tipo de ayuda – de parte de su familia, sus amigos, vecinos etc.?

### **Prácticas alimentarias (después de la migración)**

- 31) ¿Qué alimentos suele comprabas cuando llegaste a España? ¿Dónde les comprabas? Y ¿por qué? (eran alimentos parecidos a o típico de África o español)

- 32) ¿Durante cuánto tiempo duró este estilo de alimentación; ha habido cambios en el estilo alimenticio; que ha cambiado y por qué ha cambiado?
- 33) ¿Cocinas (o cocinaste), comes (o comiste) platos españoles con tiempo, que platos españoles sabes hacer, y que te motivó aprender cómo hacerles y comerles; - en que ocasión comiste / cocinaste tu primer plato español?
- 34) ¿Hay algunos platos típicos de su país que seguís haciendo aquí en España, que platos y como se obtiene (el acceso)?
- 35) ¿Cómo son de precio estos alimentos; son accesibles en cuanto al precio, la cualidad? Si son caros ¿por qué se compra?

#### **Actividades (y la organización) de los hogares relacionados con la alimentación - Compras (situación actual)**

- 36) ¿Quién está a cargo de: (1) compras, (2) cocinar, (3) la limpieza, en el hogar, así es (o era) en el país de origen?
  - a. En caso afirmativo, explica
  - b. En caso negativo, ¿cuál sería el motivo de los cambios?
- 37) ¿coméis siempre en casa o hay veces que coméis fuera?
  - a. ¿En qué ocasiones y que platos coméis fuera? ¿Dónde?
  - b. ¿Quiénes comparten la comida, con quienes coméis?
- 38) ¿Qué alimentos sueles comprar?
  - a. ¿Dónde (supermercado, mercado) suele compra alimentos?
  - b. ¿Por qué sueles comprar en estos sitios?
  - c. ¿Qué te mueve elegir (y compra) los alimentos que compras (el precio, la cantidad, calidad etc.)?
- 39) ¿Con qué frecuencia de vas de compras de alimentos (diaria, semanal, mensual etc.)?
- 40) ¿Cuánto tiempo se dedica a menudo a compras?
- 41) ¿Cuánto dinero se gasta en alimentos por compras?
- 42) ¿Siempre se utiliza una lista de compras?
- 43) ¿Cuantos kilómetros de ir y a volver de compras?

#### **Actividades de los hogares relacionados con la alimentación - Compras (antes la crisis económica)**

- 44) En comparación con los primeros años en que viniste a España (antes de 2008) ¿notas algún cambio en tus compras de alimentos ahora?
  - a. En caso afirmativo, ¿Qué cambias has descartado? - ¿Qué es lo que ha cambiado precisamente?
  - b. Para ti (y tu familia) ¿cuándo ocurrió ese cambio, y cómo fue?
- 45) ¿Cómo era las compras en aquel años (antes el inicio de la crisis): en que supermercado o Mercado ibas de compras; que alimentos comprabas (lo mismo, de calidad, cantidad); porque estos sitios para compras y porque estos productos precisos?
- 46) ¿Con qué frecuencia de ibas de compras (de alimentos)? ¿qué cantidad se compraba también?
- 47) ¿Hay alimentos que ya no compras, que alimentos y cuando dejaste de comprarles y porque?

#### **Actividades de los hogares relacionados con la alimentación; preparación de alimentos**

- 48) ¿Cómo se organiza la actividad culinaria en el hogar?
  - a. ¿Quién decide los menús, cómo y cuándo se toma la decisión, (diaria, semanal, mensual etc.)?
  - b. ¿Quién elaborar las comidas (o que comidas hace miembros específicos del hogar)?
  - c. ¿Cuándo se hacer la comida, el horario y periodo (entresemana, fines de semana etc.)?

- d. ¿equipo usados para cocinar o hacer la comida (cocina eléctrica / de gas, horno, microondas, batidoras, tipos de ollas y sartenes)?
  - e. Técnicas culinarias empleados en la elaboración de la comida (hervir, guisar, hornear, asar, freír, crudo), que técnicas son preferidas?
- 49) ¿Cómo (dónde) aprendiste a cocinar?
- 50) ¿Qué platos (recetas) son más consumidos en el hogar (de África, España, ambos u otro)?
- La frecuencia del consumo, en qué ocasiones
    - a. Ejemplos de platos españoles elaborados y consumidos en el hogar (detalles del proceso)
    - b. Ejemplos de platos mixtos
    - c. Ejemplos de platos típicos de país de origen
- 51) ¿Qué alimentos se consume más en el hogar (el plato recurrente), y por qué?
- 52) ¿Cómo te gusta que la comida sea de sabor, y por qué?
- a. ¿Qué es para ti el componente o ingrediente o especia más importante en la comida, sin la cual no te gustaría comer esa comida?
- 53) ¿Utilizas especias, condimentos en la elaboración de tu comida, que especias utilizas más y porque?

#### **Actividades de los hogares relacionados con la alimentación; consumo de alimentos**

- 54) ¿Cuántas veces comes al día (aquí en España), en que momentos (horarios) del día comes, y por qué a estas horas?
- 55) ¿Siempre comes (o coméis) en casa o coméis también fuera de casa?
- a. ¿Qué comida sueles comer fuera de casa?
  - b. ¿En qué ocasión?
  - c. ¿Con quién?
  - d. ¿La composición de la comida (plato único, combinado, 2 platos + el postre)
- 56) ¿Qué comida del día es para ti el más importante y por qué?
- 57) ¿Hay recetas especiales que haces para ocasiones especiales aquí en España, cuales, describe como se hacer una de las recetas.
- a. ¿Y cuánto a las bebidas, que tomáis cuando coméis?
  - b. ¿Hay bebidas especiales también que se toma en ocasiones especiales, que bebidas y para que ocasiones?

#### **Inseguridad alimentaria de los hogares (I)**

- 58) ¿Tu o su familia ha estado preocupado alguna vez de que podrías quedarse sin dinero antes del fin del mes o antes de que llegas a tener dinero de Nuevo para comprar alimentos? En caso afirmativo, ¿Cuándo, y con qué frecuencia?
- 59) ¿Hay alimentos que consideres adecuados, que alimentos y porque les consideras así, compras estos alimentos? En caso negativo, ¿por qué no?
- 60) ¿Comprarás más alimentos de lo que compras ahora si tuvieras más dinero? En caso afirmativo ¿Qué alimentos comprarás?
- 61) ¿Tu o tu familia ha estado sin comer porque no tenías dinero para comprar alimentos?
- 62) ¿Tu o tu familia ha repetido la misma comida durante varios días debido a que no tenías suficiente dinero para comprar alimentos diferentes?
- 63) ¿Has comido alguna vez menos comida porque no tenías dinero para comprar más comida o porque tenías dinero pero era para otro gastos?

#### **Inseguridad alimentaria de los hogares (II) – personas que recurren a la ayuda alimentaria**

- 64) ¿Recibes alguna ayuda alimentaria de cualquier forma?
- a. En caso afirmativo, ¿de qué institución?
  - b. ¿Dónde se da el ayuda – tienes que ir tu a recoger el paquete o se entrega a su dirección?
  - c. ¿Qué contiene la ayuda – el paquete (tipos de alimentos)?

- d. ¿Cuál es la frecuencia de la recogida / entrega del paquete (diaria, semanal, mensual etc.) la duración de ser beneficiario.
- e. ¿Cuáles son las condiciones previas para acceder a la ayuda; que te parece estas condiciones?
- f. ¿Cuál es tu valoración de la ayuda (cantidad, calidad, frecuencia de abono de paquete)?
  - i. ¿Satisface sus necesidades, o llegas al mes con la ayuda de alimentos?
  - ii. ¿qué haces, como obtengas más alimentos cuando la ayuda no alcanza sus necesidades (alimentos)?
- g. ¿Era (o es) la primera vez que recurras a la ayuda alimentaria? ¿Cómo te sentiste la primera vez que tuviste que recurrir a la ayuda para poder comer?

### **Hábitos alimentarios de hogares y percepción de la salud**

- 65) ¿Qué significa comer sano, o tener una dieta saludable?
- 66) ¿Crees que has perdido o Ganado peso porque no estás (o estarás) comiendo alimentos que hubieras comido si tenías suficiente dinero para comprarlos?
- 67) ¿Hay algún alimento que estas prohibido comer por una condición médica o por otra razón relacionado con tu salud, pero que ya no lo respeta porque no hay suficiente dinero para mantenerse en una dieta prescrita?
- 68) ¿Tus niños están con alguna dieta recomendada por el pediatra o el colegio? En caso afirmativo,
  - a. ¿qué dieta?
  - b. ¿por qué fue recomendada?
  - c. ¿qué piensas de la recomendación?

## INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SOCIAL WORKERS, SOCIAL KITCHEN MANAGERS, VOLUNTEERS, SOCIAL SERVICES MANAGERS

### TRABAJADORES SOCIALES

#### Identificación

Apellido, Nombre:

Fecha de nacimiento:

Formación:

1. Cuestiones relacionadas a la Gestión y Alimentación
  - ¿Cuándo empezó a trabajar en esta institución?
  - ¿Cuál es su trabajo? (¿cuál es su área?) ¿Qué considera que es lo más importante de su trabajo? ¿Qué es lo que más gusta? Si cabe: ¿Cuáles eran sus expectativas al ingresar? ¿En el inicio?
  - ¿Quién es el responsable de la gestión? ¿Cuántas personas se dedican en la institución / programa? ¿Cuáles son sus actividades?
  - ¿Qué objetivos tiene esta institución/programa?
  - ¿Crees que el programa es funcional a los objetivos? ¿Cómo?
  - ¿Cómo se financia esta organización/programa? (¿Donaciones? ¿Ayuda del gobierno? ¿Inscrito en algún programa?)
  - ¿Qué cosas del trabajo aquí son más problemáticas (...de dinero, fuentes, voluntarios, alimentos...)? ¿lo que más le preocupa o lo que menos gusta?
  - ¿En qué aspectos se nota la crisis en su trabajo? ¿Cómo afecta la crisis al programa?
  - ¿Puede detectar que hay gente que está pasando hambre?
  - Hasta donde tiene que responder la administración a este problema?
  
  - Banco de Alimentos
    - ¿Cuáles son los criterios de reparto de los alimentos?
  - Comedores sociales y comedores escolares
    - Días de funcionamiento (que hace la gente cuando está cerrado, donde los derivan)
    - Estructura del menú
      1. ¿Quién define? ¿Cómo? Criterios.
      2. Tipo y cantidad de alimentos. (Procedencia de los alimentos, si son frescos o envasados...)
      3. Cambios que pueden haber hecho con la crisis.
  
2. Acerca de los comensales (comedores)
  - ¿Cuántas personas comen diariamente en el comedor?
  - ¿Quiénes son las personas que comen en los comedores? (procedencia, perfil) ¿Hay algún registro? ¿Cuál el criterio del registro? ¿Cómo acceden?
  - ¿Ha cambiado el perfil de usuario que atienden aquí?
  - ¿Qué motivos hacen que las personas coman aquí?
  - ¿Cómo es trabajar con esta población?
  - ¿Cuándo te formaste para ser trabajadora social, pensabas en los comedores como un área de trabajo? ¿te gusta trabajar con la población que lo haces?
  - ¿Qué dinámicas se establecen entre los comensales? (¿Se dan conflictos, ayudas, favores? ¿de qué tipo?)

- ¿Cómo ves el momento de las comidas? ¿Qué hacen los comensales, hablan entre sí, con voluntarios, viene comen y se van, o pueden hacer tertulia...?
- ¿Cree que a los comensales les gusta la comida que ofrecéis, ponen problemas, se quejan...?
- ¿Se prevé que aumente el número de beneficiarios de la ayuda que ofrecéis? ¿Y en otros posibles servicios: abastecimiento de comida para que la hagan ellos mismos en sus casas...?

## **GESTORES SERVICIOS SOCIALES**

Identificación

Apellido, Nombre:

Fecha de nacimiento:

Profesión, cargo, forma de entrada, tiempo en este cargo, titulación (si lo ha hecho cursos de postgrado)

Objetivo: Conocer el profesional entrevistado y su relación con el trabajo.

Sobre el Servicio

- Dentro de este programa / institución ¿cuál es su área? ¿responsabilidades?
- ¿Cuántas personas se dedican en la institución / programa? ¿Cuáles son sus actividades?
- ¿Cuál es la finalidad con la que está pensado este servicio? ¿Por quienes? ¿Para cubrir qué necesidad? (Se ajusta a la necesidad para la que ha sido creado?)
- ¿Cuál es su opinión sobre el servicio? ¿El objetivo? ¿Crees que el programa es funcional a los objetivos? ¿Cómo?
- ¿Ha cambiado algo en los últimos 5 años?
- ¿Se ha avanzado o retrocedido? ¿Cómo?
- ¿Hay desafíos que hay que superar? ¿Cuáles?

Sobre la alimentación

- ¿Cuáles son las cualidades / características más destacadas de esta comida / alimentos?
- ¿Tienen siempre alimentos? ¿Quiénes los suministran? ¿Con qué recursos se pagan?
- ¿Hay barreras en el suministro de los alimentos? ¿Cuáles son?

Sobre la crisis

- ¿En qué aspectos se nota la crisis en su trabajo? ¿Cómo afecta la crisis al programa?
- ¿Puede detectar que hay gente que está pasando hambre?
- Hasta donde tiene que responder la administración a este problema?

## **VOLUNTARIOS**

Identificación

Apellido, Nombre:

Fecha de nacimiento:

Actividades / estudios:

- Para comenzar ¿nos puede ir contando cuándo y por qué empezó el trabajo voluntario en el comedor social, comedor escolar, banco de alimentos, etc?
  - ¿Qué es lo que más gusta en su trabajo en el comedor?
  - ¿Hay algo no te gusta?
  - Dentro del comedor, banco de alimentos, etc ¿qué haces? ¿cuáles son las actividades que realizas?
- ¿Sobre el menú.

- ¿Te parece adecuado/ saludable / bueno?
- ¿Cambiarías alguna cosa en la comida?
- ¿Es igual desde que empezó el comedor? ¿Crees qué cambió en los últimos años?
- ¿En qué sentido?
- Sobre los alimentos (Banco de alimentos)
  - ¿Cuáles son las cualidades / características más destacadas de esta comida / alimentos?
  - ¿Cuáles son las barreras para el suministro de los alimentos?
- Sobre los comensales
  - ¿Quiénes son las personas que comen en los comedores? ¿Qué perfil tienen? (género, edad, empleo, prestación/subsidio, estado de salud, otras afectaciones, hijos, estado mental, situación familiar, alojamiento, historia de vida si sabe alguna)
  - particularidades de trabajar con gente que se dirige a estos servicios
  - ¿Cree que a los comensales les gusta la comida que ofrecéis, ponen problemas, se quejan...?
- Sobre la crisis
  - ¿En qué aspectos se nota la crisis en su trabajo? ¿Cómo afecta la crisis al programa?
  - ¿Puede detectar que hay gente que está pasando hambre?
  - Hasta donde tiene que responder la administración a este problema?



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**INFORMANT RECORD SHEET**  
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Informant record & interview		Code:	Nº:	Date of Interview:
<b>Identification of Individual/Family Unit – Demographic Characteristics</b>				
Name, Surname:		Date of Birth:		Place of Birth:
Pseudonym used:		Gender:		Age:
Address:		PC:	Tel:	Email:
City/District/Prov.:		Duration of stay in the city:		Civil status:
Previous Place(s) of Residence / duration:		Country of origin:		Nationality:
Level of Education:		Career/Course:		
Employment status:		Profession:		Place of work:
Working hours:		Distance to place of work from residence:		Means of transport to work:
Income (individual/family): No Income: <input type="checkbox"/> 0-500€ <input type="checkbox"/> 600-900€ <input type="checkbox"/> 1000-1500€ <input type="checkbox"/> 1600-2000€ <input type="checkbox"/> 2100-3000€ <input type="checkbox"/> +3000€ <input type="checkbox"/>		Immigration status:		Benefits/Assistance:
<b>Anthropometry:</b>				
Weight:		Height:		BMI (Body Mass Index):
Housing Type:				
<b>Family Structure &amp; Size:</b> persons who live and sleep in the house, those with whom the informant lives with for the most part of the year				
Nº	Relationship	Name, Surname	Residence	Profession
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				

## SUB-SAHARA AFRICA MIGRANTS ASSOCIATION IN LLEIDA

	Association	Country	Contact
1	Associació d'Immigrants de Burkina Fasso Zims-Taaba	Burkina Faso	
2	Associació de simpatizants i nadius del Camerun	Cameroun	<a href="mailto:jackdonperfecto@yahoo.com">jackdonperfecto@yahoo.com</a>
3	Associació de los nativos de Nkongmondo de Catalunya	Cameroun	<a href="mailto:ankongmondod39espana@yahoo.es">ankongmondod39espana@yahoo.es</a>
4	Associació de Cameruneses Anglofonos de Lleida	Cameroun	
5	Associació de Marfilenys de Lleida i Província	Côte D'Ivoire	
6	Marfilenys de Lleida i Província	Côte D'Ivoire	
7	AEJGE- Associació d'Estudiants i Joves de Guinea Equatorial	Equatorial Guinea	
8	Asociacion NTO (No Te Olvidare) Ajuda a Etiòpia	Ethiopia	<a href="mailto:nto.noteolvidare.ong@gmail.com">nto.noteolvidare.ong@gmail.com</a>
9	Associació NUMUYEL – Village Of the Gambia de Lleida	Gambia	672519191
10	Associació The Gambian River Union	Gambia	<a href="mailto:bjammeh@hotmail.com">bjammeh@hotmail.com</a>
11	Associació de Dones de Gambia Muso-Kafo	Gambia	
12	Associació Ghanesos de Lleida i província	Ghana	<a href="mailto:samossaacowusu@yahoo.com">samossaacowusu@yahoo.com</a>
13	Asociación para el Desarrollo de Dalaba Add Mont Tinka	Guinea	<a href="mailto:mdalaba67@gmx.com">mdalaba67@gmx.com</a>
14	Konia i Amics Guineans a Espanya	Guinea	
15	Associació Guineana de Lleida i comarques (G. Bissau)	Guinea	
16	Associació d'immigrants malienses Lleida-Bikandi	Mali	<a href="mailto:absetou33@yahoo.es">absetou33@yahoo.es</a>
17	Associació d'Immigrants de Mali Danaya	Mali	<a href="mailto:danaya_1968@hotmail.com">danaya_1968@hotmail.com</a>
18	Associació d'Immigrants de Mauritània a Lleida	Mauritania	<a href="mailto:Kalidou20@hotmail.com">Kalidou20@hotmail.com</a>
19	Associació D'Immigrants Del Poble de Djeol a Espanya (AIPDE)	Mauritania	<a href="mailto:oumarbokar@yahoo.es">oumarbokar@yahoo.es</a>
20	Associació Immigrants i Amics de Mauritània	Mauritania	<a href="mailto:mauritanoassociacion@yahoo.es">mauritanoassociacion@yahoo.es</a>
21	Asociación Sociocultural de Inmigrantes de España – Lleida	Mixed	
22	Acció Social per les Persones Immigrades	Mixed	<a href="mailto:accio@wanadoo.es">accio@wanadoo.es</a>
23	Associació Africans de Bellpuig	Mixed	
24	Associació Fraternitat Africana	Mixed	
25	Associació d'Africans de Lleida i Província	Mixed	
26	Associació Nigeriana	Nigeria	
27	Comunidad Igbo de Nigerianos en Catalunya – Lleida	Nigeria	
28	Asociación de Inmigrantes de Lengua “Edo State United” de Nigeria de Lleida y Província	Nigeria	<a href="mailto:emma1real2008@yahoo.com">emma1real2008@yahoo.com</a>
29	Associació para la solidaridad e integración Nigeriana	Nigeria	<a href="mailto:yemojaconsult@yahoo.com">yemojaconsult@yahoo.com</a>
30	Associació Solidaria Nigeria Home Boys	Nigeria	679351421
31	Associació d'Immigrants Senegalesos de Pakao	Senegal	
32	Associació Senegalesos de Lleida i província	Senegal	<a href="mailto:associaleida@gmail.com">associaleida@gmail.com</a>

	Association	Country	Contact
33	Associació Ressortissant Senegal de Simesaloum	Senegal	
34	Associació Senegalesos de Lleida i comarques	Senegal	
35	Associació Sociocultural de l'ètnia Fula del Senegal	Senegal	<a href="mailto:balde25005@hotmail.com">balde25005@hotmail.com</a>
36	Asociación Fedde Bantaare Pulaar de Cervera i Lleida	Senegal	<a href="mailto:wasba2003@yahoo.fr">wasba2003@yahoo.fr</a>
37	Associació DIANNAH (Benvinguts/des a la llengua mandinka)	Senegal	<a href="mailto:papessoumofall89@hotmail.com">papessoumofall89@hotmail.com</a>
38	Associació Bamtal Boundou Senegal	Senegal	
39	Associació Cultural i Solidària Tessito Grup (Casamance Senegal)	Senegal	
40	Associació Cultural Senegalesa Cheihe Ahme Tidiane de Lleida	Senegal	
41	Unión de Emigrantes Kawral Fuladuu Senegal	Senegal	

## DISSERTATION OUTLINE (SEPTEMBER 2013 – NOVEMBER 2016)

ACTIVITY			TIMEFRAME												
Main activity	Description	Detailed Description	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	
<b>Application Enrollment</b>	/ Registration Scholarship	/ Registration into the Doctoral Program In Anthropology									x				
		Meeting with potential supervisor for thesis						x							
		Elaborating / designing dissertation topic with supervisor(s)						x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
		Application for FI, Agaur scholarship						x	x						
		FI, Agaur Scholarship award										x			
	Research proposal	Writing and submission of research proposal to the postgraduate school, URV											x	x	
<b>Enrollment</b>	Activity report	Application for FI scholarship and renovation of award					x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
		Progress report of thesis					x								
	Taking stock	Tutorials with supervisors on progress of thesis									x		x		
		Setting new goals and tutorial dates									x				
<b>Literature search/Review: Anthropology of Food, food insecurity/hunger, economic crisis, migration...</b>	Surveying existing data	descriptive and quantitative data on food consumption in international / national statistics (INE, Eurostat, OECD, Fesbal, FAO, MAPA, Caritas, Cruz Roja) consumer surveys, nutritional surveys as well as in existing literature in nutrition, sociological, anthropological, and psychological studies	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
		quantitative epidemiological data (if any)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x					
		economic data (to get general information on food consumption, production and distribution)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
		Migration data	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
	Anthropological qualitative study	overall state of play in food research (social, political, economic, anthropological, psychological, geographical, and historical aspects)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
		Food as a lens through which to study social institutions, economic crisis, or features of political organization	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
		Hunger and famine	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
		Food and food agencies	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
		Food (in) security - global north, global south	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
		Development of food security as a policy concept and goal	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
		measuring food (in) security	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x					

Preliminary Phase

Phase I

	Interview guide	Interview guide (preliminary - draft)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x						
		Submit interview guide for supervisors review	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x						
		update reviewed interview guide draft											x				
	Preliminary fieldwork	Selection,, recruitment of participants in the study (small representative group of SSA immigrants in Tarragona province)							x	x	x						
		preliminary interviews (2-5 cases)							x					x			
		transcription and analysis of preliminary interviews							x								
final review of interview guide (if necessary) after application in field												x					
<b>Primary data</b>	Main fieldwork	definition of household unit/individual, household background - migration history										x	x	x	x		
		participant observation (habitat, kitchen, cooking facilities and instruments, storage conditions, food procurement processes, strategies)											x	x	x	x	
		Life history interviews (general conversations with persons in charge of cooking, shopping...)											x	x	x	x	
		In-depth interviews (5-10)											x	x	x	x	
		Record of household / home inventory											x	x	x	x	
		Record of weekly menu											x	x	x	x	
		Transcription of interviews, observations, records, home inventories											x	x	x	x	
<b>Writing</b>	Results and analysis, interpretation or discussion of gathered data	Analysis - content analysis of foods (foods obtained, how they are obtained, how they are prepared, when they are eaten, how they are eaten, why they are purchased where they are purchased etc.)										x					
		analysis of the immaterial aspects of social life surrounding food and food habit (behaviour)											x				
		Relationship economic crisis, precariousness and food (in) security in SSA immigrant population in Tarragona												x			
		Relationship legal status, precariousness and food (in) security and hunger in SSA immigrant population in Tarragona													x		
		Relationship migration trajectory and food (in) security (present) - concept of vulnerability and coping strategies														x	
		contexts of 'vulnerability', coping strategies and potential health effects															x
		presentation of preliminary (and conclusive results if available in conferences) and submission of possible articles for publications															x
	First draft	writing first draft of dissertation														x	

Phase II

Phase III

	Final draft	Submission of first draft for review (private - personal reviewer, supervisors)														X					
		Edit first draft															X				
		submit final draft (supervisors)															X				
		Edit final draft post supervisors review															X				
		Final draft ready															X				
		Submit final draft															X				
<b>Defence</b>	Submission of Final copy of dissertation and Defence	presentation of final results (thematic articles for publication, conferences)																			
		Apply for defence															X				
		Dissertation defence																	X		

LOT CALENT

NOTA DE ENTREGA DE ALIMENTOS 2016 (I fase 2016)

Nombre de la OAR

FUNDACIO SOCIAL SANT IGNASI DE LOIOLA  
 ARRELS SANT IGNASI

Dirección de la OAR

C/ Bruc 2, Lleida

- \* LAS OAR ESTÁN SOMETIDAS A CONTROLES POR LAS AUTORIDADES COMPETENTES.
- \* LOS ALIMENTOS RECIBIDOS SON GRATUITOS.
- \* ESTÁ PROHIBIDA SU VENTA.
- \* LOS ALIMENTOS RECIBIDOS SON PARA ESTA UNIDAD FAMILIAR
- \* ESTÁ PROHIBIDA SU CESIÓN O ENTREGA A OTRAS ORGANIZACIONES O PERSONAS AJENAS A ESTA UNIDAD FAMILIAR.
- \* LOS MIEMBROS DE ESTA UNIDAD FAMILIAR SÓLO PUEDEN RECIBIR LOS ALIMENTOS DE ESTA OAR.

PROGRAMA DE AYUDA ALIMENTARIA A LAS PERSONAS MÁS DESFAVORECIDAS 2016



ALIMENTOS GRATUITOS - PROHIBIDA SU VENTA

DATOS DE LA UNIDAD FAMILIAR

Nombre i apellidos del representante de la unidad			
DNI/NIE/Pasaporte: (1)		Teléfono	
Domicilio:			
Localidad:		CP:	
Miembros de la unidad familiar	Niños 0-2 (ambos inclusive)		TOTAL MIEMBROS
	Nº miembros de otras edades		UNIDAD FAMILIAR

En cumplimiento de lo dispuesto en la Ley 15/1999 de 13 de diciembre, de Protección de Datos de Carácter Personal, se le informa que los datos personales obtenidos mediante la cumplimentación de este documento, van a ser incorporados, para su tratamiento, en un fichero cuyo titular es la entidad social. Asimismo se le informa que la recogida y tratamiento de dichos datos tiene como finalidad exclusiva el control de los alimentos entregados y de las familias que los reciben dentro del Plan de ayuda a las personas más desfavorecidas llevado a cabo por el Fondo Español de Garantía Agraria.

De acuerdo con lo previsto en la citada Ley Orgánica, puede ejercitar los derechos de acceso, rectificación, cancelación y oposición dirigiendo un escrito a esta entidad social,  
 En Lleida a, \_\_\_\_ de \_\_\_\_ de 2016, Conformidad : Firma:

ALIMENTOS	NÚMERO DE ENVASES RECIBIDOS POR UNIDAD FAMILIAR EN LA FECHA DE RECOGIDA INDICADA: (2)								Recepción de información de medidas de acompañamiento
	/ /2016	/ /2016	/ /2016	/ /2016	/ /2016	/ /2016	/ /2016	/ /2016	
Leche UHT									De conformidad a lo dispuesto en el artículo 13.b , de la Orden AAA/2205/2015, de 15 octubre, de bases reguladoras.  Como representante de la Unidad Familiar, manifiesta haber recibido, como medida de acompañamiento, la información sobre los recursos sociales más cercanos con fecha:  Lleida, __ de ____ de 2016  Recibí:  El respresentante de la Unidad Familiar
Aceite de oliva									
Garbanzos (III fase 2015)									
Alubias (III fase 2015)									
Arroz blanco									
Pasta alimenticia: tipo espagueti									
Atún en conserva									
Galletas									
Tomate frito									
Judías verdes en conserva									
Fruta en conserva									
Crema verduras deshidatada									
Cereales infantiles									
Tarritos infantiles									
Leche de continuación en polvo									
RECIBI									
Fdo. Por el representante de la unidad familiar									

(1) En caso de existir una causa justificada por la que no se disponga de ninguno de los tres documentos indicados se podrá presentar cualquier documento que demuestre de forma fehaciente la identidad de la persona  
 (2) Se entiende por envase el número de unidades incluidas en cada caja o paquete de alimento

## CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE STUDY

Name	Age	Gender	Years in Spain	Country of origin	Marital Status	Education	Profession	Employment Status	#of children	Immigration Status
<b>Alain</b>	39	M	18	Cameroon / Yaounde	Married	College	Fruit picking	Unemployed	0	Authorized-LD*
<b>Luisa</b>	32	W	10	Cameroon / Yaounde	widow	College	Vendor <sup>240</sup>	Self-employed	1	Authorized-PR*
<b>Nacelle</b>	37	W	10	Cameroon / Yaounde	Married	College	Secretary	Employed	1	Naturalized
<b>Awa</b>	32	W	14	Senegal Yène	Divorced	College	Fruit picking	Employed	2	Authorized-LD
<b>David</b>	31	M	10	Nigeria / Benin city	Single	College	Fruit picking	Unemployed	0	Unauthorized
<b>Gerald</b>	35	M	10	Gabon / Libreville	Single	College	Fruit picking	Unemployed	0	Unauthorized
<b>Gladys</b>	28	W	10	Nigeria / Lagos	Married	University	Fruit picking	Unemployed	1	Unauthorized
<b>Judith</b>	38	W	17	Nigeria / Ibagwa	Single	Primary	Bar attendant	Self-employed	1	Naturalized
<b>Paul</b>	38	M	12	Mali / Ségou	Married	No formal education	Fruit picking	Unemployed	4	Unauthorized
<b>Satou</b>	42	W	11	Mali / Beleko	Married	No formal education	Fruit picking	Unemployed	3	Authorized-LD
<b>Mama Liza</b>	52	W	24	Cameroon Ebolowa	Single	Primary	Fruit picking	Unemployed	4	Authorized-LD
<b>Abibou</b>	27	M	10	Senegal Sangalkam	Single	No formal education	Ambulant Vendor	Employed	0	Authorized-LD
<b>Papis</b>	34	M	13	Senegal / Dakar	Married	College	Fishing	Unemployed	2	Authorized-LD
<b>Didier</b>	29	M	10	Ivory Coast / Jacquenville	Single	College	Cook	Unemployed	0	Unauthorized
<b>Affah</b>	31	W	10	Ghana / Accra	Divorced	College	Cleaning	Unemployed	2	Authorized-LD
<b>Antoine</b>	44	M	10	Cameroon / Douala	Married	University	Gardener	Employed	3	Authorized-PR
<b>Badu</b>	33	M	10	Ghana / Kumasi	Legal partner	University	Student	Unemployed	1	Authorized-LD
<b>Mado</b>	30	W	11	DRC <sup>241</sup> / Befale	Divorced	No formal education	Hair dressing	Unemployed	3	Authorized-PR
<b>Victor</b>	42	M	13	Nigeria / Ikom	Married	University	Technician	Unemployed	1	Authorized-PR
<b>Soraya</b>	40	W	12	Equatorial Guinea Bata	Married	Primary	Bartending	Employed	2	Naturalized
<b>Tonton</b>	50	M	25	DRC / Kinshasa	Single	College	Fruit picking	Employed	2	Authorized-LD

\*Authorized – LD (long duration); PR (permanent resident)

<sup>240</sup> Owner and vendor in an ethnic grocery shop

<sup>241</sup> Democratic Republic of Congo



**24-HOURS MENU RECALL SURVEY (4 RECORDS)**

Day	Meal	Content	Time (start – Finish)	Place <sup>242</sup>	People <sup>243</sup>	Meal Structure <sup>244</sup> .	Drink type	Meal (name, type)
	Breakfast							
	Brunch							
	Lunch							
	Supper							
	Dinner							
	Other							

<sup>242</sup> Home (dining, kitchen, table, coach); outdoors (restaurant, canteen, school, refectory, enterprise etc.)

<sup>243</sup> Individual, accompanied (family, friends, colleagues etc.)

<sup>244</sup> Single Course, Combined, 2 courses + dessert, sandwich, appetizer/ snacks, coffee, milk, pasta



