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Universitat Autònoma
de Barcelona

Mobility and Multilingualism in Empuriabrava

Social Structuration and Inequality in a
Tourist Community

Doctoral Dissertation

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Summary

The present dissertation is an ethnographic study that analyzes the role of mobility and multilingualism in processes of social structuration in the tourist community of Empuriabrava, a residential marina located on the Costa Brava in the Autonomous community of Catalonia in Spain. It focuses on social and linguistic practices of the residents from around the world, showing the complex ways social stratification is constructed on an everyday basis. Persons from developing Eastern European countries and the African continent, especially North Africa, intermingle in the community with a European elite from Germany, Great Britain and France. At the root of the social differences that are produced in Empuriabrava lies a person's motivation for leaving their country, whether it is for enjoying one's leisure time or for finding work. The manner in which linguistic, social and economic capital are valued is closely connected to nationality, economic resources, and knowledge of English, German or Spanish and to a lesser extent Catalan. This ethnography explores the (re)construction and use of physical spaces and public discourses that are taken up by the inhabitants, and the implication these practices have in the formation of a social structure that gives meaning (both social and symbolic) to the members of the diverse networks residing in the community. The global economic crisis that has produced a world scale recession since 2007 has had a negative impact on the lives of both the labour migrants and the elite who co-habit this tourist space at the time of the study in 2014-2017. The lack of work, and forms of subsistence-level existence have given rise to illicit economic activities that contribute to the deterioration of the community and the marginalization of those inhabitants who are searching for work and better life chances. The Catalan context of Castelló d' Empúries, where identity and language are used to marginalize the residents in Empuriabrava, who are mostly considered as outsiders, offers a complementary perspective to observe the phenomenon of tourism.

Resumen

La tesis que se presenta es un estudio etnográfico que analiza el rol de la movilidad y el multilingüismo en los procesos de estructuración social en la comunidad turística de Empuriabrava, un complejo residencial con marina situado en la Costa Brava en la Comunidad Autónoma de Cataluña, España. Se centra en las prácticas sociales y lingüísticas de los residentes de diferentes lugares del mundo mostrando cómo se produce la diferencia social por parte de los habitantes en su vida cotidiana. Las personas procedentes de países en vías de desarrollo como Europa del Este y el continente africano, especialmente África del Norte, se relacionan en su día a día en la comunidad con una élite europea procedente de Alemania, Gran Bretaña y Francia. La raíz de las diferencias sociales que se producen en Empuriabrava tiene su explicación e las motivaciones personales por las cuales dejan su país de origen tanto si es por ocio o para buscar trabajo y alcanzar una vida mejor. La manera en la cual se valora el capital lingüístico, social y económico está estrechamente conectada con la nacionalidad de la persona, sus recursos económicos y el conocimiento del inglés, alemán y castellano, y en menor medida del catalán. Esta etnografía explora la construcción y el uso del espacio físico y de los discursos públicos que se generan entre la población e intenta explicar las consecuencias de estas prácticas en el proceso de estructuración social de manera que atribuye significado a los miembros que participan en las diferentes redes de las comunidades. La crisis económica global ha producido una recesión a escala mundial desde 2007 y ha tenido un impacto negativo en la vida, tanto de los migrantes laborales, como en la de la élite, que conviven en este espacio turístico durante el periodo de este estudio (entre 2014 y 2017). La falta de trabajo y la forma de subsistencia, ha conllevado un aumento de actividades ilícitas, que contribuyen al deterioro de la comunidad y la marginación de aquellos habitantes que buscan trabajo y oportunidades para conseguir una vida mejor. El contexto catalán de Castelló d'Empúries, donde la identidad y la lengua son utilizadas en gran medida para marginar a los residentes de Empuriabrava considerados mayoritariamente como forasteros ofrece una perspectiva complementaria para observar el fenómeno del turismo.

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Transcription conventions

The transcription conventions used for the interview data that appears in the thesis are the following:

Overlapping utterances []

Contiguous utterances =

Intervals within and between utterances

(.)

(...) long pause

Intonation

. stop falling in tone

? rising intonation, not necessarily a question

! animated tone

- abrupt cut-off, halting or, when different dashes hyphenate the syllables of a word or connect strings of words, the stream of talk is stammering

Transcription problems

(words) words enclosed in single parentheses are doubtful or have no meaning

(xxx) word not retrievable from recording

'When **I** use a word,' Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone, 'it means just what I choose it to mean — neither more nor less. "The question is," said Alice, 'whether you **can** make words mean so many different things. "The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, 'which is to be master — that's all.'

(Lewis Carroll 1871)

Chapter 1

Situating this study

In this chapter I situate the present study by highlighting the reasons that attracted my attention to the social and language dynamics taking place in the municipality of Castelló d'Empúries, that encompasses the tourist community of Empuriabrava. This location is a residential marina located on the Costa Brava in the province of Girona, in the autonomous region of Catalonia in Spain.

I first outline the goals set out, where I seek to show how language plays out in spaces of leisure and economic activity and how multilingual practices relate to the construction of social difference and inequality among the inhabitants of the residential marina.

The principal hypothesis that drives this research is that the different languages and multilingual practices of the inhabitants get associated in public discourse to determined mobilities, lifestyles and national networks.

Lifestyle, language, multilingual practices and the meanings the inhabitants of Empuriabrava (re)create through their social interaction establish certain indexical orders (Silverstein 2003) which are the *primus movens* of communication as well as the legitimation of specific practical and discursive realities in temporally defined spaces of activities (Bourdieu 1991). Social indexicality include any sign, speech variety, clothing, table manner, lifestyles, that point to and help creating identities (Silverstein 1979, 2003). The diverse spaces of the locality get shaped by the tastes (Bourdieu 1984) of the inhabitants of the different networks, who through their shared interests, languages, particular ideologies and social interactions, recreate and transform the boundaries of their social activities and cultural exchanges (Bourdieu 1991). Bourdieu talking about social practices introduce the ideas of field as the space in which social interaction take place (Bourdieu 1991; Hanks 2005). Creswell (2010) looks at the concept of place as a space to which people attached particular meanings; People attribute to places which have specific location and locale (which refers to the physical shape of the place) also a personal sense of place. Then space and its connected sense of place is important because it gives to people a way to understand their world.

The second part of the chapter introduces the main research questions I address and which are the outcome of the ethnographic fieldwork I carried out in Empuriabrava. Each question seeks to gain a deeper insight into the complex language practices and social dynamics that are enacted and recreated in the everyday life of mobile people who have arrived under different circumstances and settled as long term inhabitants in this residential marina on the Costa Brava.

1.1 Why study multilingualism in a tourist community?

The goal of this study is to discover the role as well as the meaning of multilingual practices for the people who live in the municipality of Castelló d'Empúries, and more particularly in its annexed tourist community, the residential marina of Empuriabrava. The research is especially interested in shedding light on the social processes of differentiation that entail inequalities, social discrimination and exclusion. The categories that encompass marginalization, exclusion and discrimination are social constructs pursued through ideologies spread by language and the dynamics of multilingual practices that recreate and reaffirm boundaries and orders of indexicalities (Silverstein 2003).

Empuriabrava is a place that presents a high degree of diversity in its resident population. The different lifestyles and habitus of people from around the world, along with their particular life trajectories and reasons for mobility, recreate in this tourist community what Vertovec (2007) has referred to as super-diversity. This community is directly associated with tourism and hence, with the economic activities associated with services to a population of this nature. Early studies in this field characterized tourism as a form of mobility linked with leisure that added a new dimension to the concept of travel (Nash 1978); and even if this world phenomenon did not capture the attention of academics until recent years, it is evident that tourism and tourist associated activities are becoming the motor engine of many localities of modern nation-states and their service based economies (Heller 2010; Heller, Jaworsky and Thurlow 2014).

The present study is concerned with the various languages and multilingual practices of the community that are linked with the transformation and changes brought about by tourism and its activities. Tourism is considered an important factor contributing to major structural changes of modern nation states, as it represents a powerful economic

engine that relies on the mobility of people who bring with them their particular socio-cultural dispositions, imagined worlds, semiotic resources, and languages. The people who are the focus of the present study became mobile for different reasons, some of them to consume the offers of the tourist market, and others to find economic opportunities working for tourist related services. Tourism needs to be critically examined because it involves complex systems which are often difficult to delimit, especially in localities such as Empuriabrava where tourism comprises a set of diverse activities of an economic, social, cultural, sports, environmental, geographic, bureaucratic and institutional nature. In order to take up the study of a tourist site where multilingualism is linked with processes of social structuration and differentiation, it is useful to remember that tourist activities and services are linked with spaces shaped by the demands and offers of its industry. Tourism is a key concept because the main economic activities of the residential marina are shaped by the demands of the people who are mobile and free to enjoy their time in activities of leisure. Hotels, and accommodation, transport, and restaurants, the real estate sector and the supply of other complementary goods, and services of potential use to tourists are nowadays among the main economic activities of this locality. The lifestyles of the multinational inhabitants are linked with the consumption of leisure and free time, and this contributes to the reproduction of important social features (e.g. particular languages and spaces of multilingualism, ideologies, lifestyle, and social activities) that reaffirm the accepted cultural values that have gained more prestige and visibility in the locality. Moreover, tourism and its associated industry have become important considerations for the public administration, as public and private institutions actively invest their resources and energy in promoting the mobility of foreign visitors and the profitable activities which include constructing and maintaining the infrastructures that these tourist activities need.

The different quality of symbolic capitals tourists and long term residents reproduce with their habitus (Bourdieu 1991) and lifestyles in the community, shape social spaces, everyday life, and economic activities. In its aesthetic Empuriabrava reflects these features; everywhere there are flags of the different countries of the European Union and the one relevant to tourism. Moreover, as is typical in tourist communities, there are advertisements and signs in the main language associated with tourism (French, German, English, Catalan, and Spanish). One of Empuriabrava's main attractions is its

inherent networks of mobile people from other countries. Among the reasons that brought many people to decide to move to Empuriabrava is the linguistic facility the community presented. People from Northern Europe could contract services in their language and find a social network of people who could speak their language. Social relations and frequentations are at the basis of tourism, tourists are mobile often just for a lapse of time and they look for leisure also in form of social contacts. The high mobility of certain areas has become *per se* a characteristic factor of certain tourist localities such as Empuriabrava.

In these places people reproduce and commodify particular languages (Heller 2010; Heller et al. 2014) to satisfy the tastes of specific categories of people (Bourdieu 1985), evidencing in this way which are the more or less prestigious social group of the community. In fact, the tourist industry is a sector that, more than others, has to take into account and adapt to the tastes and preferences of its consumers (Bourdieu 1984).

Localities such as Empuriabrava exemplify the socio-economic dynamics that take place as a consequence of private initiatives. In fact, the construction of the residential marina was a project developed by a private company at the end of the nineteen seventies and it was not until the beginning of the eighties that it became publicly administrated by the nearby town of Castelló d'Empúries.

The aerodrome and the residential marina were built for the purpose of targeting the wealthy elite from Northern Europe typically from Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Great Britain. Northern European countries were enjoying a higher socio-economic status and many investors from these countries decided to buy a second residence in this area of Costa Brava in search of a sunnier climate and a way to invest their money in a country with lower taxes.

In this brand new locality on the Catalan Costa Brava, people from Germany, Holland, France, and United Kingdom, among others, started to arrive at the end of the sixties. This flow of international people was constant and many of them decided to live permanently in the residential marina that was still under construction.

According to Blommaert “Mobility, we have to understand, is not mobility across empty spaces, but mobility across spaces filled with codes, customs, rules, expectations and so forth. Mobility is an itinerary across normative spaces, and these spaces are always somebody’s space” (2005: 73). Norms, codes, and social dispositions are not

numinous properties inherent in spaces but they became attributed to the different spaces by people's lifestyles and activities (Creswell 2010): The language of the diverse inhabitants and the habitus expressed through their everyday life and life trajectories are hence fundamental features which calibrated and defined this community. However, the growing project of the residential marina was not backed up with the implementation of the basic services people needed for their everyday life or to enjoy the experience of leisure. Soon it was clear to the eyes of the new settlers that Empuriabrava was a place that presented great economic possibilities and potential for people interested in investing in this growing industry of tourism. However, the general lack of any basic service highlighted the absence of a consistent project of growth, development, and control of the tourist locality. Northern European buyers found themselves in the position of pioneers. Many of these first settlers decided to open a shop or to move their economic activities to this locality from their home country. These first shops and economic activities started to compensate the lack of services by improving social meaning and reproducing the languages and cultural dispositions that were transforming these empty spaces.

At the end of the first period of construction, a wave of Spaniards from other areas of Catalonia and southern Spain migrated to Empuriabrava where they settled and invested in the locality that was rapidly growing. However, they were not the first to arrive, and the main networks of the community were represented by people from Northern Europe (particularly from Germany), so the businesses and activities these Spaniards opened were in line with the taste and exigencies of the foreign population which represented the majority of the tourist community.

Things have changed a great deal since the residential marina was first built. During the past fifteen years this elite locality has had to face many socio-economic changes that have brought an evident shift in the nature of the long term resident population and in its activities. Nowadays, many of the people who first settled and lived in Empuriabrava are very old or passed away and their successors seem to be less interested in investing in the residential marina. The Northern Europeans who first arrived to the community and who purchased a residence are gradually losing their influence and hegemonic or symbolic power over the spaces of activities of the resort, because their national networks, which are associated by the long term residents with the elite tourism, are losing prestige and visibility. For many people, Empuriabrava is no longer the paradise

of their initial dreams, and for many of the first inhabitants still alive, and their descendants, it is becoming more profitable and convenient to invest in other areas of the world, where they have greater economic power. According to the testimony of people I interviewed during my fieldwork, over the past fifteen years the community of Empuriabrava has seen a radical change in the kind of tourism and visitors that are arriving. Because of the lack of renovation to the infrastructure Empuriabrava is nowadays a residential marina in decadence, with many owners selling their properties at a reduced price. Over time and coinciding with the economic crisis in the real-estate sector in Catalonia in 2007, property owners began to sell their residences, to people from France and nearby areas in Spain and Catalonia. The changes in the kind of mobile visitors who joined the community for purposes of leisure has been accompanied by a growing arrival of people from developing countries of the world who were looking for better life opportunities and to fill the niches of the service economy. These mobile people brought with them their particular languages, norms, and cultural dispositions. They display an orientation towards an “order of indexicality – systematically reproduced, stratified meanings often called “norms” or “rules” of language” (Blommaert 2005: 73; Silverstein 1998, 2003). Because of the growing arrival of migrants, criminality and underground economies arose and some areas of the community gained a bad reputation which did not help the already damaged image of the community.

Language and multilingualism became key features which define the diverse spaces for the diverse social activities of the different residents, their life trajectories as well as their social possibilities for a satisfactory integration in the community. Structuration becomes crucial because “we are dealing with systems that organize inequality via the attribution of different indexical meaning to language forms” (Blommaert 2005: 73) and that allow certain and specific forms of multilingualism.

Languages and multilingualism are gateways for the residents to get a job in the service sector grounded in the tastes and necessities of Northern European visitors. Understanding tourism in this community means to grasp the transformation which the locality is undergoing. Languages and multilingualism are the vehicle by which people define their realities, state their world view and engage in clashes, conflicts and public discourse (Heller 2009). An ethnographic study of the community of Empuriabrava provides an example where the complexities manifested by tourism and its related

activities can be elicited, and can contribute to understanding other similar communities around Catalonia and Spain.

1.2 Research questions

Mobility, languages and multilingualism are the key factors taken up in the analysis of the conflicts and tensions generated by the residents of Empuriabrava in their struggle over the definition and control of the various spaces of economic activity dedicated to tourism and leisure.

The first stage of development of the residential marina came with the arrival of persons from Northern Europe who did not have to deal with the local administration of Castelló d'Empúries. The long standing networks of Catalan, Spanish, German, French, and British nationality initially competed among themselves to impose their primacy both in terms of language and business. However, as soon Empuriabrava joined the municipality of Castelló d'Empúries these diverse national networks were required with the local administration which was using and still uses Catalan for bureaucratic, economic, and social communication. At the same time, an influx of migrants from the developing world that includes Latin America, Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa arrived.

This new population and the cultural assets of this area of Catalonia have brought to this community particular and contrastive sets of symbolic values, languages, cultural dispositions, and orders of indexicality.

The ways in which the different symbolic values and linguistic resources of the enclave get taken up by the diverse mobile citizens is central to understanding the processes of social structuration and exclusion that are constructed in people's discourses and lifestyles (Bourdieu 1991) in Empuriabrava at the time of my fieldwork. In fact, "inequality occurs whenever *pretextual gaps* occur" (Blommaert 2005: 77) and when people's linguistic and communicative resources fail in fulfilling the requirement for the reproduction of meaning and goal-directed social functioning in the context. This means that information acquires sense only when the people decoding it can attribute to it the right meaning. Communication will work when people can reproduce a desirable, or at least understandable, response. Their construction of reality then might be filtered through an analytical perspective to understand what they mean in their discourses

when they talk about language, nationalities and other people's life trajectories. The notion of space is relevant for the analysis because it brings into the study an understanding of the context of both the physical environment in which a social actor moves and the place where the contingency of all the social practices that generate systems of relations and meanings take place. Space to a certain extent embodies the experience of people's habitus and lifestyle and confines it in a particular space-time dimension (Giddens 1978).

The different spaces of the community get filled with the experiences of the social actors who through their direct participation in discourses and social activities renegotiate meanings and create categories to describe these relationships.

A study of the particular history of the residential marina along with background knowledge about national origin and networks of the international people who live all year round in the locality is needed to grasp the social changes, and discursive and practical inequalities that are maintained and reproduced in present times.

The research questions that orient this study are:

- How does multilingualism come to represent categories that index social inequality among the members of the community of Empuriabrava? What languages and multilingual practices are legitimated in different spaces in the residential marina and in Castelló d'Empúries, center of the administrative and political power? How do people from different language and national backgrounds interact and relate to each other on a daily basis in this coastal community?

The articulation of social differentiation is inherent in any human society. The manner in which differentiation becomes temporally stratified and structured is based on the unequal distribution of both material and symbolic resource (i.e. the way in which people dress or the language they speak) value. Inequality gets enacted in daily practice through the (inhabitable and ascriptive) categories (Blommaert 2005) people construct in relation to their access to a range of available social benefits such as the possibility of having a job or another source of income, the possibility of healthcare and education, and the possibility of citizen rights such as political participation and representation.

Generally, in contemporary societies these and other forms of difference that lead to inequalities are shaped by characteristics such as gender, economic resources, education, age, language, and ethnicity (Grusky 2008). Nevertheless, forms of differentiation need support from practice, and people's discourses, which ideologically shape and define different identities and recognized social categories, are constructed on the outcomes of people's lifestyle and shared social activities. In fact, "there is always identity work involved, and the orientations towards orders of indexicality are the grassroots displays of groupness" (Blommaert 2005: 74). Moreover, it has been noticed that the patterns that define different categories of people change according to place and time; this means that different societies will have diverse ways of classifying and defining the identities of their members and that a variety of new categories can be shaped by new discourses and ideologies in those societies which are undergoing structural and social transformations. Empuriabrava is economically grounded in tourism and the various service activities connected to this enterprise. Language in this context becomes a requisite for gaining access to certain social goods, spaces of social and economic activity as well as to influential networks. In Empuriabrava the linguistic practices people adopt in their everyday life contribute in defining and reproducing the order of indexicalities allowed and most valued in the different spaces of the community. To grasp the different types of multilingualism and the cultural discourses that circulate in this community, it is vital to understand the different kinds of social categories that get reproduced, which ones display groupness, and how they are subjected to a differential treatment.

Through their lifestyles and activities residents shape the different spaces of the community, languages and multilingual practices become important features which reproduce and identify the categories that get supported in their everyday practical activities and discourses.

- How are differentiation and structuration constructed through the practices and discourses circulating in Empuriabrava? What ideologies are behind these discourses and how are these ideologies reproduced? How do ideologies and practices relate to the manner in which lifestyle and social activities became associated to the various nationalities and forms of mobility in this tourist site?

The social and contextual differences of societies are the first elements that allow degrees of structuration and drive social organization which the various societies undertake on the ground of unequal possibilities, powers and knowledge of their inhabitants (Grusky 2008).

The everyday practices and indexical orders reproduced by the inhabitants of this community recreate diversity, and the discourses circulating in the community get shaped by people's actions, habitus and ideologies. The different discourses serve the purpose of socially structuring defined categories of persons in conformity with their particular features, languages, represented social values, activities, and lifestyle. All these characteristics acquire a constructed and indexical meaning in this locality of the Costa Brava, because it is through the recognition of the other that social groupness assumes its ideological dimension of inclusion and exclusion and finds its place in the structuring process of society. "Part of linguistic inequality in any society – and consequently, part of much social inequality – depends on the inability of speakers to accurately perform certain discourse functions on the basis of available and accessible resources" (Blommaert 2005: 71). From this perspective ideologies, practices and discourses become important sources for identifying the relevant categories, both ascriptive and inhabited, because they indirectly shape the possibilities people have for integration and gaining access to the valued resources a society offers. It is in this way that to master the languages of tourism becomes a fundamental resource in order to get a job in the service sector of the community; also, languages, and then language capitals, become in this context important indicators of people's mobility, economic possibility, and lifestyle. This confirms the perspective expressed by Pujolar (2001) that sees monolingual practices as a policy of the past, affirming that modern nation states manage economic fluxes, and make political decisions following a global and transnational logic that promotes communication and multilingualism. These contemporary tendencies of globalization reflect the idea that Appadurai (1996) evidences defining the ethnoscaapes, "a concept that captures the idea that globalization creates effects of deterritorialization over the different cultural practices" (Pujolar 2007: 57). The new mobility paradigm of Urry and Sheller (2006) suggests that social science needs to question the continuity of the diverse social practices in the territory. "In this same paradigm can be included the study of immigration and transnationalism (Vertovec 2001) or the suggestion for an anthropology of globalization in which the

traditional "ground" of anthropology transforms into an ethnography of multiple interconnected spaces (Friedman 2002; Marcus 1995)" (Pujolar 2007: 57).

In Empuriabrava, language practices and discourses about languages and nationality as indicator of identity and class assume great importance. The essentialization of social groups and the attribution of stereotypical features as well as the accompanying discourses are used to define a person's position, what they can yearn for and aspire to in this locality. It is in this manner that certain nationalities become associated with prosperity, a given lifestyle, and affluence, while others are associated with poverty, lack of education, and criminality.

Moreover, the implication that these social transformations present in this area of the Catalan coast ask us to consider the importance of the linguistic dynamics of Catalonia conditioned by the public policies of the Spanish nation state, taking into account the complex connections with other processes of globalization (Pujolar 2001). Empuriabrava has been directly administrated by the municipality of Castelló d'Empúries since the 1980s, and Catalan is the language used by the public administration. However, in Empuriabrava different networks of mobile people that do not prefer Catalan among their linguistic repertoire have developed. Few inhabitants among the Northern Europeans learned the languages of the autonomous region, and the mobile people arriving in the community express the tendency of preferring to speak Spanish over Catalan as lingua franca in the community. These social dynamics open up the necessity of understanding the importance of language and multilingualism of the inhabitants of the tourist community in relation with the municipal administration of Castelló d'Empúries, as the political and territorial power are regulated by this Catalan administration.

- What is the relationship among the residents of Empuriabrava and the local inhabitants of Castelló d'Empúries and how do they fit into the larger community? Are Spanish and Catalan languages important features for incorporation into the autochthonous community?

One source of pride of the inhabitants of Empuriabrava is the super-diverse population of the community. As a matter of fact, in this locality on the Catalan coast more than the half of the population is of foreign origin.

This spatial and territorial condition has created a unique situation in which foreign people could recreate their own society without taking fully in consideration the norms and customs of the hosting society, Catalonia. Even if the locality was in Catalonia, and it responded to the rules of Spanish nation state and the laws of the autonomous region, this space was not claimed by any particular indexical order, language or dominant culture before the arrival of the first Northern European networks. The languages of the important networks of the community are not Catalan or Spanish, and the economic power and influence these networks move have regulated things in a different direction.

If speaking Catalan and Spanish is compulsory for integration in almost the whole area of Catalonia it can be observed that it does not seem the case for many people of this tourist community. Nevertheless, looking carefully at the social dynamics people reproduce in this area it can be seen that this representation of the society of Empuriabava is partially mistaken. On the one hand, it has been observed that Spanish is the lingua franca of the tourist community, or at least the language that people that want to integrate in the economic spaces of the locality have to understand at least in a certain degree; it is through Spanish that people reproduce major public social discourses and the categories of practices used for the purpose of classification and reproduction of their society. On the other hand, Catalan remains the language people need to know to access, and communicate with, the economic and bureaucratic spheres of social administration. This public policy is ferociously incentivized by the local administrations that support the knowledge of Catalan as a fundamental value of their society. As a matter of fact, “the data proportioned by the multiple census realized coincides in showing that there has been a strong increment of support of independence among the Catalan population over the latest years” (Clua 2014: 84); and the Catalan administration of Castelló d’Empúries with its local population seems to sustain this regional trend.

However, the various national groups that live in the community of Empuriabrava have different relationships with these languages, with the Catalan administration, and the nation-state; and part of these differences relies on people’s life trajectory and the different reasons that brought these people to mobility. People that are in the locality for leisure are facilitated because they bring wealth to the locality. Contrarily, to the mobile people arriving for work and better life chances language is a necessary requirement and then it is lived as a barrier against a full integration. The sets of spoken languages as

well as the values and social practices perpetuated by the inhabitants of Empuriabrava and Castelló d'Empúries are important features to understand the renegotiated identities, the reproduced inequalities and the veiled tension among the inhabitants of this unique super-diverse site on the Catalan coast.

Chapter 2

Theoretical framework

In this chapter I present the literature review I adopted to illuminate the puzzling nature of social structuration and the reproduction of inequality in post-modern contemporary societies (Heller 2003). Because of the complexities of this residential marina, I opted for multidisciplinary perspectives (Giddens 1990) which helped me to coordinate the various features of interest for this study with the parameters of globalization and contemporary societies (Appadurai 1996, 2001; Bauman 1998, 2000; Castells 2007; Coupland 2010, Giddens 1984, 1990, 2001; Inda and Rosaldo 2002; McLuhan 1964).

The chapter is organized in five main sections that are the axis of the analysis of my data. The first section, *mobility and globalization*, explores the different dimensions of mobility in contemporary societies (Adley 2006; Agustín 2007; Clifford 1994, 1997; Creswell 2006, 2011; Glick Shiller and Salazar 2013; Moyer and Martín Rojo 2007; Sheller and Urry 2006; Sheller 2011; Urry 2000, 2007, 2008). I look at the concepts of immigrants and migration (Glick Schiller 1995; Glick Shiller and Salazar 2011) and how they have to be rearticulated in relation to globalization and the contemporary world economy (Heller 2003; Giddens 1990). Mobility, as a major paradigm (Sherry and Urry 2006; Urry 2000) of contemporary societies, demands a renewed view of the spheres and spaces (Appadurai 2001; Bourdieu 1985), but also at the people and life trajectories (Jaworsky 2014; Moyer and Martín Rojo 2007), that are directly affected. The second section, *Tourism as cultural product*, looks at the concept of tourism in relation to our contemporary societies (Cohen and Cooper, 1986; Bourdieu 1984; Franklin 2003; Hall 2005; Heller et al. 2014; Javorsky 2010; Nash 1977, 1981, 1996; Pi-Sunyer 1989; Salazar 2005, 2010, 2011) and it highlights the important features of this world phenomenon for the different dimensions of post-modern nation states (Heller et al. 2014). Nowadays, tourism has an important role and impact on the economies of our global societies (Martín Guardado 2015), where mobility for leisure and its annexed service economies are determinant aspects of people's lives. This is the case especially in those countries, like Spain, that each year receive a copious flow of visitors from all around the world, and that for this reason has invested in its service industry. Hence, tourism is understood as a socio-economic engine of post-modern

nation states that are more and more grounded in service economies (Heller 2003). In section three, *Social structuration and inequality*, I discuss the problems of defining a working concept of social structuration for this study in order to account for the complex social dynamics that get reproduced by the international long term residents. I consider the various perspectives relating to social class and stratification (Anthias 2001; Bourdieu 1987, 1991; Grusky 2008; Hanks 2005; Lizardo 2010; Sewell 2005) to grasp the relevant factors which reproduce hierarchical power of relationships (Foucault 1972, 1994) and the consequent social inequalities that are reflected in people's discourses and in the diverse spaces of the tourist community. In the fourth section, *Methodological nationalism and identity in Empuriabrava*, I contest the role of nation state as the natural social and political form of organization of post-modernity (Glick Shiller 2011; Wimmer and Glick Shiller 2003). I articulate the importance of nationality and national representation (Anderson 1991) for the construction of boundaries (Barth 1998), spaces (Blommaert et al. 2005; Bourdieu 1985, 1989, 1993) and identities (Gumperz 1982; Gupta 1992; Sherry 2006; Shiller 2013) among the residents in this tourist community. In section five, *Language practices and discourses of inequality*, I examine the complex intersection of language, multilingualism and identity (Ahern 2001, 2011; Blommaert 2005; Blommaert and Rampton 2011; Bourdieu 1991, Duranti 2003, 2004; Gal and Woolard 2001; Gumperz 1982; Gumperz and Levinson 1996; Heller 2003, 2006, 2010; Javorsky 2014; McGill 2013; Moyer 2011) in the discourses of the international inhabitants of the community. The diverse languages and different multilingual practices of this tourist community are keys to understand the social categories reproduced in the discourses of its different inhabitants. The discourses of the different residents constitute a mosaic of shared meanings (Silverstein 2001, 2003), which is reflected in the indexical order and the semiotic representation of the spaces, in their lifestyles and social activities.

This literature review is the justification for the theoretical concepts adopted in the analysis that is undertaken in chapter six of the dissertation. The framework incorporates ideas from several disciplines to provide a polyvalent and inclusive perspective, in order to reach a better understanding of how social processes of structuration take place in a tourist enclave where mobile persons come together for purposes of work and leisure.

The ongoing flows of people and information in the contemporary world contribute to different socio-economic dynamics and socio-cultural changes that have opened up new fields of inquiry for the social sciences. The complexity and new rhythm with which nowadays people and objects move has brought a challenge to those researchers who aim to understand societies and to grasp the tacit and implicit social inequalities that get produced. Part of this is due to the socio-political changes of the last quarter century along with the new technological innovation in transportation and in the industry of information (Castells 2007) which have brought a shift of western societies from the industrial model of production toward a new model, where globalization (Inda and Rosaldo 2002) and liberal economies have brought about an expansion of the markets and their saturation (Heller 2003), resulting in an increased importance of service economies and the commodification of knowledge, cultural and linguistic resources (Heller 2010; Heller et al. 2014). These global economies encompass contemporary societies, and the mobility of objects, people and information assume an increasingly important dimension.

2.1 Mobility and globalization

Tourist communities typically bring together people of different nationalities, social backgrounds, as well as languages and cultural practices. These transnational people from all around the globe, who have become mobile under very different circumstances and with different aims, converge in a single physical space such as the community analysed in the present study. On the one hand, some of them embraced mobility looking for better life chances, work and economic conditions; on the other hand, others have the opportunity of enjoying the cosmopolitan experience of travel and of being abroad for the sake of leisure (Salazar 2010) consuming the cultural products of the service economy (Heller 2004, 2010) provided by the industries of tourism.

These new mobilities, which are brought to play by globalization and the capitalist economic model of late modernity, need to be studied with a renewed perspective to understand their complexities and the social dynamics that they might imply (Castells 1996; Coupland 2003, 2010; Blommaert 2010; Glick Schiller 2010). As Glick Schiller (Glick Schiller et al. 1995: 1) pointed out:

Our earlier conceptions of immigrant and migrant no longer suffice. The word immigrant evokes images of permanent rupture, of the uprooted, the abandonment

of old patterns and the painful learning of a new language and culture. Now, a new kind of migrating population is emerging, composed of those whose networks, activities and patterns of life encompass both their host and home societies. Their lives cut across national boundaries and bring two societies into a single social field.

One of the main challenges of research on social inequalities has been to incorporate the dynamics brought about by globalization as well as to understand the relationship between spatial and social mobility (Faist 2013; Favell 2010). Inequalities and social mobilities are indissolubly tied to prestige and symbolic hierarchies reflected in people's lifestyles and activities in the different spaces of societies (Bourdieu 1985, 1987).

In social science, vertical social mobility is generally understood as the movement from one (perceived) social position (class, strata) to another, while horizontal mobility is concerned with the movement from one occupational position to another equal in the social system of stratification of the referent society (Favell 2010). Spatial mobility is when a person changes society and physically engages in moving toward different spaces (Faist 2013). In connection with social mobility, spatial mobility accounts for movements across boundaries and this has been seen as a reflection of upward mobility or at least the possibility to achieve better economic conditions. People who embrace mobility looking for better life chances and work opportunities, for example, aim to achieve a better social position in the vertical organization of social strata through spatial mobility. The idea of a better social position in another society is indeed in most cases what pushes some people to join the circuit of transnational mobility (Jöns 2007; Sirkeci 2009). In fact, what is characteristic of the conventional approach toward social mobility is the assumption that our occidental contemporary societies are more flexible and complex than traditional ones and that they allow for a wider possibility of changing social position across their hierarchies (that depend on time and space). The higher possibilities for social mobility of our post-modern societies come to coincide with a present time that, as never before, supports and facilitates spatial mobility and circulation of information (Castells 1996, 2006; McLuhan 1964), thanks to the great advance of modern technologies and the industries of transportation (Urry 2000). However, spatial mobility is not limited to social structure or the social mobility the organization of society allows. The influential researchers of different fields, who examined various types of spatial mobility (Appadurai 1996; Clifford 1994, 1997;

Gupta 1992; Glick-Schiller et al. 1995; Hannerz 1996; Robertson 1995; Salazar 2005; Wang 2000) coincide in pointing out that mobility is not a prerogative of our contemporary post-modern societies, in fact people and societies were mobile long before the advances of our modern technology. The concern for the phenomenon of (spatial) mobility is nothing new, although contemporary social scientists of diverse disciplines agree that Western societies move with a different rhythm and in a more dynamic and complex ways than ever before (Sheller 2011, Edensor 2011).

New technologies in transports and the industry of information have made our world look like a global village (McLuhan 1964) where information, goods and people move instantaneously from every quarter to any point of the world in a short time (Castells 1996, 2007, 2011). These structural changes in the possibilities for movement and the consequent changes in the industrial models of production towards an economy based more and more on the service sector (Heller 2003) have pushed nation states of the Western sphere to adopt international policies and agreements which allow a more fluid movement of information, goods, and people across their borders. Nowadays, people are mobile for various reasons, including leisure, exploration of new places, as well as to work and to seek better life chances. Mobility has thus become a field of inquiry and a paradigm for the social scientist who wants to explain the complexities of contemporary societies with their increased movement of information, goods, and people (Urry 2007).

I considered two bodies of literature that reflect the development of migratory studies; those that undertake a transitional approach to mobility (Adley 2006; Agustín 2007; Clifford 1994, 1997; Creswell 2006, 2011; Glick-Shiller and Salazar 2013; Glick-Shiller and Bash 1995; Moyer and Martín Rojo 2007; Sheller and Urry 2006; Sheller 2011; Urry 2000, 2007, 2008) and those that give primacy to the importance of our modern network society (Castells 1996, 2001, 2007).

In Castells words (2001: 12) network society is:

A society where the key social structures and activities are organized around electronically processed information networks. So it is not just about networks or social networks, because social networks have been very old forms of social organization. It is about social networks which process and manage information using micro-electronic based technologies [with extreme velocity and precision].

The concept of network society is important in order to capture the flows (of people and data) that are observed across the different boundaries, such as the administrative borders and to capture structurally those formations that overstep national state limits. Much of the information about societies and communities, for example, can be obtained from webpages, as nowadays our information is managed, stored, and shared using computers and the world web. However, I favor a transnational approach towards mobility and migration that looks at the causes and the consequences of mobility for the mobile people and that also focuses on the social reconstruction of differences and inequality in the various transnational spaces of the community. My approach takes into consideration short term mobility as tourism (that is one of the most evident forms of short term and circular mobility) and its impact in the hosting societies; however, the conceptual focus of interest of the study is concerned with the international resident population that decided to move on a long term basis and the recreation of their spaces and activities. Space is conceived as socially reproduced and constructed by the different people that through their discourses and actions give meaning to their representation of reality and pursue their purposes. Space is also where people express and reproduce asymmetries of power as is reflected in different social fields (Bourdieu 1984). Hence, in order to decode the multiple dimensions of social spaces of a society it is crucial to acknowledge the different kind of mobilities and their relationship with the diverse lifestyles and categories reflected in public discourse (of a selected society and in a set time).

Oswin & Yeoh (2010) suggest that contemporary world mobilities are inextricably intertwined with late-modernity and the consequences of the end of a nation-state controlled based economies. In fact, the liberal global economy seems set up to avoid nation-states sovereignty and control over production. Because of the liberal market and the possibilities for free movement of goods and people nowadays industries have moved to those countries where manual labour is cheaper and where there are fewer legal restrictions and controls. This means that Western societies are less and less grounded in an industrial economy and are shifting to give primacy to a service sector that demands the commodification (Heller 2010) of specific knowledge and capitals (Bourdieu 1991).

Mobility has become increasingly central to the lives of many people. People are mobile for many reasons, and these reasons along with their trajectories and destinations are

important to understand the kind of changes that their being mobile will bring to the host societies and for the guest citizens. However, “Mobility is a resource to which not everyone has an equal relationship” (Skeggs 2004: 49). This provides evidence that mobility and the meaning of being a mobile citizen should be understood in a relative sense (Hall 2005; Adey 2006). The capitalistic organization of the world economy produced a huge economic crisis in 2007-2008 which hit western countries and brought a worrying level of unemployment and precariousness (Spain registered an unprecedented rate of unemployment at 26% in the first quarter of 2013, with a rate among young people reaching 53%). This large scale financial crisis redefined the already existing socio-economic inequalities among the different countries of Western world society. People, who grew up in countries with better economic conditions that present more possibilities (i.e. Northern Europe), are able to move freely for leisure, in addition to being favored by greater economic capacity and power. On the other hand, immigrants from the developing world or from countries that present high levels of unemployment, are almost forced to embrace mobility as a last resort in order to achieve a better life:

Travelers move about under strong cultural, political and economic [dispositions], certain travelers are materially privileged and others are oppressed. These specific circumstances are crucial determinants of the travel at issue - Travel, in this view, denotes a range of material, spatial practices, that produce knowledge, stories, traditions, comportments, music, books, diaries and other cultural expressions (Clifford 1997: 35).

In line with these considerations, “a spate of recent scholarship in globalization studies has made far-reaching claims regarding the importance of cross-border interactions for social positioning and social inequalities” (Faist 2013: 1640). Hence to study mobility (in its multiple and intrinsic dimension of spatial and social) is to track down the power of discourses and the social practices that create effects on both movements and stasis (Sheller 2011) and the distribution of networks among the different people who embrace mobility (Elliott and Urry 2010, Sheller 2011). This will be essential to grasp the social changes that localities tied to the tourist industry, mobility, and the service economy live and continue to experience. The growing phenomenon of “mobility climbs to the uppermost among the coveted values – and the freedom to move, perpetually a scarce and unequally distributed commodity, fast becomes the main stratifying factor of our late-modern or postmodern times” (Bauman 1998: 2).

Therefore, contemporary cultures are remade as a result of these flows regardless of whether they involve colonization, work-based migration, individual travel or mass tourism. One of the major factors determining position in the hierarchies of inequalities of contemporary societies is opportunities for cross-border interaction and mobility.

2.2 Tourism as cultural product

Tourism is an expression of contemporary industrialized Western societies and it is highly intertwined with mobility because of its double nature. It offers the product of mobility as a consumable leisure experience and it creates jobs in the service sector filled by residents and seasonal workers. The growing phenomenon of being a “person at leisure who also travels” (Nash 1981: 462) on a large scale is a prerogative of post-modernity and our contemporary societies, because of the evolution of transportation and its facilities and because of the growth of capitalist societies that establish a clear separation of time and space for work and leisure. Our contemporary tourism is a direct product of the organization of time and space for work and leisure, which leads to the formation of an industry of tourism; it means the creation of a specific and specified industry that produces and organizes the routes of travel and their associated activities (Urry 2000). According to the most recent annual report of the United Nation’s World Tourist Organization (2014: 6):

International tourism propelled ahead in 2014 as the number of international tourists (overnight visitors in the whole world) grew 4.4% with an additional 48 million more than in 2013, to reach a new record total of 1,135. This caps five consecutive years of above average growth since the global economic crisis of 2009. Once again, these results have surpassed UNWTO’s long term projection of 3.8% growth for the period 2010 to 2020, well on track to reach the projected 1.8 billion international tourists by the year 2030.

These data highlight the importance of tourism for the socio-economic status of the nation states that rely on this source of revenue. The contribution of international tourism to global trade for both wealthy and emerging economies was evidenced in the 2015 World Economic Situation and Prospects (WESP) report, released by the United Nations Development Policy and Analysis Division (UNDESA). The tourist industry continued to expand and develop even with a world economy undergoing a period of limited expansion or outright economic regression.

The contribution of ethnographic studies to the understanding of tourism is focused on the analysis of the spaces of tourism, their social organization and economic activities (Nash 1981). But the first studies of tourists and tourism have been openly critiqued because of their romantic essentialized perspective towards culture and its supposed purity. Host societies were typically conceived as homogeneous and harmonious entities. Current approaches that link the study of tourism, mobility, and previous wider socio economic factors have made it possible to change previous dominant approaches to the study of tourism that conceived tourist communities as cultural islands (Scott and Selwyn 2010). This phase of revision of the structuralist views regarding culture opened up research which understood cultures and associated identities as products of negotiated interaction, context, social dynamics, and other processes that are highly subject to change and hybridity (Hall 1995; Nash 1996; Salazar 2005). Ethnographies and qualitative studies on tourism followed a perspective that oriented the socio-cultural impact of tourism on the host economies (Cohen and Cooper 1986; Marín Guardado 2015) which was interested in documenting the cultural and economic changes of tourist host societies (Nash 1996; Santana 1997).

Moreover, these new points of view opened up to observation the fact that in the context of western capitalist countries, tourism cannot be conceived only as an economic, external and alien influence that twists cultures and societies, but it has to be understood as a force inherent to these societies that embodies a set of social and economic dispositions typical of our contemporary world. Tourism is, more and more, understood as a complex phenomenon of modernity (Cunningham and Heyman 2004; Salazar 2005, 2010; Urry 2000) that enacts new cultural mechanisms, forms of consumption, experiences and social relationships, and at the same time, brings new indexicalities (Silverstein 1998, 2003) that stem from these spaces of activities, the people, and the host cultures. Along these lines Urry (2000, 2007), inspired by Foucault's theory of power, which conceives of power as something that is everywhere diffused and embodied in people's discourse (Foucault 1978, 1991), developed the idea of the tourist gaze. Looking at the structuration of spaces and people's desire and idea of leisure Urry (2000, 2007) conceived tourist experiences as oriented and structured by a set of agents who construct and cooperate with the industry of tourism and with mobile people, in an economic dynamic of market and power, to develop and produce a range of spaces, symbols and meanings to be recreated and consumed. The key idea which needs to be

understood is that tourists are not only consuming cultural experiences but at the same time that they consume, they also experience and reproduce new indexicalities (Silverstein 2003) for renewing these spaces. Tourism, with its economic impact, is biased towards sustaining and legitimizing specific social practices that contribute in shaping and changing the organization of host societies, for this reason it has to be considered at the same time “a cultural product and a producer of cultures” (Lazansky 2006: 16).

Tourism is constructed through the windows of opportunities of local inhabitants for exploiting the tourists and their greater economic ability. Hence the industry of tourism is shaped by desire and it is grounded on the exigencies of its consumers. Tourism is constituted as a socio-cultural and economic agent oriented to producing commoditized spaces and activities for leisure and to make an economic profit out of the temporal mobility of the visitors. Contemporary societies, grounded on the service sector, ask for the creation, maintenance and, renovation of infrastructures and spaces for the commodification of cultural products (Heller 2003, 2010). People who are spending economic resources and time for leisure are not interested in spending their often limited time in learning the languages of the hosting society, for this reason linguistic production is here a valued capital and an indispensable resource.

Nevertheless, tourism may also be conceived as a hegemonic process (Nash 1981) of certain social categories which condition socio-economic development and enact a transformation of the sensible areas of the host society. Its development and the very possibility of its existence are intertwined with the dynamics of power and control brought about by the consolidation and formation of modern nation-states and the consequential development of the global, neoliberal economic order. The birth of tourism and its industry can be thought of as the global consequence of the colonialist relationships between the historically poor and rich countries of the world. These historical and economic relationships are important factors to consider when investigating the transformation of spaces and cultures. Historic analysis points out that not everybody has the same access and possibility for being mobile and this helps to understand and frame the ideologies and problems facing the mobility of people in contemporary societies. The mobility of specific people and nationalities are easily associated with tourism and greater economic possibilities, while others are directly related to growing immigration; and these parameters are established by the diverse

economic conditions of each home country. In a stigmatized conception of the historic power relations of our societies people who are from the developing world are associated with immigration, problems, and even illegality. Especially in tourist contexts people are likely to be identified as tourists or migrants because of their language, nationality, and lifestyle.

Tourist contexts and spaces imply an asymmetrical relation between the local residents and the foreigners and they have aroused sociolinguistic attention (Cohen 1984). In a contemporary society, where time is equated to money, to have available time for leisure puts people in a prestigious position (Nash 1977, 1981). Travel and mobility for leisure in their origins have become associated with a higher lifestyle and a higher social status. Even if today with mass tourism this may be less the case (as virtually everybody can be a tourist), however, in host societies tourists still maintain a prestigious position even if for a limited lapse of time (corresponding with time of permanence). This is because for the local inhabitants the mobility for leisure and people related with it remain associated with higher lifestyles and social status. For a complete comprehension of the diverse mobilities along with the social changes tourism brings in this context, it is necessary to look deeply at the socio-cultural constructs of the tourist community and to understand how the various experiences are recreated, imagined, and intertwined with binding processes of economy and policy for control and transformation of the tourist society (Salazar 2011).

2.3 Social structuration and inequality

The aim of this study is to look at the language and multilingual practice of the different residents to understand the social structuration and inequalities that are constructed when persons from the developed and the developing world come together displaying different lifestyles and identities. The questions of what social structuration means in this context, how structured inequality is constructed, what role nationality, language, and multilingualism play in the way social structuration gets (re)produced in the tourist community, are key to the understanding of this society.

For a deeper understanding of the concept of social structuration I relied on the work of Bourdieu (1985, 1987, 1991), Grusky (2008), Giddens (1984, 1990, 2001), Heller (2003, 2004, 2010), Sewell (2005), Lizardo (2010) and Tumin (1967). My theoretical

standpoint is deeply rooted in Giddens's (1984) ideas about the duality of structure and the need for a multiple perspective in the analysis of social hierarchies. This approach entails looking at how people, through their agencies (lifestyle, actions, language, and discourses), construct relations of social differences and inequalities in specific space-time locations. This same perspective is the one I adopted to understand the tourist community of Empuriabrava and its social structuration that is conceived as the result of people's agencies and everyday life. In fact, Giddens' analysis tries to coordinate "Levi-Straussian structuralism, Ericksonian ego-psychology and Garfinkel's ethno-methodology developed in the late 1970s and early 1980s" (Lizardo 2010: 653). This means that Giddens conceived societies and cultures as systems which needed to be analysed in terms of the structural relationships among their different elements. However, he did not give primacy to social structure, and he tried to understand and represent the outcomes of people's identities and ego centered lifestyles. For this reason, Giddens's perspective of society is filtered through an ethnographic stance that considers important people's methods for negotiating their everyday situations, giving less importance to social norms and more agencies to social actors. From the perspective offered by Giddens, societies and the way they are structured is intrinsically linked with human action and the pursuit of their, often contrastive, desires and behaviours. In line with the ideas of Bourdieu (1991), human actions are seen as motivated and realized by internal dispositions and desires that change through the phases of human life and people's psychological development (Erikson 1968) in a direct relation with their individual possibilities. This view of people in society eschews extreme positions, arguing that although people are not entirely free to choose over their own actions, and their knowledge is limited, they nonetheless are the agency which reproduces social structure and leads to social change.

Indeed, Giddens' idea of structure is indispensable for social analysis as it goes further than the limitation of the functionalism of Marx, Weber, and Durkheim who put excessive emphasis on macro structure (Lizardo 2010). Giddens wants to integrate the mechanism of personal agency at the basis of order and power for social integration in post-traditional societies. The innovative idea of Giddens in his view of structuration is to apply social analysis to both social systems (macro structures) and agents (that through their agency reproduce the structuring-setting along with their identities) without giving primacy to either one or another. This idea is important to understand

because Giddens does not want to define a universal idea of what structure is, instead he suggests that social sciences should adopt a multidisciplinary framework to capture the polymorphic nature of this social phenomenon. In the case of my study of Empuriabrava these ideas are relevant because of the polymorphic nature of this tourist community. This multidisciplinary perspective helps to overstep the limitation of our ethnocentered, viewpoints suggesting that the product of our analysis is not an ultimate truth about reality but it is a piece of information that relies on our perspectives which adds understanding of the observed social phenomenon.

In this reformulation of structure coordinated with human agency Giddens was greatly influenced by the work of Parsons, Weber, and Durkheim who were concerned with the system-theoretical concept and the methodological principles of voluntary action by individuals, and he revised to a great extent the ideas of these thinkers. Social systems are reproduced by the action of the individuals who through their interactions are faced with a variety of choices about how they might act in that certain occurrence, choices that are influenced and constrained by a number of physical and social factors (Parson and Shills 1976). Each individual has specific expectations about others' actions and reactions to their behaviors. These expectations would be derived from the acceptance of social norms (that do not coincide with laws or rules) that are grounded in personal experience, socialization and expressed lifestyle. Following this perspective neither micro- nor macro-focused analysis alone are sufficient to understand and account for social inequality. These perspectives have to be combined in order to grasp the complexities of post-modern societies. Structuration has to be studied with the help of a multidisciplinary perspective taking into account many fields of study. Giddens wanted to incorporate "from other disciplines novel aspects of ontology that he felt had been neglected by social theorists working in the domains that most interested him. Thus, for example, he enlisted the aid of geographers, historians and philosophers in bringing notions of time and space into the central heartlands of social theory" (Stones 2005: 16). Giddens suggests that there is no such thing as a real and fixed image of social structure, because people's agencies and their structural position in society are dual elements of the same construction. This duality of structure emphasizes that there are different sides to the same central question of how social hierarchies of power are reproduced. As constituted in social practices structure is both medium and outcome of the reproduction of practices. Structure enters simultaneously into the constitution of the agents and

social practices “and 'exists' in the generating moments of this constitution” (Giddens 1984, 1990). This means that human agency takes form in contexts defined by space and time. Cultures and societies are ever changing subjects, and any attempt to determine the immanent structure of societies is to take a blurry picture of moving targets.

Human societies are heterogeneous groups. All people differ from each other on the basis of their gender, age and other personal traits or skills. But apart from these evident differences, people also differentiate themselves on the grounds of different factors such as tastes, lifestyles and their connected socially constructed criteria. The existence of these socially negotiated criteria is the basis that is used (especially by those with power) to justify an unequal treatment of individuals. People’s possibilities and social position are then linked with both material and symbolic resources (Bourdieu 1987). Social inequality then refers to the existence and re-negotiation (through discourses, practices and ideologies) of constructed inequalities that shape and define people’s possibilities in society. Social structuration is understood as a form of negotiated social inequality and more concretely it refers to the “arrangement of any social group or society into a hierarchy of positions that are unequal with regard to power, property, social evaluation and psychic gratification” (Tumin 1967: 12). Social interaction and practices of differentiation through which some people gain access to more capital (Bourdieu 1991) than others and come to be ranked in higher statuses are key processes of structuration. Marx (1867) noticed that structuration is a social process that is universal in all human societies. He also observed that industrial societies were quite different from other forms of social organization because the divisions within were defined mainly by their reciprocal position in the system of production. He affirmed that “the sum total of the relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society” (Marx 1978:4). Grusky (2008), in his work on social stratification, points out how historic dynamics and the socio-economic changes of late-modernity need to take another look at societies, avoiding the old fashioned classifications of a fixed concept of structure. Even if the whole set of theories crafted by Marx seemed too fixed and static to depict the complexity of the contemporary world his perspective had a great impact on social sciences and the idea of structuration in Western society was immediately linked to the idea of well-defined classes.

But the formation of social classes shaped only on the grounds of economic differences seems too vague and inaccurate for the complexities of today's contemporary societies where structuration may be based on other factors such as ethnicity, nationality, gender and, religion among others.

Social class and stratification can be easily misinterpreted and linked solely with economic power and wealth. However, this interpretation of a class society does not tell in any way how social groups get established as recognizable classes, nor how this complicated set of social dispositions of society is articulated and internalized by the individuals and different social organizations or how other systems of domination and status subordination get integrated within the capitalist class system (Blunden 2004). As a matter of fact, the possession of greater or lesser economic and material capacity fails to explain all the social dynamics that take place in post-modern societies, differences among people and groups are socially constructed on parameters that do not necessarily rely on people's wealth and economic power (Grusky 2008). Bourdieu (1984) illustrates how the knowledge and use of cultural artefacts and the taste that people develop for different cultural products, everything from food habits, clothing and lifestyle to preference in TV programs, painting and music, establish numerous transformations in the relation between dominated and dominant classes. These social tastes - that in some ways determine the belonging to one group or another in the system of hierarchies – regulate the diverse spaces of activities, and the possible clashes among different groups. The diverse groups adjust to the economic model of the capitalist society and people find their place in society in conformity with their different possibilities and social tastes. People are educated to adjust their expectations and view about themselves and others in relation with the place they occupy in an already established hierarchy of political powers. But at the same time they are provided with the tools to understand and challenge a certain organization of society and the established hierarchies or relations, permitting people and groups to reshape their individualities and claim a different social place. Hence, social class turns out to be no more than a well founded theoretical construct that is perceived as a real category in the social world.

The more accurate the theoretical construction of classes [is], the greater the chance that [classes] will be seen as real groups. Indeed, [social] classes are based on the principles of differentiation which are actually the most effective in reality, i.e., the most capable of providing the fullest explanation of the largest number of differences observed between agents. (Bourdieu 1987:4).

Social structuration emerges when individuals and groups get ranked and classified according to some commonly accepted basis of valuation in a hierarchy of status grounded on unequal social positions. Societies become divisible in analytical layers, and the members of a particular stratum get classified according to recognizable features of identity and the similarity of lifestyle.

Extremely useful to frame this perspective is the work of Bourdieu (1985, 1991) and his concepts of, categories of practices, field (space), habitus (lifestyle) and capital. Bourdieu offers the conceptual tools to read between the lines of social categorizations and the re-construction of ideologies and legitimated social symbols and spaces of action. He used the economic terminology *capital* to conceptualize the attribution of a possibility of economic value to people's different skills and features. Capital is a terminology adopted primarily in the fields of economy and finance and it refers to material dispositions and to a stock of resources necessary for the production of goods and services. In his critical analysis of political economy, Marx (1867) tried to define the essence of capital in relation with the system of production in order to show the limit of capitalist society and to introduce the future struggle of social classes. Inspired by Marx, Bourdieu's analysis tried to capture the ways in which the various forms of non-economic capital reach a quantifiable economic dimension. The concept of capital applied to concrete aspects of reality such as: symbolic and material capital, linguistic capital, social capital and cultural capital that get socially valued, legitimated or refused, and despised or disregarded, is key to understand part of the social dynamics of the tourist community in this study. In fact, it helps to anchor social and cultural patterns to possibilities of valued capital filtered through the socio-economic interpretation of the social actors that participate directly in the spaces of activity of Empuriabrava. In our capitalist societies, people's skills and abilities should be convertible into economic capital to be recognized in practical terms as a valuable resource. To convert non-economic forms of capital into economic values (the ones that have a measurable value) is to arrange the various capitals along a single conceptual axis that makes possible its structuration in a hierarchy of power and possibilities. This operation reduces the multiple nature of people's capital to a single standard, which is possible on the basis of the convertibility of one type of capital into another, "however, the exchange rates vary in accordance with the power relation between the holders of the different forms of capital" (Bourdieu 1984: 125). The exchange rates and forms of valued capital vary

depending on the social context, for this reason I undertake the ethnographic fieldwork in Empuriabrava to understand what the different underlying factors that work as principles of convertibility of capital into its economic sense are in this community. Capital is a kind of recognizable resource, through which people are capable of exercising or resisting domination in social relationships and maintaining their position in the hierarchy of statuses of the society. From this angle, capital is to be conceived again as the organizing principle of the social hierarchy, and people's position in the social structure is hence determined by the totality of different capitals people possess (Grusky 2008). The combination of the various dimensions of capital creates tacit conceptual frames that allow the hierarchical organization of society which is capable of ordering the relationship between social agents in the different parts of social space at any time. One important aspect of this interpretation of social organization and its bounded concept of capital is the idea that from this perspective people's capital becomes linked again with distribution and production (as it requires personal agency and work). (Lizardo 2010)

So, capital is not only the economic power and material resources people possess, but it also includes their cultural background and the value of their social as well as language networks. Bourdieu illustrated the importance of considering the competences and skills, as well as the ideologies and the consequential behavior, expressed by different mobile citizens, as their economic and social possibilities. In the context of Empuriabrava this means that any kind of personal characteristic of the residents, like the knowledge of a particular language, can be conceptualized as a form of capital if it can be commodified (if it can produce value of exchange) (Heller 2010). The space of action, the field in Bourdieu's terminology, takes the form of the social organization in which the particular qualities and attributes obtain value, it is fundamental to a configuration of social norms, agent positions, and the structure they fit into as well as the historical processes in which social positions are actually taken up, occupied by actors, individual or collective (Hanks 2005).

In Bourdieu's perspective the general requirement for class group's membership is that the habitus people display has to be recognized and legitimated by the other members in a process of mutual recognition. A habitus emerges specifically in the interaction between individuals and the field, and it has no independent existence apart from the field (Bourdieu 1993; Hanks 2005). But if the term habitus has been attacked as fuzzy

and not clear it could be easily conceptualized as a form of personal-lifestyle. In fact, lifestyle is the term that is given for a mode of living adopted by an individual or a group and it takes shape within the specific interweaving of economic, social, cultural and linguistic frameworks, pattern and discourses. This means that lifestyles embody life practices and individual and collective habits of population in a given time and space centered social context. Lifestyle includes such matters as – the mode of housing, residential area, personal education, forms of recreation, relationships between the parents and children, the kind of books, magazines and shows to which one is exposed, one's mode of conveyance and so on. It reflects human agency and differences in preferences, tastes and values (Tumin 1967).

The mobile citizens of Empuriabrava share the same spaces but not the same social and cultural capitals; in other words, they bring to the contexts of their daily interactions different material and symbolic resources (Bourdieu 1991). To understand social structuration then becomes central to understand the context, and how the inhabitants of this enclave use their linguistic resources to negotiate identity and to carry out their daily lives. In their discourses people reproduce categories of practice that are used to index specific identities, lifestyles and capitals. This is the manner in which persons, ideology and discourses gain greater relevance with the goals of understanding the phenomenon of categorization and structuration of societies. For this reason, I rely on the analytical perspective about discourses, language and communication stressed by Heller (2001, 2004, 2010). Her concern with issues of social difference and inequalities is addressed by looking at discursive struggles as bounded with the notion of ideology and the recreation of categories linked with (perceived) ethnicities, nationalities, and languages.

Blummer (1958) argues that hostile attitudes of majority social groups towards minorities, -whether they be natives, tourists or immigrants, is a way to socially re-affirm the higher status a certain group has and the exclusive privileges associated with it. Through their behaviors and dispositions, the strongest groups of social actors deliberately try to impose what they consider legitimate and what is not so legitimate (Bourdieu, 1991). This perspective, which is in line with Bourdieu's works, assumes that pushing socio-economic factors like competition over the economic resources of the market, access to accommodation, housing and social services leads to an increase in social struggle and a more direct and indirect conflicting attitude among different

social groups. Even if this perspective does not necessarily represent the real conditions and socio-economic dispositions of societies - in fact it is largely based on the personal perceptions of the social actors that filter their reality throughout their personal perspective – it is extremely useful to underline the existence of spaces of social conflicts mainly oriented toward struggles that often take place on the discursive terrain (Heller 2001: 20). As a matter of fact, language is often explicitly a terrain of social struggle (Heller 2001). Discourses and practices of language embody social dispositions toward production, distribution and access to material and symbolic resources of the community. Moreover, the analysis of discourse and language unveils the hidden ideologies in society. The categories used by residents in their discourses define and are defined by people’s participation in social activity, and they are shaped and adapt to the context. “Discourses in this sense are obviously linked to the notion of ideology, insofar as ideologies are understood as means of structuring and orienting domains of activity, and therefore inform discursive production and content” (Blommaert 1999; Heller 2001: 120).

2.4 Methodological nationalism and identity in Empuriabrava

My study primarily focuses on the different spaces of Empuriabrava, however I also consider the importance of the municipality of Castelló d’Empúries and the complicated political discourse of contemporary Catalonia and its conflict with the Spanish nation-state. In the old town of Castelló d’Empúries the majority of the resident population is of Catalan origin, and foreign inhabitants are mainly located in the residential area of Empurirabava. Moreover, it is important to remark that in the province of Girona there is an important national sentiment towards the values of Catalonia, its culture, and Catalan language.

During my ethnographic fieldwork in Empuriabrava I observed the importance of nationality and ethnicity as categories of practice (Bourdieu 1987) in people’s discourses. This means that, in this tourist community and in the old town of Castelló d’Empúries, nationality is an important categorizing element not just because the high national heterogeneity of the resident population, but especially because nationalities are used as practical categories that describe concrete aspects of people’s everyday life.

What I found interesting in what I observed is that if nationality, nation states and its borders seemed insufficient elements of analysis of contemporary global societies (Sassen 2010), somehow, the inhabitants of Empuriabrava adopted an essentialist discourse toward the different nationalities that seems grounded to some extent on what Wimmer and Glick Shiller define as methodological nationalism: “a perspective that depicts nation-states as the natural socio-political form of organization of modern world” (Wimmer and Glick-Schiller 2002: 302).

I do not assume that the community and people of my study are related unitarily and organically within territories reproducing in this way the image of society “divided into bounded, culturally specific units typical of nationalist thinking” (Wimmer and Glick-Schiller 2002: 305). But I point out that the inhabitants of Empuriabrava and the informants in my study seem to think so, and to recognize that essentialism is frequently present in the formation of personal identity and society, as many researchers actually do, is not necessarily to embrace it as one’s own theoretical stance (Bucholtz and Hall 2004). To go further into the methodological nationalism expressed by the residents of Empuriabrava, I considered the different nationalities and national groups in relation with the diverse lifestyle and life trajectories they display in the different spaces of activities of the tourist community.

Every horizontal space (e.g. neighborhoods, a region, a country...) is also a vertical space, in which all sorts of socially, culturally and politically salient discourses occur. Such distinctions [...] are indexical distinctions: distinctions that project minute linguistic differences onto stratified patterns of social, cultural and political value-attribution; they convert linguistic differences in social inequalities and thus represent the “normative” dimension of situated language use. (Blommaert and Dong 2007: 5)

Nationality is a functional representative category in the tourist community because it works on the concept of people’s displacement and movement connected with the different reasons that drive people to move. Nationality is in many ways representative of people’s different social position, as concrete nationalities of the community are linked with tourism and leisure, while others are identified as the working migrants and immigrants who are in the community for better life chances.

The inhabitants of the community label each other using national categories and they reproduce categories which are grounded on stereotypical representations of others and their different life trajectories. These nationally grounded categories and stereotypes of

public discourse exist because nation-states educated people to perceive these and not others as real categories of social life; and to some degree national categories are perceived as “real” because in our contemporary world, public legitimacy rests upon nation-states authorities. Then in a certain degree methodological nationalism is present as a filter of people’s everyday life unconsciously reflected in their public discourse.

Social actors, who are the ones who through their actions and discourses recreate society, legitimize the practical principles of their everyday judgments which work as elements of categorization and recreate categories that are subordinated to practical functions and oriented by socially shared criteria (Bourdieu 1992). In Empuriabrava, nationality is the object of the mental representations which contribute to the reproduction of these categories of practice that people use in their everyday discourses to delimit, reproduce, and construct their own and other’s people identities. Blommaert (2005) in his studies on identity, space and representation defined two important concepts to clarify how to treat identity in social analysis. He presented, on the one hand, the ascriptive identities, which are attributed to people through public discourse; they involve positive and negative stereotypes and hidden ideologies in people’s discourses. On the other hand, the inhabitable identities are the ones reproduced in social actors’ narratives and which externalise a representation of their personal identity. This second type of discursive identity is the one people use to represent themselves and present themselves to others. The inhabitable identity evolves in line with the psychological development of individuals in each different phase of their life (Erikson 1968), and in function of their diverse life trajectories. However, the representation of personal identity in personal discourse relies on the external element favored by the specific context in which social actors perform, and therefore it may change accordingly (Hall 1995; Hall and O’Donovan 1996).

In Empuriabrava, nationality, ethnicity, language, and people’s different life trajectories become the elements used in public discourse to (re)establish ascriptive categories to identify and represent different typologies of other, and produce mechanisms of inclusion or exclusion, about who is adequate or inadequate, legitimate or illegitimate and recreate an imagined organization of society that works on different levels of prestige and symbolic power.

In our contemporary societies claims and social struggles over identity are about “the imposition of perception and [the] categories of perception” (Bourdieu 1992: 224), and

being-perceived, which is a key concept of identity, is possible through recognition by others. This idea expressed by Bourdieu reinforces the importance of people's discourses and practices to decode the ascriptive identities and categories which in the first place make possible the social dualities that people need to construct their personal identities. In fact, both ascriptive and inhabitable identities are conceptually constructed on a range of observable sameness and differences (Bucholtz and Hall 2004). The order of indexicalities (Blommaert 2010) which support and recreate the ascriptive categories of public discourse are the one that "define the dominant lines for sense of belonging, for identities and roles in society" (Blommaert and Dong 2007: 5). People orient the representation of themselves and the other in line with these socially constructed categories. However, inhabitable identities, which are reproduced in people's personal discourses to support a more suitable and positive representation of themselves (Bakhtin 1986), are the ones people feel more comfortable with and with which they feel truly represented. What changes in degree is the attribute (emotive) value of each identity or category. In this perspective on identity and representation it is clear that the structures of power of contemporary societies are constantly redefining themselves in organic and complex ways. Social organization is the result of people's struggle over representation and their ongoing positioning and repositioning in a game of continued (re)definition of themselves and others. For this reason, both ascriptive and inhabitable identities, and consequent discursive categories, in the different spaces of Empuriabrava, are key to capture the immanent organization of the different layers of the tourist community, along with the inequalities which the different discourses bring into play in people's everyday life.

In my investigation I consider national categories, and the conceptually connected national groups, as heterogeneous entities who struggle for social domain, but which are not necessarily cohesive and organized as represented in people's discourse. National categories index prestige in people's discourses reaffirming the ideologies that do not rely on objective perspectives, and which recreate the organization of an imagined and socially constructed reality.

2.5 Language practices and discourses of inequality

My research in Empuriabrava started from the practical observation that a major means of organizing social difference in this tourist community is linked with the construction

of discursive categories of practice (Bourdieu 1991) which are connected to nationalities and language use of the residents of this locality.

Language is living practice, our doing as we engage in communicative action with others; and it has no clear boundaries as it draws from whatever resource that we have at hand, and it has no fixed content as it is constantly evolving in response to the needs and constraints of our interactions. (Sung-Yul Park and Wee 2012: 104)

In this autonomous region of Spain, Catalan and Spanish are the languages used in the interaction with authorities and the local administration. Catalan in this context represents the official language of Catalonia, while Spanish is the official language legitimated and used in the totality of the Spanish nation-state. However, in this tourist community there are diverse networks which group on the basis of being speakers of different languages. Particularly, I seek to elucidate what it means to speak Catalan, Spanish, German, French, and English or other varieties of language in this tourist community on the Costa Brava. Languages might be conceived only as a tool for communication among individuals— however, in the real world languages bring with them a universe of categories and often implicit ideologies which reproduce unconscious infrastructures (Lévi-Strauss 1967) of society.

Language (depending on people perspective) can be either an insurmountable barrier or a bridge to transcultural communication (Barth 1998) and mobile people, regardless whether they are mobile for tourism or for better life chances, are strongly aware of these social dynamics which have important roles in their choices of destination and different life trajectories. Contemporary tourists for leisure travel to localities where people provide services in their languages to offer to tourists a complete leisure experience (they do not have to learn the host language nor culture, and these elements would work as authentic tourist attractions). On the other hand, people looking for better life chances ideally travel to countries in which their language capital is a valued resource (Sung-Yul Park and Wee 2012), or otherwise, they tend to learn host languages, which they consider valuable resources to gain legitimacy and acceptance in the host community. Hence, the relationship of mobile people with local languages is intrinsically different depending on the kind of mobility they embraced, and also because these mobilities are the indirect reflex of other socio-economic factors. In tourist communities, the diverse languages people speak reflect the conceptual categories residents embody, which are used to negotiate with others their

representation of social reality (this includes language itself) (Gumperz and Levinson 1996, Silverstein 2003, Hanks 2005). Immigrants and migrants are perceived by local residents as people who arrive to compete over the symbolic and material resources of society. While tourists, on the contrary are seen as people who do not have to work in order to subsist in the area. Tourists are generally idealized as people whose permanence is limited to a short period of time and who bring socio-economic changes which directly and indirectly affect the organization of the host societies. In comparison with immigrants and migrants, tourists are favored by a higher situational status (Cohen 1986). Tourists do not normally engage in competition with locals over the resources of the locality. Tourists do not look for a job, but on the contrary, their stay brings wealth to support the service sector which is shaped on tourists' particular tastes and demands; this includes the different language varieties and their consequential value in the linguistic market of the community. The way in which languages are linked with the linguistic market implies an entire range of social relations (Sung-Yul Park and Wee 2012) that people reproduce in their daily life, through lifestyle and social activities (Urcioli 2008). The physical and symbolic spaces of the community and their connection with the different networks and languages become important aspects to consider for the present study. The diverse physical spaces are the containers for the social means which the inhabitants reproduce in their discourses and particular linguistic categories. These interdependent systems construct the spaces inhabited by people who socialize into them, reconstructing their worlds of experiences and hence their discourses and points of views. Collins and Slembrouck (2005:191) focused their attention on space conceived as mooring for constructed social meaning in order to confront the notion of displacedness, and to better understand the conditions of language use in the different contexts of contemporary societies. The notion of space, as field in which social events get enacted, is key for the reproduction of social structure (Bourdieu 1991; Hank 2005). Inequalities, which are reproduced differently in kind and degree in the diverse physical spaces of society, assume their symbolic meaning in relation with the spaces in which they get constructed and performed through public discourse and people's action. In this study, I consider the symbolic construction of the different spaces of the tourist community as a variable which is reproduced on a daily basis as being constituted by reiterative social practices (Cresswell 2015, de Certeau 1984). Practices are understood as the improvisations of performances that encompass goals and interests of social actors. They are shaped both by individual decision-making

and supra-individual structures (Bourdieu 1984, 1991). Then, to understand the linguistic organization of the tourist community, and how the languages of the different national networks are more or less influential, it is fundamental to depict the kind of social structuration and inequalities which are reproduced in people discourses and practice. The different spaces of activities of the community, which are linguistically filled by the discourses of their inhabitants, reflect fundamental means to grasp the “multiple effects of the relation between habitus and field [lifestyles and spaces]” (Hanks 2005: 79) enacted by the different agents of the community. People’s narratives and life trajectories, habitus and lifestyle are here a major resource of information to highlight social problems and struggles performed through discourses in the field and correlated with the different kind of people’s mobilities and the globalized new economy; and are important to show “how language fits in the more general way of how products gets incorporated into a capitalist market of exchange” (Sung-Yul Park and Wee 2012:126).

This means that the prestige of the different languages depends on the spaces of activity in which the variety of language is spoken, and the social actors who throughout their agency legitimize or delegitimize that practice. As in the case of standardization, it is a struggle of symbolic powers, and social actors through their speaking reinforces the hierarchy of symbolic systems and power differences. The categorizations of the inhabitants of Empuriabrava which have emerged from the ethnographic fieldwork in the community are the reflection of locally constructed discourses and language practices connected with both work and leisure that have become associated, by the residents, with persons of given nationalities, embodied dispositions and different spaces, in this tourist community.

Chapter 3

The context of the study

This chapter provides information on the context. Figure 3.1 shows a panoramic view of the residential marina of Empuriabrava in 2014 – 2015 which has been the focus of this ethnographic study.

Figure 3.1 – The Residential Marina of Empuriabrava in 2015



Source: Web. 22/09/2016. <http://www.marinaempuriabrava.com>

In order to fully understand how language and multilingual practices of tourists and residents of different nationalities shape the processes of social structuration and organization of this tourist community it is necessary to take into account how this community developed along with the mobility and seasonal fluctuation of its population. Moreover, it is important to point out that at the time of my fieldwork Empuriabrava was experiencing a transformation due to a generation shift that started at the beginning of 2000 and which has been followed by the financial crisis of 2007-2008, that caused general economic instability in Spain, as in the rest of the world. The world-scale economic crisis has been characterized by the growth of migrant population from developing countries and more mass tourism as opposed to more selective visitors who had traditionally vacationed in Empuriabrava. These newly arrived mobile citizens, with their diverse tastes and lifestyles (Bourdieu 1989), brought about a shift in the sorts of leisure activities and services that have shaped the local economy. The communicative practices that take place among the diverse nationalities are connected to negotiation of different roles, and direct and indirect power relations within the various networks that present different socio-economic interests and possibilities. In the

four sections of this chapter, I discuss the ties between Empuriabrava and the municipality of Castelló d'Empúries. I also illustrate the different phases of development of the tourist community, the diverse origins of its population, and the particular spaces of economic activities that are grounded in everyday interaction and seasonal dynamics of international residents and visitors in this tourist community.

3.1 Empuriabrava and Castelló d'Empúries

The community of Empuriabrava, has 23 kilometers of navigable waterways, and still nowadays it is the largest residential marina in Europe. It is administrated by the municipality of Castelló d'Empúries, a small town with a rich medieval history. Castelló d'Empúries is located close to the Catalan Costa Brava, in the province of Girona (Catalonia, Spain).

Figure 3.2 – Map of the Gulf of Roses in 2015



Source: Web.05/10/2016 <http://blog.costabrava-pals.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/plan-Roses-empuriabrava-santa-margarita.jpg>

Figure 3.2 shows how the historical town of Castelló d'Empúries and the residential marina of Empuriabrava are spatially separated by almost three kilometres of national road. This geographical distance and the different kinds of lifestyles and inhabitants who characterize the two wards seem to recreate two different social realities. The inhabitants of Empuriabrava did not develop a feeling of belonging within the everyday dynamics of the historical center of the Catalan town, that is characterized by the uniqueness of its historical buildings that date back to the Middle Ages, a time period in which this local town played a key role in this area of Costa Brava. The general atmosphere of the town reminds one of a placid hamlet with very good maintenance of the public spaces and infrastructures. All the streets and neighbourhoods of this little historical center cast a general picture of wealth (as shown in Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3 – The Historical Town of Castelló d’Empúries



Source: Web.05/10/2016 <http://www.castello.cat/resultats-de-les-eleccions-municipals-2015-a-castello-dempuries>

One of the main features of Castelló d’Empúries and its local commerce and services is its strong local Catalan identity and culture where using Catalan language is key to local belonging. The international residents who decided to settle in the historical center normally learn Catalan to fully integrate in the society, even if many services and activities are offered in Spanish, English, French and German (which represent the languages of international tourism) because of the flow of tourists that visit the monuments and places of interests. Spanish, which remains an important language in the community, is here of secondary importance and local inhabitants barely speak it in their everyday interactions.

The main services of the municipality are located in the historical town. The primary healthcare clinic, the public library, the Catholic church, the public school, the social services of the Caritas, along with the town hall.

The residential marina in contrast, is the result of a private initiative by the company Ampuriabrava S.A., which in the sixties promoted the project of an aerodrome and a residential area in one unprotected swampland area. The aesthetics of the residential marina contrast when compared with the other coastal towns of the area that present small historical roads and houses. Ampuriabrava intended to recreate the canals of Venice (Italy) which had also inspired the construction of the residential marina built in Florida (USA) (Compte 1967). However, the evolution of the plans for the residential marina, in its different phases of planning and construction, distanced itself a good deal from the original plans for development. The idea from the start was to construct navigable channels and waterways from Ampuriabrava to Figueras. The idea was dropped because of a lack of agreement with the municipalities implicated.

3.2 The development of a brand new tourist community

Empuriabrava was born as a project of the private company Eurobrava S.A. (which later was renamed Ampuriabrava S.A.) founded by Antoni de Moxó i Güell, Marquis of Sant Mori, and by the entrepreneurs Miquel Arpa i Batlle and Ferran de Vilallonga i Rossell. At the beginning, the first plan of development presented by the private company to the town hall of Castelló d'Empúries did not contemplate the idea of a residential marina; instead it was a proposal for the construction of an aerodrome aimed at the creation of an international flying club. The Marquis of Sant Mori already owned the swamplands, but the company needed legal permission for the construction. The aerodrome project was proposed to the administration of Castelló d'Empúries in 1964 but it was turned down by the municipal council. The following year the company presented another project to reclaim the swampland and build a residential marina on the Gulf of Roses. This time, even if the project again encountered some disagreement in the municipal council, the plans for Empuriabrava were approved in 1967. At the same time that the company started the construction of the mooring resort, it also began promoting properties aimed at European investors. People who invested in a property in the marina had the opportunity of acquiring a second property for half of the price. This special offer was aimed at financing the construction and rapid expansion of the marina. The campaign was a success especially in Germany, Holland, and to a small extent in Belgium, Great Britain, and France.

Figure 3.4 – The First Phase of Construction of the Marina in 1967



Source: Web.28/09/2016 <http://www.rubinaresort.com/?lang=es>

At the beginning of the seventies, it was clear that the marina was a project in rapid expansion. During this decade the private company was able to construct approximately

6853 additional houses, but on this occasion, investors did not receive any special condition to finance further constructions. This was because the expansion of the marina created a growing protest among the local Catalan population who for environmental reasons denied the planning of further canals in the wetlands. In 1983 the area was designed a protected area. Meanwhile, some international people who at the beginning had arrived as tourists and second home owners saw the opportunity of moving permanently to this locality. Some of them, motivated by the growing economic opportunities opened new businesses, as the marina was not provided with any basic service. In a few years, people of diverse nationality, economically motivated, arrived to open and work in the spaces of economy connected with the service sector of this growing tourist community: these people were mostly migrants from other areas of Spain as well as Catalonia, and people from northern Europe, but especially Germany and France.

The economic activities opened during the eighties established networks that responded to the demands of wealthy northern European tourism. This was the base for a local economy almost exclusively focused on satisfying the necessities of leisure of the temporary visitor who arrived seasonally in the community.

In a few years, the residential marina had a full array of services, which included: butchers, bakeries, real estate agencies, restaurants, bars, and cafés aimed at the particular tastes of the tourists of the more important networks present in the locality, namely: German, French, Spanish, Catalan, and to a lesser extent at the beginning English. Shops and small businesses provided services in the languages of these residents and tourists who rapidly became the motor engine of the local service economy. At the same time, illegal economic activities connected with leisure such as drugs and prostitution started to emerge.

The residential marina seemed a potential economic success, as new permanent residents came flocking to Empuriabrava. However, the high cost of maintenance of the canals and infrastructures started to become a considerable economic problem for the private owners. Moreover, the private company did not receive permission to continue with the expansion they had intended, and there was an increasing need to regulate and control the growing flow of persons arriving in the locality. For these reasons in June 1980 the privately owned residential marina came under the administration of the municipality of Castelló d'Empúries. Thus, it was finally possible to cater for the

number of international residents who opted for Empuriabrava as their primary residence. In 1979, the population of Castelló d'Empúries reached 2408 inhabitants, and in the census of 1981 there were 2657. This 249 increase corresponds to new residents arriving to the residential marina (as in those years' census data of the municipality did not specify and differentiate the number of people living in Empuriabrava and those residing in Castelló d'Empúries).

The municipality of Castelló d'Empúries marked some changes in the direction in which the community developed; the residential marina which was targeting mainly elite tourism opened its frontier to massive and less prestigious seasonal visitors. The administration of Castelló d'Empúries gave permission for the construction of new (but less prestigious) areas targeting the working class of the growing community and working class tourism. Moreover, the town council permitted the construction of a complex of higher buildings near the seaboard (The neighbourhood would take the name Delta Muga), close to the river Muga.

Figure 3.5 – The Construction of Delta Muga in 1983



Source: Web.28/09/2016.<http://www.rubinaresort.com/?lang=es>

Figure 3.5 shows the first phases of construction of high buildings reaching nineteen floors. The construction of this residential complex (figure 3.6) close to the seaboard brought the total number of available accommodations from 12326 to 14.000, these 1674 apartments were targeting mass tourism as well as the people who worked in the increasing service economy of the tourist community. The prices of these small flats were considerably inferior in comparison to the elite houses built on the canals. The number of people seeking to spend their leisure time here continued to increase. In the following years the population of the community continued to grow constantly. In 1996 there were 4830 inhabitants officially registered in the census of the municipality. This

means that in only fifteen years since the annexation of the tourist community the population of the municipality doubled because people increasingly decided to live in the residential marina as permanent residents. The possibility of cheaper accommodation in this elite marina, along with its growing economy, encouraged the arrival of people looking for better economic conditions.

Figure 3.6 – Building of Delta Muga in 2015



Source: Web.28/09/2016. <http://www.milanuncios.com/alquiler-de-apartamentos-en-empuriabrava-girona/primera-linea-de-mar-194952734.htm>

Many of the mobile people who started to move to Empuriabrava were mobile citizens from the developing world, particularly: North Africa, South America, and Eastern Europe. The arrival of these mobile people generated conflicts between the networks of long standing European residents and the newly arrived nationalities. The already existing national networks of the community felt the need to formalize their networks through participation in exclusive clubs and associations, where the property owning residents of European nationalities could find and communicate with their own compatriots using their own languages, and also assemble to organize exclusive activities and establish their common business and professional goals. In 1988, the Rotary Club Roses – Empuriabrava was created. The British Society of Catalonia Bay of Roses was founded in 1995. In 1985 the community magazine Amigo started publication first in German but later on it also included English, French, Catalan, and Spanish. Shortly after, in 1991, Arena, a German only magazine appeared addressing information about activities and places of interest for people of the German network.

On January 5, 2002, the central European bank introduced the Euro currency. This change hardly affected the local economy in the beginning, although shortly after a

general rise in prices started to have a negative effect on the tourist industry of the community. Visitors from Europe, such as Germans, British, and French no longer enjoyed the convenient rate of exchange of their strong currencies, and slowly people who used to visit Empuriabrava frequently began looking for other places to invest their money and to spend their free time.

In 2004 the frontiers of the Eurozone expanded with the inclusion of many nation-states, these countries were: Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Estonia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Cyprus, and Malta. This event accounts for the arrival of more people who were looking for work and better economic conditions. However, these new immigrants were not well received by long term residents of the different networks. The world financial crisis that started in 2007 led to the gradual decrease of the tourist industry of the community. Many people belonging to a wealthy cosmopolitan circuit started to sell their properties in Empuriabrava at a reduced price.

Finally, in year 2000 another census was published distinguishing the number of inhabitants in Castelló d'Empúries and Empuriabrava. This was important to understand the different evolution of the two wards and the impact the tourist industry and the associated mobility was having on this area of the Costa Brava. In 2000, Empuriabrava registered 3227 residents, just 180 people more than the 3039 living in Castelló d'Empúries. However, the two wards had a different growth and the difference between the residents became more consistent during the years. Table 3.1 shows the increments of the residents over the years.

Table 3.1 – Population of Castelló d'Empúries and Empuriabrava from 2000 to 2015

Year	Castelló d'Empúries	Residential marina of Empuriabrava	Total Population
2015	3.971	6.899	10.870
2010	4.098	8.122	12.220
2005	3.801	5.366	9.167
2000	3.039	3.227	6.266

Source: This table was elaborated with the statistics from the web: www.idescat.cat 2018

In 2010 there were 8122 permanent residents in the community, a difference of 4024

inhabitants; the population of the tourist community almost doubled in number the residents of the historical town. The international residents who had inhabited the community for several years, along with the newly arrived residents, started to understand they were an important part of the resident population, and many of them did not agree with the administration of the Catalan municipality, which seemed to spend the economic resources of the municipality exclusively in maintaining the historical town. These years have been characterized by the foundation of a political party for the tutelage and promotion of the tourist community UDEM (Unitat i Defensa d'Empuriabrava), which was found in 2011.

3.3 The resident population and the influential national networks

In 2000 it became possible to obtain more specific data about the residents of Castelló d'Empúries and Empuriabrava.

Table 3.2 - Resident Population of Castelló d'Empúries and Empuriabrava from 2000 to 2015

Year	Catalan	Other areas of Spain	E.U	Eastern Europe	Africa	N. and C. America	South America	Asia and Oceania	Total Population
2015	4.873	1.325	2.487	500	1.428	87	249	111	10.870
2014	4.883	1.339	3.098	499	1.421	89	290	106	11.473
2013	4.887	1.343	3.429	538	1.469	102	336	104	11.910
2012	4.836	1.342	3.360	503	1.481	91	374	101	11.794
2011	4.847	1.346	3.383	506	1.454	93	421	84	11.885
2010	4.847	1.374	3.587	475	1.502	98	466	94	12.220
2009	4.745	1.372	3.573	422	1.501	98	482	88	12.111
2008	4.625	1.354	3.363	436	1.363	91	476	89	11.653
2007	4.422	1.283	2.865	393	1.170	63	423	66	10.629
2006	4267	1.236	2.183	629	1.188	57	454	58	10.021
2005	4058	1160	1.828	523	1.062	48	415	56	9.167
2004	3.769	1029	1.210	371	832	43	334	39	7.777
2003	3.638	957	1.874	319	859	45	258	30	8.165
2002	3.438	895	1.751	266	776	33	163	24	7.530

2001	3.367	868	1.488	198	643	23	114	13	6.883
2000	3.248	834	1.210	130	510	18	84	15	6.266

Source: web: <http://www.idescat.cat/> 2018

Table 3.2 shows how the resident population of the municipality increased thanks to the people who arrived in the locality for leisure and those who were looking for better economic possibilities. From 2000 the municipality almost doubled the number of its residents and the population of the municipality has exponentially grown until reaching its peak in 2010, registering 12220 inhabitants. However, the population started to decrease because of the effect of the ongoing economic crisis of 2007 – 2008, and many of the inhabitants that were leaving belonged to the wealthy networks of the community: Between 2013 and 2015, 1040 residents left the municipality, 942 of these resident were from Northern Europe, 708 of them were in their working age (between 16 and 64) and 234 were people in their years of retirement (Idescat 2018).

If we look at Table 3.2, we can appreciate how the Catalan network is the only one which continued to flourish and grow even during the years of the financial crisis because of the arrival of more tourists and investors from other areas of Catalonia. In 2015, the network of people of Catalan origins amounted to 4873 individuals. This network grew over the years with the arrival of 1325 (Idescat 2018) residents from other areas of Catalonia who settled as permanent residents and added to the 3548 (Idescat 2018) local Catalans of the municipality. The Catalan network is mainly concentrated in the ward of Castelló d'Empúries. It is one of the most representatives, and it is the one engaged in the public administration of the whole community.

There has been a consistent influx of Spaniards from other areas since 2000, although this network is concentrated in the ward of Empuriabrava where it arrived gradually to cover the work demand generated by the expansion of the tourist community. Because of the scarcity of employment this network has been affected by the economic crisis. Many of the people of this network depend on the service sector of the community and they work only seasonally. In 2009 the Spanish network started progressively to decrease even if in 2015 it was still the second largest network of the municipality with its 1325 residents.

To understand how the financial crisis affected the population of the residential marina it is interesting to observe the fluctuation of the most numerous foreign national groups

of the residents of the community.

Table 3.3 – Larger Foreign Groups by Nationality in the Municipality in 2008 and 2015

Nationality	Year 2008	Year 2015
Morocco	1240	1035
France	1129	845
Germany	984	583
Romania	374	330
Russia	249	335
England	223	102
Italy	161	94
Belgium	154	96
Argentina	113	113
Holland	97	63

Source: web: www.idescat.cat Idescat 2018

Table 3.3 shows how in 2008, before the effects of the crisis, people from Morocco represented the largest foreign national network in the community with 1240 individuals (which accounted for more than 10% of the total population of the municipality. French people were the second largest nationality with 1129 inhabitants (9.5% of the total population), The nucleus of wealthy Germans represented 8.4% of the resident population with 984 individuals. However, because of the socio-economic problem Empuriabrava was experiencing many residents belonging to the wealthy elite of the community decided to sell their properties at a reduced price. If in 2008 there were 984 residents from Germany, in 2015 this number dropped to 583. Table 3.3 shows how the other important networks of the community followed the same tendency as the German network. If we look at residents from France, England, Belgium, and Holland which represent the wealthy national networks of the community, we can observe they decreased consistently in number. The consequence is that the national networks of people who are primarily in the community to work or for better life chances, such as people from Argentina, Morocco, Romania, and Italy, tend to decrease as well. The network of people from Russia increased because they started to purchase the properties that people belonging to the other wealthy networks were selling.

A deeper look at the local resident population recorded in the register of Castelló d'Empúries is indispensable to frame the context and observe the fluctuation of the resident population during these years. However, it is important to remember statistics and data fail to represent the complexities of a municipality in which there are international residents of 86 different nationalities. However, statistical information is useful when coordinated with ethnographic observation to understand the important networks and symbolic powers which gain relevance in the social organization of the municipality and the tourist community.

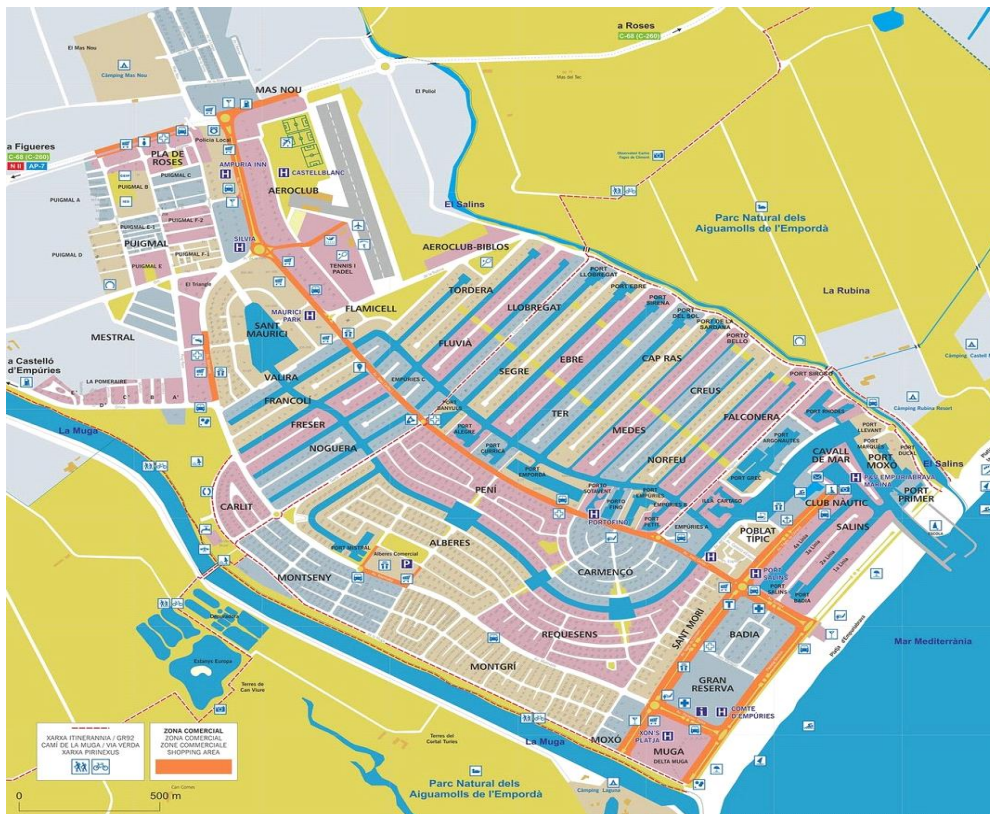
3.4 The economy of the tourist community

In 2007 – 2008 Spain was deeply affected by the financial crisis, and the rate of unemployment reached 25%, affecting especially young people who were not able to find a job. The years since the crisis started brought about tensions for the inhabitants of Empuriabrava who were in the community to work in the service sector.

The temporary seasonal nature of work of this community has been deeply affected by the insecurity people perceived because of the crisis. The tourists who were visiting the residential marina seasonally adjusted their lifestyles, and they were spending less in the services the community offered. This tendency had bad consequences for the local economies and many shops and economic activities (such as bars and nightclubs) closed. The lack of occupation signified an increase in illegal and semi legal activities. Since the crisis in the community there have been many house robberies and squatting of empty flats or apartments. Employment in the underground economy of this tourist community typically involves selling and distributing drugs, and prostitution.

Figure 3.7 shows a map of the different areas of Empuriabrava. Shops and economic activities are shown in orange, and they are isolated with respect to the most prestigious properties of the marina. The areas close to the nightclubs and shops of the community, such as Moxó and the Delta Muga (see figure 3.7) became associated with involvement in illicit leisure activities. Since the appearance of low level criminality, security became a major issue for the organization of the tourist community, as residents felt some areas were no longer safe. The tourist community was undergoing serious problems for the first time.

Figure 3.7 – Map of the Different Areas of the Tourist Community



Source: Web.10/08/2018 <https://blog.costabrava-pals.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/carte-empuriabrava-j>

The service industry of Empuriabrava was affected by the crisis and the change in the lifestyles of persons who were visiting the community.

The residents, as well as visitors, who used to extensively consume the services of the bars and restaurants of the community started to spend less in these activities resorting increasingly to supermarkets (since 2006, in the community six supermarkets have been opened).

During the summer the population of the residential marina reach the peak of almost 80.000 people because of the arrival of mass tourism. For this reason, the local economy is grounded almost exclusively on a service industry which targets these seasonal visitors.

Table 3.4 – The Economic Activities of Empuriabrava in 2014 – 2015

Bars and Restaurants	116	Consultants and Lawyers	21	Laundries	5
Fashion shops and	84	Informatics and	12	Insurances	4

Souvenirs		Technical service			
Real estate and Travel agencies	65	Hotels, Pensions and Camping	11	Gardening	3
House reforms and Constructions	54	Private Health	10	Petrol Station	2
Food and Wine Cellars	26	Pet and Veterinarians	9	Security	2
Yachting Companies	23	Sports	9	Car Rental	1
Aesthetics and Wellness	22	Banks and Savings	5	Optical	1

Source: web. 05/10/2016 <http://www.castelloempuriabrava.com/en/business-and-enterprise.html>

Table 3.4 reports the economic activities of the residential marina. Empuriabrava appears to be grounded on service economies which depend directly on the fluctuating visiting population. The most numerous ones are: Bars and restaurants 116, fashion and souvenirs 84, real estate and travel agencies 65. However, tourism no longer provided enough for all the people who moved in the marina looking for work and better economic possibilities. The rapid increase of the resident population has been accompanied by the growth of a service economy that also targets people who are established as permanent residents. However, many shops are quite expensive and/or they sell souvenirs and gadgets intended for visiting tourists of the locality. For this reason, the long standing nationalities tend to leave the community in order to shop for what they need for a more reasonable price. Moreover, most of the economic activities of the community are seasonal, opening in April and closing at the end of September.

The economic instability of the community has intensified an attitude of closure within the resident population, as the different networks which were already established in the community saw their privileged position increasingly endangered. The long term networks of different nationalities started to look critically at the policies of the municipality of Castelló d'Empúries accusing the Catalan administration of bad management of public funds.

A major issue that contributed to the attitude of distrust toward the administration of the municipality was the problem with the Spanish coastal law of 1988. In 2010 this started to be perceived as a serious threat by the people of different nationalities that owned a property in the marina. In fact, the owners did not really own the properties on the

canals, but they owned a temporary concession that was about to expire in 2018. Many Northern Europeans who had bought a second home for their retirement were not aware of this legal situation and they blamed the public administration for not warning them at the time they purchased their properties. According to the coastal law of 1988 Empuriabrava should have been demolished, but in 2011 the owners of different nationalities (mainly Europeans) got together to fight for their mutual interests and they founded the Empuriabrava Owners Association (Asociación de Proprietarios de Empuriabrava) and they obtained legal assistance. In 2011, “La Rosas dels Vents” was founded, a neighbourhood association for all the residents in this community in order to promote cultural events and activities. At the end of 2012, the Spanish state decided not to apply the coastal law to the residential marina of Empuriabrava (nor to another 10 tourist seaside towns along the Spanish coast).

The economic conditions in Empuriabrava brought about by the arrival of mass tourism, the poor upkeep of infrastructures and the 2007 – 2008 crisis led to the loss of the established prestige of this tourist community. Many of the wealthy international residents who had settled in Empuriabrava, mainly from Germany and other European countries, started to sell their properties for a reduced price. This elite has gradually been replaced by the arrival of seasonal tourism from France. In 2010, Russian investors started to compete with the French for the most prestigious properties. The service industries of the community greeted the arrival of this new wave of investors with enthusiasm, and they rapidly adapted to the tastes and necessities of these new tourists and residents, incorporating Russian language and symbols into the services of the community (Signals in Russian and Russian flags) which soon became an integral part of the legitimized look of the marina. Even so, the influx of Russian and non-European investors lasted for a brief period because of tense foreign policy relations between the E.U. and Russia due to the Ukrainian crisis which started in 2013. Moreover, between 2013 and 2015 there has been a decrease in the resident population and the community has lost almost one thousand Northern Europeans who decided to leave the community.

Having provided the contextualization of this ethnographic study, considering the realities of Empuriabrava and Castelló d’Empúries, the developing of the tourist community, the resident population and influential networks and its economy, the following section explains the methods adopted in the treatment and gathering of the data.

Chapter 4

Methods

This dissertation is an ethnographic study (Manson 2002, Howard 2002) that adopts a critical sociolinguistic perspective (Heller, Pietikäinen, and Pujolar 2018) in order to be able to address the question of social structuration and inequality in the community of Empuriabrava.

The ethnographic method as I apply it focuses on the critical observation of those social and linguistic practices that shape the important aspects of people's everyday life in order to answer questions of inequality and power within a sociolinguistic approach. The method choice of a critical ethnography to study the community of Empuriabrava is motivated by the design of my research questions, which in the first stages of the investigation sought to understand the relationships among the different kinds of mobilities, and the ways in which people's life trajectories are associated with different multilingualisms and the social structuration that takes place in this tourist community. The citation below by Heller et al (2018: 3) accurately reflects my understanding of the approach I take to my study:

We understand societies as primarily structured around the processes through which individuals and groups strive to produce and access resources. Our point of departure and our objectives remain in the materialities which are part of how language is constructed and in which language participates, and in language's role in constructing objects and social categories, delineating boundaries and reproducing or changing relations of inequality.

The information generated from ethnographic observation and participation in the community provides an understanding of what the different inhabitants of the community are, what kind of behavior they legitimate (Bourdieu 1991), and the categories they construct through language and different lifestyles.

This chapter is divided in four sections; each one takes up a different aspect of the research. The first section is about the research design of the study. In this section I introduce the approach and methods I intended to adopt during the ethnography to answer the particular research questions I elaborated in the first phase of the research.

Section two gives attention to the nature and the kinds of processes I followed to obtain the different data during the ethnographic fieldwork, and what kinds of information are to be considered as data for the purposes of this investigation. Section three introduces a reflexive perspective about my role as researcher in order to understand my position with respect to the field of study, the limitation and difficulties I had to face during the research. Section four describes the different residents who helped me during the investigation allowing me to observe their everyday life in both their public and private spheres. This section states how I get to know these persons, why I selected them to be key informants for the purposes of this study. It also outlines their particular life trajectories and describes how their contribution has been important for the study.

4.1 Research design

The design of this ethnographic research was a fluid process. The theoretical framework and the research questions evolved during the study following a reflexive stance (Manson 2002, Heller et al. 2018) which checked and adjusted to the knowledge generated in the different moments of the investigation. In fact, “thinking qualitatively means rejecting the idea of a prior-strategic and design decisions, or that such decision can and should be made only at the beginning of the research process” (Manson 2002: 24).

I started elaborating my research questions and looking at the best methods to generate and gather data about the multilingual practices of the inhabitants in the different spaces of the community, their different mobility and life trajectories, and the social structuration and inequalities which get reproduced in Empuriabrava and Castelló d’Empúries. I wanted to look at how the different multilingual practices of the inhabitants of Empuriabrava come to generate categories of practices (Bourdieu 1991) that index the inequalities recreated by people in their public discourses. I also intended to look at the construction of the dynamics of power that residents reproduce in the diverse spaces of economic activities and leisure through their diverse language practices and lifestyles. The idea was to understand the kind of structuration that people from different languages and national backgrounds reproduced in Empuriabrava and how they related to each other. Next, I aimed at finding out what the important languages of the community are and how these languages and the people that speak them obtain a privileged position among the residents. I also wanted to look behind

people's discourses and to understand what ideologies they reproduced and how they positioned themselves within the organization of this society. This stance required me to interpret how people's ideologies and practices relate to the manner in which social activities and lifestyles became associated to the various nationalities and forms of inhabiting the community. I was interested in how language diversity shaped the tourist-grounded service economy of the community and how this influenced people's life trajectories. Moreover, I wanted to understand the relationship between the residents of Empuriabrava and the local inhabitants of Castelló d'Empúries, as well as the role of Catalan and Spanish language for people's integration.

The first difficulties were to decide what strategy to adopt to conduct the study. "Qualitative research is explanatory fluid and flexible, data-driven and context sensitive" (Manson 2002: 24). In this sense, the project of studying the whole community seemed too ambitious, so I decided to narrow it down to that section of society which had not been previously under study. Since the existing studies about Castelló d'Empúries and Empuriabrava (Zbinden 2007, Yago 2010) were centered and gathered data on the elite residents of the community which was in Empuriabrava mainly for leisure, belonging to the German, English and Catalan networks; I decided I would start by focusing my investigation on those people that were in the tourist community looking for work and better life chances.

The study was interested in the long term inhabitants of the community and not the visiting tourists who were seasonally in Empuriabrava for the holidays. For this reason, I needed to get to know who the long term inhabitants and who the tourists were. I estimated that because of the focus on multilingual practices and the everyday discourses of the inhabitants the best method to generate data would be participant observation. I needed to spend time in Empuriabrava and Castelló d'Empúries to understand the nature of people's discourses and to look at how and which multilingualism they performed. In fact, participant observation provides the researcher with first-hand information about social actors and the context, and it is key to grasp the construction of those social categories that organize and shape people's social realities (Heller et al. 2018). I intended to take detailed notes about my observation during the fieldwork and when possible to integrate them with the recording of spontaneous conversation and discourses of the inhabitants of the community. Moreover, the idea was that participant observation of people's everyday practices in the different spaces of

socio-economic activities was a fundamental recourse to meet those residents that would help me to know better the context of study and that would provide their perspective about the construction of their social reality. My purpose was to identify and get to know key informants who would participate in the study, providing information about the community. I intended to select a minimum of ten informants and a maximum of fifteen because “qualitative research requires a highly active engagement from its practitioners” (Manson 2002: 4) and it is time consuming: I intended to record a semi-structured interview with each participant to obtain data about their multilingual practices, their life trajectories and the different kinds of lifestyles they display in the community. But I also wanted to participate and directly observe the everyday life of the informants to see how they relate with the other inhabitants, and to contrast the information obtained from the semi-structured interviews. I decided to apply the method of semi-structured interviews because I wanted to avoid direct questions which could condition people’s answers and compromise data samples. Then, I needed to obtain people’s confidence to record an interview which would give the impression of a natural conversation. Moreover, to have a wider picture of the community and its resident population, I intended to combine different methods and collect various sources for data triangulation, such as: statistics and data from the internet, written documentation and newspapers, field-notes, images and symbols, magazines and fliers, as well as all those elements that take part in the construction of social meaning (Heller et al. 2018) in the community.

I decided to dedicate two years to gathering data about Empuriabrava and the Municipality of Castelló d’Empúries. The ethnographic fieldwork was divided into two periods: The first period of fieldwork was planned from April to July 2014, and the second period of fieldwork from February to May 2015. The investigation was structured this way because of two main considerations; on the one hand, it was the first time for me in the community of Empuriabrava and for that reason it was important for me to fully understand the social and historical dynamics of the community before focusing on the mobile citizens. Also, I had no previous contact with the community. Differently, people who studied Empuriabrava before already knew the residential marina; Cristian Zbinden belongs to the German speaking network living in Empuriabrava, and it was easy for him to gather information about this network. Katia Yago had already got contacts belonging to the Catalan and English networks before

starting the study. On the other hand, I wanted to see how the community changed at different moments of the year. In order to make my time there as profitable for my study as possible, I had previously studied the different periods of the years in the marina and I identified that the most convenient one for starting the ethnographic fieldwork, taking into account the research questions, was the period between February and July due to a lower density of tourist population, and especially because the month of April, in which Easter holidays fall, signal the beginning of economic activity of the tourist community.

4.2 Data construction and types of data

During the two years of investigation (resulting in eight months of fieldwork), I tracked down and followed the life trajectories of fourteen selected inhabitants from different social and cultural backgrounds who live in the tourist community. I tried to gain a deeper understanding of the people and groups that belong to different nationalities and who displayed life trajectories which previous research on the field of Empuriabrava did not investigate.

In April 2014 I started the first period of fieldwork – from the 1st of April until the 31st of July 2014 – in which I studied the social and historical development of the tourist resort and I was simultaneously able to begin to know the people who were living the community. I was looking for people that would suit the role of key informants in order to give me a deeper understanding of those social dynamics that are not evident to someone that had recently arrived to live in the resort. I rented accommodation in the old town of Castelló d'Empúries –four kilometres away from the tourist resort of Empuriabrava – and I had to buy a second hand motorbike to move between the two localities. I decided to rent the accommodation in the old town of Castelló d'Empúries because I wanted to examine how different the two realities were, and also so that I could have a place where I could rest a little bit from the fieldwork. I started to look at the various neighborhoods of Empuriabrava and to investigate the most problematic areas of the tourist community seeking for information related to drug dealing, prostitution and semi legal activities. At this early stage of the investigation I was able to connect with some of the mobile people that were living in this part of the resort, who were mainly mobile people from the developing world (especially Morocco) and elderly

retired people without great economic capital of different nationalities.

During the second period of fieldwork – from the 1st of February until the 31st of May 2015 – I rented accommodation in the tourist resort, this time, in one of the least touristic and most industrialized areas of the enclave. By this time, I already knew Empuriabrava and at this point I was determined to find the informants I needed in order to fill the gap of information about the sector of society I could not investigate during the first period of permanence, and have a wider vision of the whole picture. Some limitations of the research were due to the impossibility of covering the totality of national networks that are gaining strength in the community so, until this point of the investigation most information I had about residents from Germany, Great Britain and France was provided by the previous research, Zbinden (2007) and Yago (2010). Nevertheless, I decided to devote part of my time there to get to know those networks in order to contrast the information I already had. In this sense, languages became the most important tool to reach informants in this tourist resort. I can speak Italian, English and Spanish fluently, furthermore I understand French and Catalan, but the fact that I did not speak German and French made it difficult for me to reach the networks of people that speak these languages. However, I was able to find people who helped me to reach informants of Northern-European nationalities. Furthermore, because of my better knowledge of the community it was during this second period of ethnographic fieldwork that I selected the informants with whom I recorded the semi-structured interviews.

The fourteen key informants I selected permitted me to follow them and observe the public and private aspects of their everyday life. I collected information through different sources: one-to-one semi structured interviews as well as recordings of random conversations and public events, analyses of written documentation and newspapers, field-notes, photographs as well as published images and symbols which are important aspects of space and the construction of meaning in society (Heller et al. 2018). The semi structured interviews, which last approximately one hour each, have the objective of obtaining important information on the economic activity in Empuriabrava as well as the personal life of the participants and their mobility trajectory. Also, this has provided me with a wide range of cultural information about the resort and detailed accounts of the life trajectories and the daily language practices of people who live in this community.

I maintained a diary where I took notes and stored information about the tourist resort throughout the periods of my fieldwork. An important step has been to keep records of detailed field-notes and bring them into the analysis together with the institutional documents, information booklets, newspapers and pictures collected. This method of data triangulation provided a general background of this space, as well as of its origins and the ideologies shared by its inhabitants. In this sense, it helped me to understand which particular language practices are carried out in different spaces of social activity, such as places of employment (i.e. tourist shops, real-estate agencies, language magazines, bars and restaurants) and in the different associations and fund raising clubs. Also, statistical and quantitative demographic data have been taken into account to provide a general picture of the mobile people that lived in Empuriabrava in 2014 and 2015 (That is when the present research took place).

Regarding the personal data collected, every piece of information obtained from the testimony of people and their life trajectories as well as my direct observations have been treated with the required care in order to maintain the anonymity of the participants in the study and to avoid any kind of legal or psychological repercussion. For this purpose, the totality of the informants signed a document granting permission to use their contribution to the study. The information and data obtained from the fieldwork and the interviews is stored in the facilities and digital archives of the CIEN group, and because of the 2018 law about data protection, the data will not be available for further investigation. More important, the participation of people in this study has been voluntary and the collection of data has been transparent at all stages of the investigation. I have paid special attention to the use and treatment of the data that I obtained from the two periods of fieldwork and whenever I considered that some information could have been too personal (or if the informants expressed the will to keep the information secret) the data was erased and excluded from the study.

4.3 A reflexive perspective

“A qualitative perspective rejects the idea that a researcher can be a completely neutral collector of information about the social world” (Manson 2002: 52). The first step of the researcher who undertakes this stance is to understand which position to take within the field of study.

When I started the study in Empuraibrava I was 28, so people identified me as a white

person of a relatively young age who was in Empuriabrava for unknown reasons – but because of my nationality and the way I speak Spanish, many inhabitants were surprised when they discovered me to be Italian. At the beginning, I was perceived as Spanish by many foreign people, who later on confessed to me that they thought me to be a waiter or a chef working in some restaurant nearby. I was associated directly with the working community more than tourism because of my young age, my knowledge of the national language (Spanish) and also because I arrived in the community in a time when not many tourists are seen around.

In order not to compromise the research, I presented myself to the residents as a researcher of the Universitat Autònoma of Barcelona who was there to conduct an investigation about tourism. In this sense, participants did not feel at the center of attention and they felt comfortable and spoke freely and trustfully about the aspects of the study I was really interested in, namely, structuration and inequality between residents. Some participants belonging to the network of people who are in the community looking for better life chances confessed it was easier for them to talk and get to know me because as a foreigner I shared (an imagined) set of life experiences with them, such as: living in another country, speaking a foreign language every day, and having (or at least displaying) a limited economic power with respect to the people who are in the locality for leisure. Establishing a connection did not turn out as easy with the people who belong to the elite networks of the community. One of the main factors was my inability to live in the expensive area of Empuriabrava, which led the residents to think I was not part of the elite which is concentrated in the wealthy neighborhoods close to the canals. For this reason, I have mainly been in contact with people that were in Empuriabrava to work in the service sector of the community –the sector of the economy that starts to be productive around the end of April and that reaches its peak in August – when massive arrivals of tourists take over the community. Moreover, I think that somehow the choice of focusing the first part of the fieldwork in tracking the residents who are in the community for work, and to look at the underground economy of the community, made it difficult (for me) to switch to the investigation of the inhabitants that are in Empuriabrava for leisure. It could be argued that, this is due to the image I projected by following informants of certain nationalities during the first period of the ethnography. In a similar way, it was difficult for Zbinden (2007) and Yago (2010) to obtain information from the people who were in the

community for work and better life chances, because spending time with people from Germany and England made them identifiable with members of the wealthy networks of the community. This piece of information, among others, points out the importance of the national categories in shaping the ideologies and image towards certain inhabitants. Since the beginning of the investigation I realized the importance of these categories of practice (Bourdieu 1991; See chapter 2) that were constantly used during conversation by the residents.

4.4 The key informants

The inhabitants selected as key informants during the ethnography helped me to understand the different social dynamics that take place in the tourist community. During my permanence in Empuriabrava I got to know many people who have been precious informants, however it has been complicated to convince some of them to see and focus on the different aspects of their everyday life. I had been able to follow and observe fourteen inhabitants of the tourist community, in their everyday life public and private activities. In this section I am providing information about the different informants, their life trajectories and lifestyle in the community. All people mentioned in the investigation, with the exception of the name of the public administration officer, will always appear under pseudonyms.

Table 4.1 – Participants

Name	Gender	Age	Country of origin	Languages
Abdel	Male	24	Moroccan	Arabic Moroccan, Classic Arabic, Tamazight, Spanish, Catalan, English
Amin	Male	33	Senegal	Wolof, French, Spanish, English, Swedish
Antoine	Male	41	French	French, Spanish, Catalan
Cair	Male	43	Cuban	Spanish, English, French
Carlos	Male	63	Spanish-Argentinian	Spanish, French, Catalan
Clara	Female	57	Spanish	Spanish, Catalan, French,

				German
Craig	Male	27	German	German, English
Lory	Female	30	French	French, Spanish
Marta	Female	56	Spanish	Spanish, Catalan, French
May	Female	74	English	English
Miguel	Male	40	Spanish	Spanish, Catalan
Moja	Male	38	Moroccan	Arabic Moroccan, Spanish
Joaquin	Male	54	Spanish Catalan	Catalan, Spanish, French, English
Victor	Male	25	Spanish	Spanish, Catalan, English, French

Table 4.1 shows the key informants for the ethnography. Detailed information about the participants in the study is now presented, along with the contextualization of how it was possible to get to know and convince them to participate in my research.

Abdel

When I arrived in Empuriabrava I needed a vehicle to travel around the resort because public service transport was insufficient. I decided to buy a motorbike and to purchase it from a person living in Empuriabrava to get to know a first inhabitant of the community. I searched the internet and I found what I was looking for, and I made a call to meet with the seller.

Abdel is a 24 year old Moroccan male (from Riff) who arrived in Empuriabrava when he was 14 because his father was working in the community as a construction worker. They had not got much money so he could not afford to pay the cost of his education, so he did not finish school in Catalonia, and when he reached the legal age he started to work. First he helped his father in the construction sector and then he found a job in an important hotel of the community as an assistant chef. Nevertheless, he has to work without a regular contract during some periods of the year. He lives with his brother and father in an apartment in Delta Muga (where rents are cheaper) one of the most

problematic areas of the community. Abdel has been useful for the ethnography because through him I have been able to make contact with the network of people from Morocco, which is one of the growing networks of the community. He told me about the general problems in Empuriabrava and he gave me precious information about the underground economy of the community (particularly information about drug dealing) in which he was involved until a few years ago (he quit for personal reasons that I prefer not to explain). Furthermore, he introduced me to many people of the resort (Empuriabrava is a little community and almost everybody knows each other, or at least it is like this until the beginning of the tourist season). He sometimes goes to the mosque in Empuriabrava to pray even though he is not a strong believer. In fact, he likes to drink and smoke, (as other young Moroccans confessed to me) although he observes Ramadan because of his father and social pressure from the rest of Muslim community.

Amin

I met Amin during the first week of fieldwork, while he was driving his bike around the community looking for work opportunities. We said hello to each other and we started speaking naturally. He did not know many people in Empuriabrava so he dedicated a lot of time to me and he was enthusiastic to participate in the study.

Amin is a 33 year old male from Senegal. He is from a town close to Dakar (Senegal), and he arrived to Madrid (Spain) in 2006 because his family enrolled him in a project set up by Senegal and the Spanish government. He arrived in Madrid and people provided him with documents. He had to take a few weeks of Spanish classes but it was not there that he learned the language. He did not stay in Madrid for a long time. He moved all around Spain changing jobs, but mainly working in constructions. He stayed in Valladolid for a few years and he joined the Red Cross. In 2012 he went to Sweden and he came back in 2014 to Empuriabrava with five thousand euros looking for a better job. He arrived in Empuriabrava in January and he found a job as part-time janitor in one of the buildings of the Delta Muga, and he was also asked to watch over the apartments that remain empty during the low season.

He was very helpful for the study because he introduced me to a greater range of people

from the developing world living in Empuriabrava (some of them from Senegal but many more from other nationalities, such as Moroccans and Algerians). Thanks to being around Amin while he was on the job, I could observe some of the problematic neighbors and get to know the semi-legal situations that were happening there (i.e. people who squat empty residences). Amin decided to leave Empuriabrava because his part-time job did not pay enough to make a living. Moreover, Amin confessed he felt internal conflicts with his job. Amin's chief, a Catalan person in his 50s, asked him to control and follow the moves of some neighbors he considered to be criminals (as these persons already squatted houses and apartments in the community). Amin did not share his chief's point of view. He considered that these people were living in extreme situations and that they were squatting because they were living on the margins of society. He felt close to them and he felt unable to do what his employer wanted him to. For this reason, he moved to Strasburg in 2015.

Antoine

I met Antoine during the second period of fieldwork in which I wanted to collect data about people who are in the community for leisure, belonging to the networks of French, British and German (the elite of the community) people that live in Empuriabrava. I had been introduced to Antoine by another person of Northern European origin who was participating in my study, Craig.

Antoine is 41 years old, a man from the North of France, his father and mother were important national athletes and he grew up and lived in a wealthy environment. When his family retired they dedicated themselves to the catering business and they opened several restaurants. He had a restaurant before somewhere close to Girona, and another one close to Santa Margerita but he sold them both because he got tired of working after a problem he had had with his wife (who divorced him and then went to live to Switzerland with their son of 14 in 2010). He lives in an expensive area of Empuriabrava and he owns two of the four apartments of the shared property he lives in (the other two belong to French people that live in France and come only for the summer and during some weekends). He started to use cocaine when he was 35 and more significantly, in Empuriabrava, along with using prostitution services and leading a night lifestyle (as many people of the French network do). Antoine was useful because

through him I could get to know the people that form part of the French network of the community (among which there are people of other nationalities, for instance Swiss and Belgians that speak French but that are not French). Moreover, I could directly see the type of activity people with higher economic power pursue in this community (such as night clubs, drugs, consumption of prostitution and gambling). I could confirm that in the community there are people who can afford to spend a huge quantity of money in leisure activities (I saw Antoine spend more than 1400 euros in one night of party with his friends).

Cair

I met Cair during the second period of ethnographic fieldwork. I got to know him because he was a regular client at one of the bars in Empuriabrava, where residents of different nationalities, who are in the community for work, meet in their free time.

Cair is a 43 year old man from Cuba who lives in Empuriabrava close to Delta Muga (where rents are cheap). Back in Cuba he was a teacher of Architecture in the University of Habana. Before arriving to Empuriabrava, he travelled to Italy in 2006 and he stayed with some friends. Because of problems with the language and the impossibility of finding a job, he moved to Catalonia in 2008 where he found a job in a restaurant close to Empuriabrava.

He lives in Empuriabrava but he works in a restaurant close to Sant Pere Pescador (a town close to Castelló d'Empúries). He stays in the community because of the cheaper rent and the possibility of meeting other working people with whom he likes sharing his free time. In addition, he told me that he was homosexual and that there are few clubs which are LGTB friendly in the community, although he did not build his frequentation on these networks and he preferred to spend his time with his friends in other clubs and bars of Empuriabrava.

He has been relevant to my investigation because he introduced me to his network of people from South America, Spain and Morocco (among others), and he has helped me to understand the kind of tourism that was present in the community because of his contacts in the catering and food service.

Carlos

I met Carlos during the second period of my fieldwork and I had been introduced to him by the roommate with whom I shared the house in Empuriabrava.

Carlos is a 63 year old male born in Barcelona but who moved to Buenos Aires with his family when he was three years old. He came back to Spain in 1999 and since then he has lived in Empuriabrava where he has worked in a real estate agency business for many years.

He used to live in a nice area close the canals, but ever since he divorced in 2009 he lives close to a problematic area of the community (Delta Muga). His ex-wife is the owner of an important real estate agency in the community.

Carlos has been useful to understand how real estate agencies work in the community of Empuriabrava and what changes the type of seasonal tourism brings. Apart from that, he pointed out the most common problem that exists among mobile people and agencies involved in this kind of business. He showed me the most important administrative problems of the community and he traced the changes in mobile people and waves of tourism the community experienced during the last fifteen years.

Clara

I met Clara in the tourist resort during the first period of fieldwork. She was one of the first people I got to know in the marina. She was working in one of the main French bars of the community, when she said to me she detected I was Italian and she asked me if I had arrived in the community to work in the Italian restaurant that is close to the seafront.

Clara is a 57 year old female from Barcelona. She works in a French bar of Empuriabrava, even if depending on the period of the year she does not have a regular contract. She arrived in Empuriabrava in 1977 when she was 18 and since then she has lived in this tourist resort on Costa Brava. She was very useful because she provided information about the historical development of the resort along with the movement of

people and the successive waves of migration that took place in this community. She was divorced and her ex-husband died in 2010. She was living with her son until he went to France because there were no job opportunities in Empuriabrava and for this reason she moved and now was living with a retired person. Periodically, she cooks and cleans the houses of retired people from Spain, Germany, and France, when these people have no relatives to look after them. Clara helped me to understand and to get to know the lifestyle of many people who decided to spend their retirement in Empuriabrava. As a matter of fact, during the low season in Empuriabrava there were a lot of retired people who decided to live there because of the cheap rent (or because they own a property) and the good weather. Furthermore, she told me many facts, and curious things that happened in Empuriabrava, some of which left me speechless (She confirmed she personally met Aribert Heim, better known as the butcher of Mauthausen, a Nazi officer who lived hidden in the resort since its construction, along with other old Nazis).

Craig

I was introduced to Craig by Victor, one of the important participants who I met during the first period of fieldwork. Victor was contracted by Craig to paint his apartment, and at that moment I was actively observing and following Victor in his everyday life.

Craig is a 27 year old from Stuttgart; he has been living in Empuriabrava permanently since 2012 because of his father's health condition. Craig lives in Empuriabrava taking care of him; Craig's father has a high pension and he also has savings, however he is an alcoholic and the alcoholism caused him many health problems. Before coming to the community, Craig lived in Germany until 2010, and then he moved to Badalona, where his father owns another apartment. However, he moved to Empuriabrava when his father's health condition got worse. Craig likes Empuriabrava because of the weather and the fact that people speak German (He is learning Spanish but he does not really speak it, nor Catalan). Nevertheless, he did not really build a network of German friends because people in Empuriabrava are old and because he is homosexual and he prefers to hide this fact from the people of the community (It is a little community and people like to gossip and he does not like it). For this reason, when he is not helping his father he is normally spending his time in Girona. He has a Catalan boyfriend who lives in Girona,

where he goes at weekends. He finished a bachelor degree in Architecture and sometimes he works from home with his computer for a company of a friend which is located in Germany. He was helpful to look at the network of German speaking people that live in the community and close to Empuriabrava (In Rosas and the coastal towns nearby) for the purposes of leisure. Craig gave me the opportunity of observing the everyday life of the people who are in the community for leisure and who own enough economic capital to live without working on a daily basis. Craig and his father own two properties in Empuriabrava in the wealthy area of Alberes, where the network of German investors own some economic activities (Bakery, bar, restaurant and supermarket) and consequently employees speak German and the place is shaped according to the tastes of the German community (In this supermarket you can find original German products, and restaurants only serve authentic German meals). They also own an apartment in Barcelona and another one in Badalona. In addition, Craig introduced me to his network of international people. Some of them were related to consumption and dealing of drugs (Things he likes to do in his free time because in Empuriabrava he acknowledges that he gets bored).

Lory

I got to know Lory through Antoine, who introduced me to her one day when we were in the French restaurant close to where I lived.

Lory is a 30 year old female who has been living in Empuriabrava since 2008. She came to Empuriabrava because her father decided to move to the community in 2006, when he got divorced from his wife. Also, her father had legal problems back in Marseille and he came to Empuriabrava where he invested in some economic activities (For reasons of data protection I will not say which economic activities, or describe the legal problems he had). Lory helped me to better understand the French networks of the community, providing the perspective of a person of a northern European background who is in the community for better life chances. She was helpful in understanding many of the dynamics and problems that take place in the community, and she provided a lot of information about the underground economy of Empuriabrava (such as drugs and prostitution). During the participant observation she provided a lot of confidential information about the people involved in those activities however she openly denied

mentioning this information during the recording of her personal interview.

Marta

I met her during the first part of my ethnographic fieldwork, but I got to know her better in the second part when I started to observe the French bars and other economic spaces of the community.

Marta is a 56 year old woman from Castelló d'Empúries who moved to Empuriabrava with her family shortly after she was born. She can be considered a local but her family hails from Extremadura. She explained to me the difficulties of local people who have to interact and live in a community that comprises a high degree of mobile people from all around the world that speak a considerable variety of languages. She made me understand how dynamics of socialization work in Empuriabrava among the mobile people of different nationalities. As she speaks German, French, Spanish and Catalan fluently, she was introduced into many networks and particularly the French, the Spanish and Catalan ones. She lives in a nice and quiet area of Empuriabrava close to Gran Reserva and she works mainly during the tourist season as a chef in one of the restaurants of the community. When she can she undertakes other jobs during the lower season. This is due to the economic crisis that brought changes in the kind of tourism as well as the decrease in its intensity. She was living with her daughter until her daughter moved to Dubai with her boyfriend who works as a skydiving instructor.

May

During the second period of fieldwork, my housemate acquired a beautiful Samoyed dog. I took long walks with the Samoyed dog around the different neighbourhoods of the community to not generate suspicion (A huge area of Empuriabrava is only residential without any bars or shops – especially the wealthier zone - and a person who walks around for no reason is suspicious as in Empuriabrava there are many thefts) and to meet new people in the community. And this strategy worked better than expected. The first day I walked the dog I met many different people belonging to the French, German and British network and especially I met May and her husband Edward.

I recorded the semi structured interview only with May, but I am going to present them here as a couple. May and Edward are an elderly married couple who have been living in Empuriabrava since 2006. May is 76 years old and her husband is 81. They are both from a town south-east of Canterbury. In Empuriabrava they own and live in a nice villa close to a quiet area of the community inhabited by people from France, Germany, Catalonia and Great Britain, most of whom use the house as a second residence.

When they arrived to Catalonia the first time they did not know about the Catalan language and neither of them spoke Spanish or Catalan, however they could recognize a few words, especially the name of food and dishes (because of the restaurant and supermarket). Before coming to Spain they had been in France and Italy but only for tourism. They are both retired and they live out of their savings and pensions. Their pensions are not excessively high but they gain economic power because of the favorable exchange rate of the Pound to the Euro. Edward was a rally driver and he had a job that allowed May to stay home and not to work.

Thanks to May and Edward, I got to know the British network as May had been in charge of the magazine of “The British Society of Catalonia Bay of Roses” for several years and she was very helpful to understand how the English speaking network cooperate and what their problems and ideologies are. They came to Empuriabrava to enjoy their retirement and the good weather and they live in the resort all year long.

Miguel

I met Miguel during the first period of fieldwork when I was looking for accommodation in Empuriabrava.

Miguel is a 40 year old man from Barcelona. He arrived in Empuriabrava in 2006 when he purchased a second home apartment. He decided to buy the flat because at the time he had a good job. Miguel did not live all year long in Empuriabrava but he was using the house he owned in the community as a second residence for the summer. However, he lost his job in 2009 because of the economic crisis. He found a temporary occupation and rented the apartment in Empruiabrava. However, in 2013, the French person who was renting decided to move out, and he did not find anyone interested in renting the apartment. For this reason, he left his temporary job and the accommodation he was

renting in Barcelona and he decided to move to live in Empuriabrava with the intention of finding a job in the service sector of the community. Miguel showed me the kind of activities a person that owns a second residence and comes for leisure does in the community, the networks he built and the relationships with the people of different nationalities that live in the resort. However, Miguel was not able to find a stable occupation and in 2015 because of economic problems he sold the property to a real estate agency of the community and moved back to Barcelona.

Moja

I was introduced to Moja by Abdel during the first period of fieldwork in the community.

Moja is 38 years old and he is from Casablanca. He has been living in Empuriabrava since 1997. He came directly to Empuriabrava where there were a lot of job opportunities in construction, and he worked as a painter for many years. Since the economic crisis of 2007- 2008, he does not have a stable job, as many other people in the community, and he lives in a squatted apartment in Santo Domingo, a building close to Delta Muga (which from the point of view of many residents is the worst building of Empuriabrava, as many apartments are squatted or abandoned by their owners). Moja let me observe the condition of people who live under the minimum wage. He introduced me to those residents who live in Empuriabrava without regular residency permits and have to recur to any kind of activity just to survive a year more in the community. For the purpose of the study he can be considered a person on the margins of social stratification. He helped me to understand who is to be considered socially excluded in this resort on Costa Brava.

Joaquin

I met Joaquin during the second period of ethnographic fieldwork in Empuriabrava and I got to know him because we saw each other quite often around the community while I was conducting my fieldwork.

Joaquin wanted to know all the different people who live in the community and one

morning, while I was writing down some observations about the previous day in a bar close to the Puigmal neighborhood, he approached me and he asked if I was writing a book.

Joaquin is 54 and he was born in Catalonia, in a little town of the Alt Penedès (The Catalan area close to Girona). He has been living in a non-tourist area of Empuriabrava since 2006, and he works as publicist and as consultant for some real estate agencies of the community. His participation was particularly important to grasp the kind of technical problem the administration of the municipality faced during the year (such as the coastal law); in fact, Joaquin has a deep knowledge of bureaucracy and laws, as before of being a publicist and a legal consultant he was a lawyer. Finally, he told me about the various problems related with tourism and the service based economy of the community.

Victor

I was introduced to Victor by Miguel during the first period of permanence in the tourist resort. They knew each other because they used to party together; in fact, they both consumed cocaine, speed and marijuana. Victor knows almost everybody in the community as he is originally from Empuriabrava; for this reason, he was particularly important in the understanding of how people organize different spaces and activities in this community.

Victor is a 24-year-old who was born in Figueres but whose family is from Extremadura, and even if he speaks Catalan he prefers to speak Spanish. He did not finish the school and when he was sixteen he started to work to help his mother because they had economic problems, as his mother's job was not enough to maintain both of them. He has worked as a waiter in many restaurants of the community but he does not have a stable job. When he cannot find work opportunities in Empuriabrava he travels to France and looks for a job close to Perpignan where he normally finds some jobs. Because of the lack of work, he sometimes had to sell drugs or to work irregularly (without contract or insurance) for some private businesses of the resort. When I met him Victor was living with his girlfriend (Consuelo) in Gran reserve (they moved in together in 2011 when they found a nice and affordable apartment), in a nice area close to the seafront. However, because of the seasonality of work, they often have problems paying the rent and they live under the minimum wage.

Victor was an important key informant during my permanence in Empuriabrava, Thanks to him I was able to reach the full network of Spanish people that live in the community as well as many other people that live in Empuriabrava and who belong to the different networks. Moreover, he introduced me to many residents who helped me to reach participants important for my study.

Having considered the design of the research, the way the data is constructed, the reflexive perspective from which I address this study and the key information provided about the participants, the following section deals with the first research question.

Chapter 5

Mobility, language and spaces

The present chapter takes up the various ways in which social inequality in the community of Empuriabrava is (re)produced through the discourse and multilingual practices of the different residents. Social structuration (Bourdieu 1991; Giddens 1984; Grusky 2008; Lizardo 2010) in this community is realised through everyday long-term interactions and the multilingual language practices among the inhabitants. Social structure is the result of the organization of social groups defined relationally in social space by their possession and utilization of different social, cultural, linguistic, and economic capital (Bourdieu 1991). Social inequality is not the mere result of socio-economic differences (Grusky 2008), and language and multilingualism play a key role in the recreation of diverse spaces (Bourdieu 1984; Collins and Slembrouck 2005) and social boundaries (Barth 1998) which are largely defined by language practices and national categories that are present in this residential marina.

The motivation for residing in that particular tourist community at a particular time in 2014-2016 is largely the result of individual mobility trajectories, life histories and particular choices. The base of the social structuring process in Empuriabrava is people's national provenance which accounts, in important ways, for how residents can situate themselves, but also for the way persons in Empuriabrava are situated by others. The different discourses about language practice and multilingualism¹ shape the practical categories (Bourdieu 1991) people use to construct and reproduce diverse (inhabitable and ascriptive) identities in this community (Blommaert 2005).

My first research question addresses how national and cultural origins together with the multilingual language practices that are adopted by different groups in different spaces have become the source of social differentiation and categorization as understood by those who live in the community of Empuriabrava.

¹ In Empuriabrava there are people who adopt diverse language practices and forms of multilingualism and it is common in the community for people to talk about their own language practices with other people, as language and multilingualism are at the centre of their everyday life.

The first section, *Mobility, language and representation in Empuriabrava*, looks at how people in Empuriabrava define and represent the general categories through which they shape their everyday discourses and practices; and how they connect these categories to the different residents who live in the community. The second section, *Language practices of the different residents*, looks at the way language and multilingual practices in the everyday life of people have gained social meaning, indexing one's social standing in the community. These languages practices together with a person's motivation for mobility and their national and cultural provenance contribute to how these people inhabit the diverse spaces and participate in the social activities of the marina. The third section, *Spaces of distribution and difference*, looks at another kind of evidence which is the appropriation of physical spaces in the community that are connected with various sorts of leisure and work activities in which the inhabitants of Empuriabrava are embedded. The different spaces of the community are connected by people to determined discourse and social practices; and the different meanings associated with the spaces of the community are directly linked to the activities of different residents and national networks.

5.1 Mobility, language and representation in Empuriabrava

In the theoretical chapter of this dissertation I discussed how one of the more recent paradigms in the social sciences is the new mobility paradigm (Urry 2001) that encompasses the different mobilities of goods, people, symbolic capitals and information among the societies of the contemporary world. This paradigm looks at movements and the forces that direct, constrain and are (re)produced by those movements and applied to social analysis it highlights the fact that that contemporary societies are fluid (Bauman 1998) and ongoing ever-changing human constructions carved out by the total sum of human actions, beliefs and desires. This contrasts with the notion of communities as stable entities where mobility is transitory and contextually unimportant (Sheller and Urry 2006). The paradigm highlights that social networks are constructed by international citizens, wh come together according to their language and socio-economic backgrounds in complex and different spaces of linguistic and economic activities.

After fifty years from its foundation different kinds of people live in Empuriabrava and the effects of their mobilities, life trajectories and multilingual practices have recreated a polymorphic society which needs to be critically analyzed from different points of view to understand all its shades and complexities.

When I first arrived in Empuriabrava I immediately noticed the high degree of diversity in symbolic capitals (Bourdieu 1991) that the locality displayed. At first glance the community seemed to be an unspecified entity that embodied the polymorphic nature of its resident population. Everything in the community was saturated with images of flags of the different European countries and the different economic activities of the locality were advertising their services in the various languages (but mainly: English, German, French, Spanish and Catalan) used to attend the different language networks of the community.

In Empuriabrava there are residents from all around the world. For some people the high degree of symbolic capitals (Bourdieu 1991) and diversity of the residential marina is a pride, while other people are less enthusiastic and describe it as a problem. For example, my informant, Lory, highlighted the high degree of hyper diversity connected with the transnational aspect of this locality, pointing out the different nationalities of all the people that were present in the bar at the moment we were having her semi-interview; in her own words Empuriabrava is:

Internacional totalmente. Tiene todas las religiones, hay [personas] de todos los países. Por ejemplo, ahora yo soy francés, tú italiano y estamos en un bar de español y hay un marroquí, un rumano y un paquistaní [...] Él es catalán o no, español del sur. Ella es rumana, ella de república dominicana y él es holandés. Yo soy francesa y él tiene pinta de ser de Bolivia o por allí y la chica que nos sirve es de Congo.

Totally international. It has all the religions, and there are [people] from every country. For example, now I am French, you are Italian and we are in a Spanish bar and there is a Moroccan, a Romanian and a Pakistani [...] He is Catalan or not, from Southern Spain. She is Romanian, she is from Dominican Republic and he is Dutch. I am French and he looks like he is Bolivian, or from there and the girl that waits on us is from Congo.

(Lory 27/05/2015)

Lory gives an enthusiastic representation of the symbolic diversity of the community and to do so in her discourse she opts for national categories to highlight the great

variety of symbolic capitals (Bourdieu 1991) associated with the different people. In their representation and discourses residents use national concepts as features that enclose the diverse sets of meaning associated with people's different mobilities, life trajectories, and spaces. In this example Lory classifies the bar as Spanish, this national notion colloquially associated with this particular place makes reference to the intrinsic character of the bar as a space of leisure for working class people, which is typically owned by a local, in which people interact using Spanish but which is also a multilingual space where people of different provenance meet.

Another informant, Joaquin, in similar words plays on the concept of nationality to highlight the transnational character of the community, remarking that Empuriabrava is a tourist community where “*hoy en día tenemos más de 75 nacionalidades distintas / nowadays we have more than 75 different nationalities*” (Joaquin 21/05/2015).

However, this high degree of diversity is not considered as a pride and a positive value by all the inhabitants. During his semi-structured interview, Victor, expressed some of the problems connected with the mobility of migrants who arrived in Empuriabrava for work and better life opportunities. I asked Victor how the community had changed in the past years, and what he saw the problems to be from his point of view; he replied that one of the main problems the community has nowadays is uncontrolled migration. From his perspective migrants are identified exclusively as the people who arrive in Empuriabrava from the developing countries, looking for better life chances, but who ended up generating problems, as due to the lack of work these people dedicate themselves to illegal activities and to the underground economy. In his own words:

Yo diría que Empuriabrava ha cambiado en mal. Ha crecido demasiado la población. Hay demasiados, gente de fuera que están sin trabajo, que están malviviendo, como quién dice, por aquí. Y aquí es un pueblo que todo el mundo se busca la vida. Y en los últimos años, pues, en vez de- en vez de haber más gente trabajadora se ve más gente buscavida. ¿Que ha cambiado?, yo creo que ha cambiado a mal. A bien no ha ido nada, sabes? porque el trabajo ha bajado, la gente, más gente son ahora, gente de fuera del país.

I would say that Empuriabrava has changed in a bad way. The population has grown too much. There are too many, outsiders without a job. They are barely surviving, as people say around here. This is a town where everybody has to get by however they can. And in the last few years, well, instead of – instead of having many hard-working people here, more job seekers can be seen around. Has it changed? I believe it has changed for the worse. Nothing has gone well, you know? because the

amount of available work has decreased, the people, more people are now, people from outside of the country.

(Victor 04/03/2015)

The ideas which shape the imagined representation of certain networks is based on the association of specific categories, in this case the immigrants, who are represented as outsiders, with concrete social and linguistic practices (Heller 2003). In Victor's representation of the community the outsiders are indexed as persons who bring problem in the community as many economic migrants reside in the community without a job. This is partially due to the negative economic moment of the local service economy; many shops and service activities reduced their businesses and the rate of employment of the community decreased, while the arrival of economic migrants increased. Unlike people who are in the community for leisure, these people cannot live without a job and they end up in precarious socio-economic situations.

Figure 5.1 – Your Europartner in Your Holidays



Picture by Massimiliano Sassi (April 2014)

Figure 5.1 shows two signs in Empuriabrava that represent quite well what are the specific Nationalities people in the community associate with leisure and tourism, such as: Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Switzerland, Holland, and more in general people of European origins who also includes to a less degree Italians, Catalans and Spaniards. The various flags represent the languages spoken by the people who seek information from this tourist agency. We can see the flags of the most important national networks who arrive in Empuriabrava for the summer months. Moreover, the sign on the right its quite explicit about the idea it wants to communicate. The catch

phrase “Your Europartner in your holidays” directly connects people of European nationalities to the leisure activities typically associated with tourism. Moreover, the sign “Happy Days” emphasises a positive representation towards these European networks. The signs advertise in English, which represents the recognized lingua franca of international mobility; and that is also the second language of the European Union.

Tourist communities such as Empuriabrava, which developed their economies almost exclusively in the service sector, depend, more than other societies, on the mobility of seasonal tourism. Consequently, they are subjected to problems when dynamics of a wider dimension affect the mobility and flux of visitors to the community; as it was the case of the world financial crisis which started in 2007-2008. Antoine, for example, gives a Eurocentric representation of the marina, describing the community as directly affected by the socio-economic policies which concern the European Union. In this example he also talks about the flux of Russian tourism which ceased to arrive in the community because of the tension due to the Ukrainian crisis which started in 2013:

Empuriabrava, como te he dicho, es como si fuera la imagen de una pequeña Europa, con tantas extensiones viniendo de Europa. Me acuerdo que cuando fue la crisis alemana vendían mucho los Alemanes (sus propiedades), los Rusos también que habían llegado se fueron.

Empuriabrava, as I told you, is as if it were the image of a little Europe, with a lot of extension coming from Europe. I remember that when there was the German crisis German people sold a lot (their properties), the Russians who arrived went away as well.

(Antoine 30/04/2015)

This Eurocentric perspective, which permeates the aesthetic as well as the public discourse of this community, highlights that some national networks are identified with social wealth and prestige, indirectly designating people of other national origins to a subordinate position. This generates the two main polarities in the construction of the different identities (Blommaert 2005) connected with mobility and multilingualism in the community. On the one hand, people of Northern European origin are generally identified in public discourse as the tourists of the community, or as residents who can live in the marina without working. On the other hand, people who belong to other nationalities are implicitly associated with the workforce or depicted as people who are

looking for better life chances in the service sector linked directly with the tourist economy.

In the social representations of the residents of Empuriabrava mobility and multiculturalism, for better or worse, have become an inherent feature of this community. Nationally based categories, which are connected to different mobilities and practices, assume an important representative dimension in this tourist community in connection also to the different languages and multilingual practices which serve to index the practical categories for social representation (Bourdieu 1991). The social practices and symbolic representation which take place in this tourist community are due to the impact of tourism and mobility on our contemporary societies:

Tourism presents itself as a means to navigate the new economy in ways which allow for the commodification of culture, identity and language, on the one hand, and the exploitation of multilingual communication skills, on the other. Exactly how this happens is different from one case to another, depending for example, on the nature and degree of economic crisis, access to resources of interested actors, the extent of existing tourism infrastructure or specific local sociohistorical conditions. What they have in common is the fact that this new field of practice produces specific configurations of the interrelation between the symbolic and the economic (Heller et al. 2014: 563).

This means that in this tourist community, the different languages, which ends to representing the commodifiable elements² of the tourist based service sector, serve to shape focal aspects of the local economy. The diverse value associated with the different languages and forms of multilingualism in the community recreate power asymmetries which have a direct effect on the everyday life of the inhabitants.

5.2 Language practices of the different residents

The previous section looked at how people's discourses and symbolic representation in this community broadly define their identities, providing a general idea that connects European nationalities to mobility for tourism and leisure. The diverse multilingual practices and mobilities of the residents give forms to their everyday life experience, but not all residents experience language and multilingual practices in the same way. Their

² With commodifiable elements I refer to those features who people make commercial and who allow them to access socio-economic resources.

diverse approach to language and language use can be linked to a different socio-economic position in the power structures of the community (Foucault 1994). To understand how residents who are in the community for leisure and for work use language and multilingual practices in their everyday life I rely on my participant observation, and I look at the semi-structured interviews of my informants and at the recorded conversations to provide first hand data on their language practices and the importance of multilingualism.

For example, during my stay in the community I was able to observe how people who are in Empuriabrava for leisure, do not seem to find the motivation nor the will to learn the local languages of the Catalan region and the Spanish nation-state. As many Northern Europeans who arrived in the community, Craig decided to come to live in Spain from Germany because of the better weather and the favorable economy. His family already owned two properties in Empuriabrava which they visited only in the summer. However, one important reason which convinced Craig and his father to move permanently to live in Empuriabrava is the extended German network of the community, where they can meet German speaking people and where they can find the same kind of persons they would find in Germany. Because of the socio-economic importance of their national network in this community Craig does not see it as necessary to learn Spanish. For this reason, they limit their social activities in the community to the monolingual spaces of the German network:

The weather, the climatic. In here we have a very good climate, the minimum we had last year was two *grads* and back in Germany was *minim* ten! The person is (*fast*) all the same, then I also speak German here in Empuria as in Germany it's the same. Here you do not need to speak Spanish.

(Craig 05/03/2015)

We can appreciate the strong German influence in Craig's English as it is the second language he learned at school, and because he mainly speaks German most of his time in the community: i.e. the words *grads* and *minim* which in German respectively mean "degrees" and "minimum" to say that back in Germany the temperature was minus ten degrees. Craig does not consider it necessary to learn Spanish or to improve his linguistic capital in order to live in Empuriabrava because he relies on a German speaking network that offers services and support to the German speaking population.

Moreover, most of the people in the community with whom he maintains contacts speak either German or English as second language, so they do not feel the need to seriously study languages.

This point of view is also expressed by Antoine who is from Normandy (France), who describes the way French people who are in the community for leisure almost exclusively have contact with people who belong to the French language network, and like the other Northern Europeans they prefer to consume services offered in their own language. When I asked Antoine how he usually spent his time in Empuriabrava he answered:

Si, la verdad que si. Suelo salir en Empuriabrava más que en otro lugares porque, ya sabes, qué perdí el carnet de conducir. Los lugares claro, es verdad que te reúnes mucho en los bares para mí, por ejemplo, franceses. Así te juntas con gente de tu país. Pero también me gusta este bar alemán que está aquí a lado en los Alberes. Te diré que saliendo de Empuriabrava, saliendo en Lloret de Mar, en Girona también donde vivía al principio; claro que me mezclaba más con Catalanes y todo, aquí no tanto, mucho menos (...) Le pasa a mucha gente aquí porque veo que hay gente que llevan muchos más años que yo aquí y – no supongo que sean tontos pero llevan tantos años solo frecuentando gente francesa no hablan casi español por eso. (...) Además aquí viven muchos jubilados franceses que no encuentran la motivación de aprender otros idiomas. Para pagar la cuenta siempre te entienden.

Yes, the truth is that yes, I usually go out in Empuriabrava more than in other places because, you know, I lost my driver's license. The places, of course, it is true that you get together in bars, in my case, for example in French bars. In this way, you get together with people from your country. But I also like this German bar that is close by, in "Los Alberes". I will tell you that, having been out in Empuriabrava, having been out in Lloret de Mar, in Girona, also where I lived at the very beginning; of course I mingled more with Catalans and everything, here not much, much less (...) This happens to a lot of people here, because I can see that there are people who have lived here for more years than me and - I don't believe they are stupid, but they have been so many years frequenting only French people that they cannot even speak Spanish because of that. (...) Plus, here, there are many French people who are retired living here who do not find any motivation to learn other languages. To pay the bill, people always understand.

(Antoine 30/04/2015)

We can observe how Antoine describes that in the community people meet in spaces which are conceptually defined by the kind of national networks that meet there and the

language that they speak. In his particular case he talks about French bars. People who are in Empuriabrava for leisure are advantaged by their economic condition as they do not need to work in order to live in the community and they rely on their pensions or savings. This privileged position permits them to live in the community without having the need to learn other languages. They can leap over the possible linguistic barriers thanks to their greater economic capabilities, because as expressed by Antoine “to pay the bill people always understand”. In this tourist community Northern European residents spend most of their time in places with people of their language and national networks and where they bond on the basis of their common languages, lifestyles and tastes (Bourdieu, 1984). For this reason, what Antoine and Craig illustrate is in fact a general tendency of the residents that inhabit the community for leisure. Also May and her husband, who are both retired and from England, did not find the motivation to learn Spanish or Catalan. In the semi-structured interview, May admits they did not find time to learn the local languages. Moreover, they had no idea of the Catalan language and movements for independence and the relationship with the Spanish state before of their arrival in the community, so they did not know which language to study:

We never ever came to Spain; we didn't even know that this was Catalonia. I mean that it's a different country that it wasn't really Spain [No, we didn't know.] We didn't know there was another language. I was going to start to learn ahmm the Spanish and XXX said “no don't learn Spanish learn Catalan!” But ahmm so in the end I didn't learn neither.

(May 24/03/2015)

People of European nationality generally rely on their important national networks which are fed by the tourist industry and people's cyclical mobility. For these reasons they find the services they may need in their own language and they are not pressured to learn the languages that they might need to participate in other social or political contexts.

In contrast, migrant people who arrive in Empuriabrava for work and better life chances have a different attitude towards the diverse multilingual practices of the community. For these people language is a fundamental resource as work opportunities are directly connected to linguistic capitals (Bourdieu 1991) and their multilingual skills.

For Abdel, who arrived from Morocco, languages are very important because from his point of view to master the language spoken by the European visitors, as well as the local languages, is necessary to find a job and to integrate in the different spaces of the community. In Empuriabrava he has the opportunity to be in contact with people that speak different languages every day. He speaks more than four languages fluently, he also speaks a little English and he would like to improve his linguistic capital:

Hablo Español, un poco de Catalan – lo entiendo todo pero me cuesta hablar – mi idioma natal es el “Rifeño”, conocido como berber, el árabe de Marruecos, el árabe de los libros, un poco de Francés y hasta allí llevo (...) lo que me gustaría es mejorar el Inglés y aprender Alemán.

I speak Spanish, a little bit of Catalan- I understand it but it is hard for me to speak- my mother tongue is “Rifeño”, known as the Berber, the Arabic of Morocco, the classic Arabic of the books, a bit French and that is it as much as I know (...) I would like to improve my English and to learn German.

(Abdel 04/02/2015)

He uses Spanish, Moroccan Arabic, Rifeño and French languages in his daily life. The language he uses less is Catalan, as people in Empuriabrava prefer to speak Spanish, and classic Arabic as it is a language he used exclusively at school back in Morocco. With his family he speaks Rifeño (also known as Berber), with other people of the Moroccan network he speaks Moroccan Arabic and with the other people he meets he usually speaks Spanish, which is the language he uses with his colleagues at work. Moreover, he often reverts to French at work, with customers and tourists who take their meals in the restaurant where he works.

Another instance where multilingual language practice indexes one’s social position in Empuriabrava is shown by Lory, who has French nationality, but who came to Empuriabrava to find work. As other migrants who came to the community for better life chances she highlights the importance of knowing the different languages and practicing multilingualism. However, when she arrived in Empuriabrava Lory found a job easily in one of the French bars. At her workplace she had the opportunity to learn the language she needed in order to fully participate in the life of this tourist community. She is motivated ~~in~~ to learn other languages, such as English and Catalan,

in order to increase her chances of work, but the languages she speaks in her everyday life are French and Spanish.

Hablo Francés, hablo español, entiendo un poco de Inglés y lo hablo un poquito, entiendo un poco de Catalán también. No me gusta hablarlo, lo siento, pero no lo sé hablar bien, lo entiendo y contesto en Castellano, que es lo mismo, me entienden (...) Mis amigos son de todos los países. Yo no soy racista no me importa, lo único es la persona y lo que hace, y tengo, lo que decía, amigos de todas partes. Pero los idiomas que hablo más aquí son Francés y Español

I speak French, I speak Spanish, I understand a little bit of English and I can speak it a bit. I understand a little bit of Catalan too. I do not like to speak in Catalan, I 'm sorry, but I cannot speak it well, I understand and answer back in Spanish, which is the same, they understand me (...) My friends come from all countries. I am not a racist, I do not care, the only thing is the person and what he or she does, and I have, as I was saying, friends from all over the world. But the languages I mostly speak here are French and Spanish.

(Lory 27/05/2015)

The people who arrive in the community for work and better life opportunities look at languages as important resources which become fundamental tools for their social integration in the different networks and spaces of socio-economic activity (Heller 2003). These mobile people understand the importance of languages for their complete social participation, as they generally tend to expand their language networks to access more socio-economic activities. Economic migrants of diverse nationalities who are in the community for work, value the local languages, Catalan and Spanish, and they end up learning them in their work sphere. These people are motivated because in their own experience languages are valuable capitals and commodifiable assets that give them more possibilities for work and better life chances (Heller et al. 2014).

The local Catalans and Spaniards who I met during my fieldwork in Empuriabrava and who helped me in this study know a great number of people of different nationalities who live in the community, and they give great value to language and multilingualism. Marta, who arrived from Extremadura shortly after she was born, speaks four languages fluently. She learned French and German through contact with the international tourists who arrived in the summer, and through working in the service sector.

Hablo español, catalán, francés y alemán. Pero yo me entiendo bien con todo el mundo. Cuando era pequeña, jovencita, trabajaba en un

supermercado y tal, me encontraba con todo tipo de nacionalidades. Que no es que solamente vinieran alemanes y franceses. Aquí al principio fue alemanes, suizos, holandeses y entonces siempre coges algo. Me llevo a entender bastante bien con la gente extranjera. Me han gustado siempre mucho los idiomas, lo que pasa es que no he podido estudiar más.

I speak Spanish, Catalan, French and German. But I get along with everybody. When I was little, younger, I worked in a supermarket and I met all nationalities. It was not only German and French people coming. At the beginning here it was the Germans, then the Swiss, the Dutch and so you always pick up somethings. I can understand well with foreign people; the only thing is that I could not study more.

(Marta 06/05/2015)

For these people languages are fundamental resources to live and to find work in the community. The local economy is almost exclusively grounded on tourist services, and language becomes an indispensable resource to be competitive for the few jobs available. Marta, like Antoine, points out that the languages of the Northern European networks maintain their privileged position also because people of European nationality who are in the community for leisure do not speak Spanish nor Catalan. In this sense tourism acts as an imperialist force (Nash 1989) that redefines the local disposition of power in the community:

Los idiomas importantes para vivir aquí son el español, catalán, francés y alemán. El francés y el alemán porque ellos no ponen interés en aprender el español. Porque llevan aquí años y claro, quieren que les hables en su idioma. Yo lo hago, no tengo obligación porque es mi país pero mira es así.

The most important languages to live here are Spanish, Catalan, French and German. French and German because the Germans and the French are not interested in learning Spanish. Since they have been here for so long, they want you to speak them in their own language. I do it, but it is not an obligation because it is my country, but hey, look, it is like this.

(Marta 06/05/2015)

The relation to language and multilingualism of local Catalans and Spaniards is similar to the one displayed by the economic migrants who arrived for work and better life chances, as their work possibilities are linked directly with tourism and multilingual practices.

Locals and economic migrants who are in the community for work tend to develop their networks based on their particular interests, work, nationality and languages. These people present more open and heterogeneous networks, as they interact with people of different nationalities, who speak a vast variety of languages and they have more contact with people of different socio-economic backgrounds because of their work and leisure activities. These mobile people normally speak their mother tongue and Spanish with other inhabitants in the community, but they generally learn to speak other European languages associated with socio-economic chances, such as: French, German, and English. Generally, people who are in Empuriabrava for work learned these languages from contact with tourists who arrive during the summer and through working in the service sector of the community. In contrast, people of European nationality who are in the community for leisure limit their social activities to their exclusive networks based on nationality and language which become the core of their social participation in the fragmented society of the community. The different lifestyles of the residents and their diverse language practices and multilingualism recreate well defined social realities which coexist in the same community but which are defined by their particular spaces of activities.

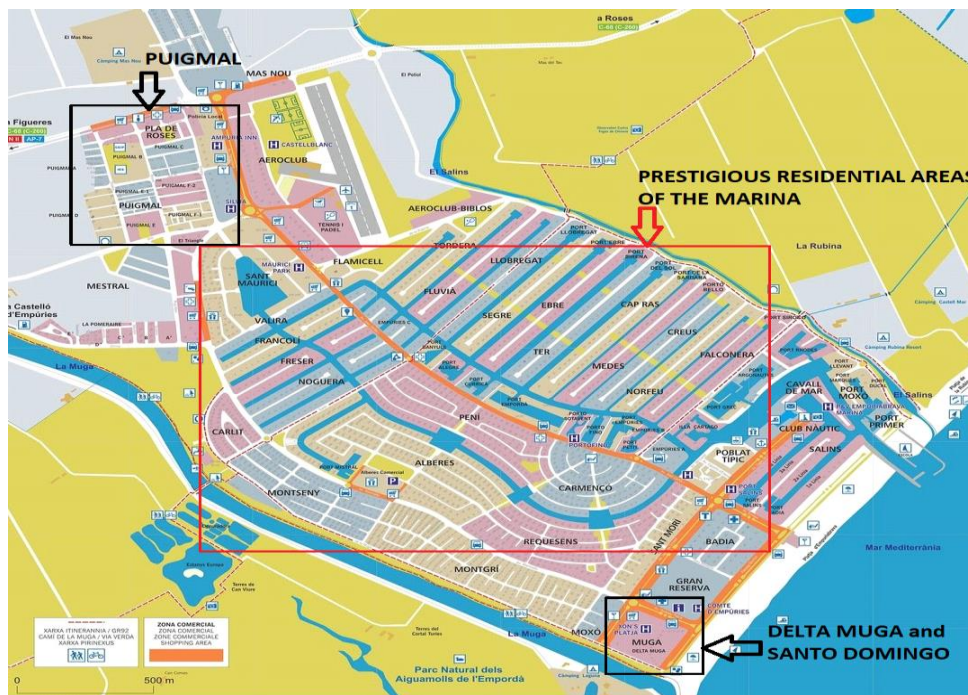
5.3 Spaces of distribution and difference

Empuriabrava was founded as a space for the elite. It offered an array of water sports and flying at the small airfield, as well as luxurious homes on the canals. It was inspired by the waterways of Venice in Italy where homeowners could navigate their yachts directly up to their villa door. With the arrival of mass tourism in the late eighties and the beginning of the nineties, which coincided with Spain's entry in the European Union, Empuriabrava attracted larger numbers of people, many arriving with package deals for shorter periods of time. Collins and Slembrouck (2005) focus on space in order to problematize it as a unit of analysis, to confront the notion of displacedness, and to better understand the conditions of language use. In our study of Empuriabrava we consider space and how it is made and remade on a daily basis as being constituted by reiterative social activities and long term practices as well as the discourses of the different inhabitants (Cresswell 2015; de Certeau 1984). People attribute to specific places their particular sense of space, which is the way they understand their world

(Cresswell 2010); and spaces in this community are places to which people associate their shared sense of space. Practices are understood as the improvisations of performances that encompass goals and interests of social actors; furthermore, practices are understood to be shaped both by actors' individual decisions and their unconscious attitudes (Giddens 1987; Bourdieu 1991).

Figure 5.2 below is a representation of the physical space that is the product of the different stages in the urban planning of Empuriabrava. The villas and canals are on the right side of the community map. On the left side of the map there are high-rise apartment buildings with one-family dwellings that are less luxurious than the homes in the canal areas. Empuriabrava is divided in two conceptually distinguishable zones. The residents who live in the community have many ways of talking about these two realities. The red square in figure 5.2 corresponds to the elite residential marina and it is called Empuriabrava or Empuria, which contrasts with the less prestigious areas indicated by black squares and arrows in figure 5.2 that inhabitants associate with the neighborhoods of Delta Muga, Santo Domingo and Puigmal. Residents describe these areas as ghettos and they often refer to them in derogatory ways; these areas of the marina conceptually define what the inhabitants called *Empuria-brava*.

Figure 5.2. Social Division in Empuriabrava



Source: Web.10/08/2018 <https://blog.costabrava-pals.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/carte-empuriabrava-j>
 Modified by Massimiliano Sassi.

Puigmal is the area close to the entrance to the marina. Here there are dwellings for residents with less economic resources, and around the area many shops and services have developed aimed at residents (i.e. four supermarkets, veterinarian, tobacco shop, bars, restaurants). Delta Muga and Santo Domingo are two residential areas close to the fulcrum of the local economy of service; most of the services and shops of the community, as well as the nightclubs and bars are located close to these neighborhoods which present higher buildings that reach the nineteenth floor. The apartments of these areas are aimed at residents and tourists with fewer economic resources. The two black squares in figure 5.2 delimit the areas that the inhabitants define as conflictive, and which are directly associated with the underground economy and the illegal activities (drugs and prostitution) of the marina.

The red square in figure 5.2 is the area the inhabitants identify with the prestigious properties and upper class lifestyle in the community. The majority of the residents and tourists who enjoy these properties on the canals are of Northern European origins. The shops, bars and restaurants are limited to the main road and the majority of the area is completely residential, and it is not easily accessible for someone who does not live in the area.

The different spaces in the tourist community are dynamically constructed through repeated practices over time, however, at first sight it is clearly distinguishable where elite property owners live and conduct their lives, or the areas designed for humbler tourists and residents. The inhabitants of both areas conduct different lifestyles that rarely blend. The areas of the canals are predominantly residential, and the socio-economic activities of Empuriabrava are concentrated close to the areas which are described as more problematic: the areas close the Arches, Delta Muga, and along the entrance of Empuriabrava and the main road that are accessible by car.

Joaquin, who is a 53 year old publicist who work in real estate agencies and who is a Catalan born resident of Empuriababrava, indicates that people who live in the areas of *Empurriabrava* are people who live in extreme socio-economic conditions. In Spanish the word *purria* can be translated as despicable people, so the conceptual construction *Em-purria-brava* plays on the association between specific areas of the community and determinate problematic residents, and their social activities. On many occasions, the situations and lifestyles of the residents of these less prestigious areas are described as

dramatic. People who live in this less prestigious area are generally people who are in the community looking for better life chances. More than two thousand persons from the developing world live in the Delta Muga buildings (See figure 5.2):

JOA: A ver, primero vamos a distinguir dos Empuriabrava

MAX: Aham

JOA: Desde...Por decir, por marca una línea física desde el restaurante Emporda hasta Rosas

MAX: Si

JOA: Sería Ampuriabrava

MAX: Qué es la área de todos los canales

JOA: Desde el restaurante Emporda hasta la Muga esto es lo que llamamos Em-purriabrava

MAX: Em-purria brava. La *purria* de Empuria no?

JOA: Ahh... Pero no no la utilizo como una expresión ni xenófoba ni despectiva...o sea te lo diré en términos de juerga. Los del resturant Emporda para Rosas sale de juerga y...se emborrachan. Los del restaurant Emporda hacía la Muga hasta que no están borrachos para ellos no empieza la juerga. Y es porque beben para olvidar, han venido a sobrevivir. En defensa propia.. ves auténticos dramas, sobre todo cuando has estado como yo trabajando en la inmobiliaria de alquiler. Ves auténticos dramas, acojonantes acojonantes.

JOA: Let's see, first we are going to distinguish two Empuriabravas.

MAX: Aham.

JOA: From... To say, to mark a physical line from the Emporda Restaurat to Rosas.

MAX: Yes.

JOA: It would be Ampuriabrava.

MAX: which is the area of all the canals.

JOA: From the Emporda Restaurant to the Muga this is what we call Empurribrava

MAX: Em-purria brava. The purria of Empuria right?

JOA: Ahh...But I don't don't use it as a xenophobic nor derogatory expression; in other words, I will tell you as a kind of joke. The people (who live) from restaurant Emporda towards Rosas go out to have fun and ... they get drunk. The people from restaurant Emporda towards the Muga don't start to have fun until they get drunk. And that is because they drink to forget, they have come to survive. In my own

defense... you see authentic dramas, especially when like me working in real-estate and renting. You see authentic dramas, incredible, incredible."

(Joaquin 21/05/2015)

The key ideas we would like to point out in this section are that space is inhabited by people who are in Empuriabrava for both work and leisure and these people share certain spaces but not others. Moreover, specific areas of the community are aimed at people of different nationalities, as well as different socio-economic extraction.

Antoine, who belongs to the French network of the community, lives in a nice area of Empuriabrava. He describes how his neighborhood and most of the people who live there are of European origin; these are the kind of people that inhabit the wealthy Empuriabrava:

Aquí hay todos franceses de(sde) que estoy aquí. Luego al otro lado hay catalanes, alemanes...Estos en frente que han entrado ahora (a vivir) creo que son de Bélgica, antes eran alemanes que han puesto en venta. Del otro lado hay catalanes y los de la esquina son franceses, hay de todo.

Here there is all French since I am here. Then to the other side there are Catalans, Germans...these in front who just arrived ~~in~~—I believe they are from Belgium, before they were Germans who put their house up for sale. On the other road there are Catalans and the one on the corner are French, there is a bit of everything.

(Antoine 30/04/2015)

This conformation of people's space in Empuriabrava defines different socio-economic realities which are associated with the diverse areas where there are residents that share similar socio-economic conditions, social activities and life styles. Tourists, second home owners, and residents who are in the community for leisure live in nice residential areas of the community which are distant from the social activities of *Em-purria-brava* where are the people who are in the community for work and better life chances.

Social construction of space is an important element for social structuration as "all agents are located in space in such a way that the closer to one another in [space and time] dimensions, the more they have in common; and the more remote they are from one another, the less they have in common" (Bourdieu 1998: 6). In this sense, the spaces

of Empuriabrava are defined by residents' discourses and common practices. Residents and spaces are in a reciprocal relation, as social meaning associated with the different spaces also influence the way the inhabitants of these areas are represented. Then, the spaces of the tourist community acquire social meanings which rely on the social practices and discourses of individuals and networks who share these areas and on their similar tastes and economic conditions (Bourdieu 1984).

May, who is from England and who arrived in Empuriabrava for her retirement, suggests that immigrants who are in Empuriabrava are concentrated in areas, which seem like ghettos; these areas coincide with the spatial representation offered by Joaquin, and comprehend the neighborhoods of Santo Domingo, Puigmal and Delta Muga.

MAY: Immigrants and people from Morocco are almost in ghettos.
The Muga... [the ahm]

MAX: [Santo Domingo]

MAY: Yes, also Puigmal. And there are very few in this area.

(May 21/05/2015)

Space in Empuriabrava is symbolically distinguished based on whether it is used for residential, licit or illicit economic activities. Furthermore, these facts are part of the community's shared knowledge. The spaces of convergence of vacationers and workers are defined by their daily life practices and different life trajectories. Not all residents are equally situated in terms of their living conditions and material wealth. By looking at space as we have done, we can observe which spaces in Empuriabrava are inhabited by whom and for what purposes. Also, where one is located in the socio-economic map of Empuriabrava implicitly suggests a certain type of life-style as well as one's expected daily practices and the occupation of expected spaces.

Taking into account the analysis of people's diverse trajectories of mobility and their multilingual practices in the (re)construction of space and social structure in the community, the following chapter seeks to provide an answer to the second research question.

Chapter 6

Nationality and representation

The second research question is centered on how social structuration and inequalities in Empuriabrava are constructed through people's discourse, lifestyles and mobility (Blommaert 2005; Bourdieu 1991). The diverse categories of practice used in everyday discourses also reflect the kind of ideologies behind the different representations of social reality (Silverstein 1998, 2001). A person's mobility trajectory intersects with the social representation offered by people's discourse associated with nationalities and lifestyles which become important aspects of people's conceptual organization.

In order to understand the second research question, I looked at the discourses and lifestyles of the inhabitants of the tourist community and at how the discourses that circulate in the community about people's mobility and their different nationality contribute in recreating the social structure which organises people's power and representation in this residential marina. The language ideologies (Kroskrity 1993; Schieffelin 2007; Silverstein 1998; Woolard 1992) which permeate people's representation of social realities are reproduced in their discourses and the way they describe the problems and changes, such as the arrival of a different (and less prestigious) kind of tourism and the growth of the underground economy of the community. Social structuration is always the outcome of hierarchical dispositions of symbolic power organized on immanent inequalities in discourse and people's everyday activities (Foucault 1972); This representation is not a tidy image of reality; it is instead a blurry picture which captures kinetic subjects. The organization of society, people's language ideologies and representative powers are carved out by people's discourses, narratives and everyday life experiences intertwined with their particular everyday life and lifestyle in the community (Giddens 1984).

This chapter is divided in three sections. The first part, *Nationality and social class*, looks at the discourses circulating about the different nationalities linked to the mobility and lifestyle that contribute to the construction of class difference as a modified category in this tourist community. Section two, "*Networks and spaces of economic activity*", is focused on how residents group and inhabit the different spaces of activity in the residential marina. The last section, *Degradation and loss of prestige*, looks at the economic crisis and loss of prestige of the marina associated with the mobility, ideologies, and practices of concrete nationalities and their implication in the underground economic activities in the community.

6.1 Nationality and social class

The construction of categories of the inhabitants of Empuriabrava that emerged from my ethnographic fieldwork in the community represents the discursive categories and indexical meanings (Silverstein 2001) which have emerged from locally constructed practices of work and leisure that have become connected with certain mobility trajectories and given nationalities (Glick-Shiller 2010).

The residents of Empuriabrava are highly aware of the degree of diversity of symbolic capitals³ (Bourdieu 1991) connected to different kind of mobilities and associated with the various nationalities of the community; and this is because of those aspects of mobility and multiculturalism that give form to their everyday experience. The residents of the community construct their conceptual categories through the stereotypical representation of the others on the basis of their mobility trajectories and motivation for moving into Empuriabrava, on the reasons which are closely intertwined with the economic and social capitals, and the practices of everyday life of the residents of different national networks.

Nationalities and national representations in Empuriabrava are bound to the activities that people of different nationalities pursue during their stay in the community. Residents adopt indexed national categories in order to describe everyday reality. Nationality becomes an essential feature of a person's representation (Glick-Shiller 2010), and at the same time this association is linked to defined life trajectories. Clifford (1997) and Nash (1989) evidenced how tourists, and more generally people who are mobile for purposes of leisure, enjoy a privileged social position in host societies. This view of the privileged tourist stems from how the mobility of these people is perceived by local inhabitants as a source of economic benefit. In contrast, migrants who arrive for better life chances, may be welcomed if there are work opportunities, but not welcomed when jobs and social opportunities are scarce, as there is already a high competition for the few available resources.

³ Social capitals are those resources and features available to people on the basis of prestige, social recognition, and works as personal added value in diverse social situation.

In Empuriabrava national categories are adopted as features which represent social capital, so they are directly connected to the system of attribution of social value and prestige in the community. Certain nationalities, such as German, French and British, acquire an intrinsic added value because of the greater power displayed by their language and national networks, while on the contrary people from the developing countries are more likely to be associated with less prestigious mobile trajectories.

Nationality in the discourses of the residents of this community indexes meanings (Silverstein 2001) connected with displacement and indirectly with the motivations for those displacements; and in people's organization of reality these meanings work as classificatory elements. In people's discourse about nationality, wealth, economic capital and social class these meanings are often synonymous and they become a reference to understand the structuration of the inhabitants of the community. Europeans are generally depicted as persons with economic capital, while mobile persons looking for better work opportunities are generally represented as problematic and belonging to a lower social class. Carlos and Victor illustrate this representation:

Los primeros que compraron aquí fueron los “parcheros” alemanes, y bueno había turismo no solamente de Alemania, Bélgica, Holanda, todo eso. Francia... Ahora lamentablemente, por la culpa - Yo no soy racista- por la culpa de lo marroquí y toda la mala gente que ha entrado aquí esa gente ha emigrado, han vendido su propiedades y se han ido.

The first ones buying here were the Germans, and well there was tourism that came not only from Germany, but from Belgium, Holland, France, all that.... Now, sadly, because of – I am not a racist- because of the Moroccans and all the bad people that came here, the others have migrated, have sold their properties and have left.

(Carlos 15/05/2015)

Antes Empuriabrava había sido de gente de dinero, alemanes, franceses, ingleses, holandeses. Todo eso lo compraron los alemanes y lo edificaron ellos.

Before Empuriabrava belonged to people with money, Germans, French, British, and Dutch. All this was purchased by the Germans and they built it.

(Victor 04/03/2015)

Moreover, in the example I present, Victor, talked about the changes that the tourist community has faced in recent years and how things are going badly nowadays because of the increasing arrival of certain categories of people. Note that the main classificatory labels used are nationality but the underlying meanings attached to the national labels reveal a more complex classification of persons based on their possession of material resources or their economic means and on whether their motivation to go to Empuriabrava was for work or for leisure.

Empuriabrava está ahora llena de rumanos y marroquíes. Cuando antes había sido- todo esto había sido de gente de dinero: Alemanes, franceses, ingleses, holandeses. Todo esto lo –lo han comprado los alemanes y lo han edificado ellos. ¿Sabes? ... Y ha pasado de ser de una clase de nivel alto a ser una clase de nivel pobre... A ser un pueblo turístico con un nivel bastante bueno de vida hasta los últimos seis, siete años-desde que entró el euro! Desde que entró el euro ha ido cayendo todo a peor.

Empuriabrava is now full of Rumanians and Moroccans. While before it had been, everything had been full of rich people, Germans, French, English, and Dutch. All this - this has been bought by Germans and they have built this themselves, you know? ... And this has gone from a high level class to a poor class. This was a touristic town where the lifestyle was pretty good until these last six or seven years- since the Euro came in. Since the Euro came in everything has changed for the worse.

(Victor 04/03/2015)

Victor, who is a young local Spaniard from the marina, refers to the socio-economic differences of the inhabitants of Empuriabrava in terms of their nationality. European migrants and tourists from Germany, Holland, France and Great Britain are represented as people who have greater economic capability and who are directly associated in his discourse with a higher social class. The other nationalities present in Empuriabrava such as Moroccan and Romanian, but also all the people from the developing world with few material resources to set up their new lives in Empuriabrava, are depicted as belonging to a lower class. These people are described as problematic and poor and their activities are linked with the underground economy which is seen as one of the principal causes of the loss of prestige of the community.

The mobility of people from the developing world, is often associated in public discourse with a profile of the mobile migrant looking for work and better life chances. This group has also been characterized as being undocumented and implicated in illicit

economic activities. People from Northern Europe such as Germans, British, Dutch, and French are symbolically associated with tourism, prestige and involvement in leisure activities and with upper level social class. Another example of a conversation equating nationality and origin with the concept of social class is expressed by Carlos and Roberta, who belong to the Spanish network of the community. Carlos is of Catalan origin and he spent many years in Argentina, while Roberta is Catalan but her family migrated from Extremadura. Carlos and Roberta engaged in a spontaneous conversation in which they talk directly about social classes. Roberta associates people from Morocco with the lowest social class in the community. Moreover, they indirectly position themselves in a better social situation with respect to people from Morocco, and in a subordinate position with respect to tourists and visitors who no longer spend time in the community as they used to do. In this sense it can be stated that people who belong to the Spanish and Catalan networks and who work in the community tacitly represent themselves as a sort of middle class:

ROB: Hay moros, hay españoles y hay

CAR: Moros! No me digas! Esto es morolandia

ROB: ja ja ja morolandia

CAR: Empuriabrava la quemaron los moros, se metieron en Puigmal y la quemaron. Donde se meten, lo queman. Todos los años llegan más policías a dar vueltas, los ven por allí y ni se bajan del coche. Yo no soy racista, pero no sé porque acá le dan más importancia a los moros. Es así niña, es así. No sé qué trato tienen o que historia, y encima se creen los dueños de aquí. A cuatro les he alquilado y todo los problemas que he tenido de alquileres y todo ha sido con los putos moros.

ROB: Es porque es la clase más baja que hay aquí.

CAR: Eh?

ROB: Es la clase más baja que hay aquí.

CAR: Y las más altas ya no salen aquí.

ROB: En todas las áreas de costa te encontraras...

CAR: Pues anda a los países vascos a ver, no hay ni un puto moro!

ROB: Pero hay negros y también piden ayuda, eh.

CAR: Si, pero los negros son más educados y más honrados, prefiero cincuenta negros a un moro.

ROB: There are Moors⁴, there are Spanish, and there are

CAR: Moors! Do not tell me! This is Moorsland⁵

ROB: Ha ha ha Moorsland

CAR: Empuriabrava was ruined by Moors, they went to Puigmal and they ruined it. Wherever they go, they destroy the place. Each year, more and more police are patrolling, they see them around and they do not even step out of the car. I am not a racist but I don't know why here they give more importance to Moors. It's is like this, girl. It is like this. I do not know what deal they may have, on top of it they think they own the place. I rented my place to four of them and everything was problems and with the rent because of the fucking Moors.

ROB: That is because it is the lowest class that exists here.

CAR: What?

ROB: It is the lowest class that exists here.

CAR: And the highest ones do not hang out here.

ROB: In all coastal areas you will find...

CAR: So go to the Basque Country and see, there is not even one fucking Moro there.

ROB: But there are black people and they also ask for help.

CAR: Yes, but black people are politer and more honest, I prefer fifty of them to one Moor.

(Recording 41, 13/03/2015)

Roberta speaking with Carlos commented on how people from Morocco nowadays are the lowest class present in Empuriabrava. Carlos responded that the people of the upper class, referring to Germans and British, are no longer visiting the community. The term used to refer to people from Morocco is also indicative. *Moros* is a common Spanish and Catalan disrespectful term to refer to the persons of Moroccan origin. This indicates the resentment towards certain types of mobile citizens. He quickly added to Roberta's words that Empuriabrava is *mooroland* a rude way of describing the growing number of Moroccans who have settled in the community on a permanent basis.

In the above spontaneous conversation, we see how people openly talk about social class in connection with different kinds of national and mobility trajectories. Roberta

⁴ Term which refers to people from Morocco in a demeaning way

⁵ The land of Moors

associates the mobility of those searching for better life chances with the lowest social class who are typically Moroccans. Carlos, adds another direct reference to class linked with mobility, by claiming that the upper class no longer visits the community. By this, he refers to the German and other North European tourists and residents who have greater economic power. In this sense, the community of Empuriabrava has experienced a change in the kind of tourism, second home owners and international residents. At the present time less wealthy tourism has appeared with more limited economic powers and little interest in paying for the leisure activities set up for wealthier visitors.

This view indicates that the discourses are grounded on an ideological stance that sees economic migrants as a threat and in competition for the scarce resources and work opportunities. Therefore, the idealization of European migrants as promoters of wealth in the locality and the representations of economic migrants from the developing countries as problematic are at the core of the processes and discourses about inequality in this community. We can thus argue that positive and negative discursive categories of the residents are based on people's trajectories of mobility, language, and nationality. People use nationally based categories in their everyday discourses, to describe social differences. In their talk, they adopt national categories such as the Germans the French and the Moroccans, and so on, when they want to refer to each other in a more neutral (or respectful) way. However, in the community there are also negative categories associated with the different nationalities and their diverse lifestyles. So people who are from an English or German speaking country and who do not speak Spanish are referred to as *guiris*, which is a pejorative term to refer to foreigners from Germany and England connected with tourism; the strong and close network of French speaking people are *gabachos*, which is also a pejorative term adopted to describe French tourists; while migrants from Morocco, *moros*, are associated with illegality and social problems. All these labels bring with them a negative connotation and are of common use in the public discourse of the community.

The categorizations presented by Victor and his use of national origin is the same as that adopted by Carlos and Roberta and the other inhabitants of the community. The discourses that circulate among the residents of different nationalities in Empuriabrava embody specific socio-economic features, lifestyles and the diverse social activities carried out in the various spaces of the marina. These examples illustrate that nationality

is key for identifying and naming “the other”. As Bourdieu and Wacquant (2013: 296) point out:

Operations of classification refer themselves not only to the clues of collective judgment but also to the positions in distributions that this collective judgment already recounts. Classifications tend to espouse distributions, thereby tending to reproduce them (...). Social groups, and especially social classes, exist twice, so to speak, and they do so prior to the intervention of the scientific gaze itself; they exist in the objectivity of the first order, that which is recorded by distributions of material properties; and they exist in the objectivity of the second order, that of contrasted classifications and representations produced by agents on the basis of a practical knowledge of these distributions such as they are expressed by lifestyles.

What this study attempts to understand are the indexical meanings people in Empuriabrava attribute to the different nationalities (Silverstein 2001), and categories constructed on mobilities of the residents of the community. So, that when someone talks about the Germans, the Moroccans or the Romanians there is a common understanding of what that means. Those indexed meanings of people’s everyday discourses lead to essentialization of different nationalities as groups that actually correspond to how local inhabitants see and represent their world; a mechanism by which discrimination, racism, and social exclusion get produced and perpetuated. The categories that residents adopt in their daily discourse are based on how they perceive each other along with the diverse practices associated with forms of action. So, for example the type of illegal substance one consumes depends on different economic capability and it is connected with nationality. Inhabitants who belong to the network of the wealthy Europeans are identified as clients or people who have recourse to illicit activities for leisure, while migrants from the developing world are often described as the economically interested people who facilitate these activities (drug dealers, pimps, prostitutes, etc.). For instance, French people are usually identified as consumers of prostitution, whereas prostitutes are typically from Rumania, or Germans are those who own the more expensive properties and have more economic capital.

6.2. Networks and spaces of economic activity

The different discursive practices used by residents to refer to their social reality are also linked to the diverse lifestyles and practices people in the community display

(Bourdieu 1991). “Space is not an empty dimension along which social groupings become structured, but it has to be considered in terms of its involvement in the constitution of the systems of interactions” (Giddens 1984: 396). This means that how people interact with each other, their discourses, and the intersection of different lifestyles have an important effect on the representation of space in this tourist community. Moreover, knowing how people interact with each other and what kind of spaces they frequent is focal in understanding the sort of lifestyle that is associated with persons of different nationalities in the community.

Residents who belong to European networks, and who are identified as people that are in the community for leisure, organize their networks around other speakers of their language. For example, May and her husband socialize with the persons who belong to the British Society of Catalonia. The presence of an organized network of English speaking people was a key reason for moving to Empuriabava:

We belong to a society we joined when we first came here. It is the British Society of Catalonia. And mainly to meet English speaking people because we didn't have any Spanish language and still have only *poquito*⁶.

(May 21/05/2015)

This Society includes English speaking people residing close to the Bay of Roses whose social activities are advertised in a private monthly magazine, where all events, local services, as well as important information relevant for English speaking people living all around Empuriabava and the Bay of Roses are published.

Residents from Northern European networks who reside in the community also spend their leisure time outside the residential marina. For example, I asked Craig, who is from Germany and lives in the community for leisure, if he sometimes goes out in Empuriabrava. He answered that he does not really like to spend time in Empuriabrava and the majority of his friends live in Girona and Figueres where he usually spends his free time. However, when he does go out in Empuriabrava he typically meets up with persons of French and Spanish nationality who share similar interests. He prefers German restaurants and bars. In his own words:

⁶ *Poquito* means “a little bit” in Spanish

In Empuria no, nothing. I am going here not in bars; I haven't got many friends. I am meeting Victor, Antoine⁷ for *compra*⁸ and no more. When I want to go out I go to Girona, I drive with the motorbike to Figueras and drive to Girona (...) when I want to eat in a restaurant I drive to Figueras or Girona, I don't go out in Empuriabrava I don't like it, I don't like it. Normally there are city where you live, city where you go to restaurants you have these, these corporations in your city and the city life normal, but here no. When I go here to the German restaurant bar I pay twenty euros for two people for three menus, big menus.

(Craig 05/03/2015)

As is the case of many of the people that live in the wealthy area of Empuriabrava, Craig does not spend time in the area of Empuriabrava called The Arches, which is where one finds the main services and where social life of the marina is located. When he can, he leaves the community. Craig lives in Empuriabrava because he wished to purchase a good villa which he was able to buy for a very reasonable price. He lives his daily life in his comfortable residence and from time to time he travels to other destinations for short periods.

In my free time I work here in the house, or I drive out. In the summer time it's possible I drive the motorbike to Barcelona, Madrid or I go a complete week out. But I like Spain and the free life you have here. Normally I do not go out in Empuriabrava I don't like it. I live here only for the good house.

(Craig 05/03/2015)

Craig does not like Empuriabrava because, like other international residents, he describes the commercial area of the marina, which is where social activities and shops are concentrated, as problematic and unsafe. In his point of view to spend time in this area of Empuriabrava means looking for trouble and illicit activities. For this reason, he prefers to spend his free time in other places. Craig complains about a situation of insecurity experienced by many people in Empuriabrava, which contributes to the loss of prestige of the community and the reduced activities of the service economy of the area:

⁷ Craig and Antoine (Who is from France) buy cocaine from the same drug dealer and sometime they go to buy it together.

⁸ *Compra* means "to buy" in Spanish.

Empuria is not good for go out. Empuria is good when you want to go out and want to have problem. Yes, then you can go in Los Arcos and yes sit down and waiting that is coming the police for the *razzia*⁹. In the summer and you have automatic problems then! All times when there is *razzia* in one bar and you are in many persons in the bar, then go with the police. Not only this person no all. The drugs in in Los Arcos, very much mafia, I don't like it, I don't like it. For this I go to Figueras

(Craig 05/03/2015)

This perception of degradation is also shared by most of the residents of the marina, and it contributes to the loss of prestige of the community. Furthermore, it does not help the stores that are concentrated close to this area. The residents of Empuriabrava who come for leisure interact with selected networks without mingling with the rest of the community. This give the appearance that during the low season the community lacks social activity, as many shops and services are closed, and there are not many people around.

Empuriabrava is described by its long term residents as a tourist community where there is not much to do during the lower season, when most of the shops, bars and other places of socio-economic activity are closed. This seasonal inactivity confers to the marina a sense of abandon. Amin, who is from Senegal, and who was in the community looking for work and better life chances, pointed out that in Empuriabrava there are not many opportunities because the influential people of the community do not spend their time in the socio-economic spaces of the marina; and he perceives a lifeless community if compared with other areas of the Costa Brava, like Playa d'Aro for example. In this example Amin denounces the social exclusion and marginalistion of migrants who have moved to the community seeking better life chances and who are left out of the circuits of the influential networks who live there (Castells 1996). This means that the residents of Empuriabrava share physical spaces in the community but they do not really interact or mix:

En otros lugares, como Playa d'Aro, hay más actividades, más cosas por hacer, hay más trabajo y hay más gente. Más vida. Empuriabrava diría yo que está quemado, es parte de España pero hay más extranjeros que españoles, y lo veo bien. Si la comunidad de Empuriabrava quisiera juntarse también con esta gente. Y saber cómo formar y vivir, sería diferente, sería mucho mejor. Si comunicaran.

⁹ German word that means raid

In other places, like in Playa d'Aro, there are more activities, more things to do, more work and more people. More life. I would say, Empuriabrava is ruined. It is part of Spain but there are more foreigners than Spanish, and I find it ok, if Empuriabrava's community would like to mingle with those people too. And knowing how to adapt and live, it would be different, it would be much better if they would communicate.

(Amin 21/02/2017)

At the core of Amin's criticism there is a lack of communication between the diverse groups of a certain national origin of the community, that creates social and linguistic boundaries (Barth 1998) and reproduces an atomized community, where people do not interact with each other. The residents, who like Amin, helped me to understand the social relationships of the different people and networks in the community, highlighted that in Empuriabrava people usually get together on the basis of a common language, nationality, and their economic conditions. Amin narrated the way people were divided into exclusive groups and that these groups did not share the company of people from other networks. In this brief description of an occasion in which he felt openly discriminated, Amin gives a clear example of the importance of one's personal socio-economic conditions that differentiate the spaces in the community and connected lifestyles and tastes (Bourdieu 1984).

Pero, por ejemplo, hay un momento cuando vives en Empuriabrava que las personas están en grupos, estos se sientan allí, esos allí. Los que tienen el poder. Cuando los clientes pobres vienen, no le valoran se dedican a mirar su forma de vestir y cuánto dinero en la cartera tiene uno y punto ¿sabes? Vi estas situaciones en Empuria. Cuando me fui con Dimitri, antes de que se fuera que vino a visitarme, fuimos a un bar, un bar de pijos porque él es pijo, y le cuesta a ir a un bar de friqui de punki o a unos bares normales, no está acostumbrado. Cuando estaba con el no había problema, pero cuando él no estaba allí conmigo el camarero o la camarera me miraban de una forma que decía: "¿qué coño haces tú aquí?" Y no solo la mirada también la forma de habla. Y si te servían la cerveza pero te la tiraban así y no como tenían que servirte.

(*indica lugares lejanos con la mano; ** movimiento rápido de la mano).

But, for example, there is a moment when you live in Empuriabrava, that the people are in groups, these ones sit there, those ones over there. The ones who have the power. When the poor customers come here, the others do not respect them, they look at the way they dress, and how much money they have in their wallets, and that is it. You know? I saw this kind of situation in Empuria. When I went with Dimitri, before he left when he came back to visit me, we went to a*

*bar, to a posh bar, because he is posh, and he doesn't like to go to freaky bars or punk bars or normal bars. He is not used to those. When I was with him, there was no problem, but when he was not there with me the waiter and the waitress stared at me with a look that said: "What the fuck are you doing here?" and it was not only the look they gave me, but also the way they spoke to me. And when they gave you beer, they served it like that** and not the way they were supposed to.*

(he points at faraway places with his finger; **he makes quick hand movements).*

(Amin 21/02/2015)

From Amin's point of view in Empuriabrava there are people who have power and people who do not (Foucault 1979). The representation he describes above provides a picture of a polarity that is constituted through a conceptualization of economic differences (Bourdieu 1991). Residents with greater economic resources normally frequent certain exclusive bars where people of other social extractions are unwelcome. These residents with greater social resources judge the way a person is dressed and the economic power displayed through embodied behaviour. Amin found that people like him (without much money) are easily discriminated in the bars, restaurants, and more generally the spaces aimed at the wealthy networks represented by residents and tourists of Northern Europe. He also noticed a different treatment when he was in the company of friends who displayed a greater economic capability than his own. From this point of view, we can see the way specific categories of people are excluded from certain spaces of the marina and this, at the same time, reflects on the limited opportunities people like Amin have of finding a job and becoming an accepted member of the community.

People who are in Empuriabrava for work and better life chances spend their free time with the networks of persons connected to their work, their nationality and their language.

Economic migrants, as well as the residents who are in the community for leisure, group together in spaces constructed through language, similar socio-economic condition and lifestyles (Bourdieu 1984, 1998). However, their networks are more heterogeneous because they cannot rely on the influence of their own national networks to obtain better socio-economic conditions; and Economic migrants are more involved in the social life and activities of local Spaniards and Catalans of the area than Northern European residents.

Abdel, who is a 24-year-old from Morocco, and who arrived in Empuriabrava when he was fourteen, is well established in the society of the marina and he usually interacts with people of different nationalities. He occasionally goes out with his Spanish co-workers. However, his closest friends belong to the Moroccan network of the community.

Mis amigos son de diferentes lugares, algunos de Italia, algunos de España algunos de Marruecos. Pero los que son de España son compañeros de trabajo. Trabajando buen rollo y tal, pues y a veces salimos a tomar una copa, de fiesta o a tomar un café, pero tampoco siempre estamos juntos. No tenemos relaciones largas, cuando salimos nos sentamos para beber algo y hablar del trabajo, o salir para emborracharnos, cosas que te hacen perder el conocimiento. Y amigo amigo tengo uno, que lo conoces es Malik. Con ese tengo más, no sé, como si fuera un hermano.

My friends come from different places, some from Italy, some from Spain, some from Morocco. But the Spanish ones are workmates. Working with good vibes, well sometimes we go out for a drink, to party, or for a coffee, but we are not always together. We do not have relationships that last, when we go out, we sit down to drink something, talk about work, or we go out to get drunk, things that make you lose your mind. And a real friend, I have one, you know him, he is Malik. With him I have more, I don't know it, is like if he was a brother.

(Abdel 04/02/2015)

Like most of the people who are in the community for work and better life chances, Abdel spends his leisure time in Empuriabrava. He usually goes out to the bars in the community to have a coffee, to see friends or take a walk, because in Empuriabrava there is not much to do during the low season. He spends his free time with people of his national origin network but he also spends time and engages in social activities (such as meeting and spending time with other residents in the nearby bars, or going out to have a coffee, etc.) with people of other national networks such as Spaniards, Spanish work mates, and people from different nationalities who are also in the community for work and better life chances. Economic migrants, who share their socio-economic condition also share the diverse spaces of activities of local residents, as these spaces and activities are oriented towards diverse networks who settled to work in the community.

The different residents who participated in my study and who helped me to understand the diverse processes of inequality of this tourist community describe from different points of view the social fracture in the residential marina, where polarities exist and

residents are identified in people's narratives. In this sense, there are people who are in Empuriabrava for leisure who do not spend their time there, do not really engage in the community and limit their social participation to their exclusive networks. There are also residents who are in the tourist community for work and better life chances, who have more heterogeneous networks and who during the lower season are the ones who spend most of their time in, and are engaged in social activities in the residential marina.

6.3 Degradation and loss of prestige

The social meanings that come to be discursively connected to social activities are outcomes of people's lifestyles and everyday life in the diverse spaces which come to represent the diverse dimensions of people's social agency (Giddens 1984).

On September 15 2015 the newspaper "Expansión", which is a leading publication on the Spanish economy and business which is printed in Madrid, but also has a web-section, published an article that presented the precarious economic situation of many residents who live in Empuriabrava, as well as that of other areas of the Spanish state which are grounded on seasonal tourism:

De las diez localidades catalanas de más de 10.000 habitantes con una mayor tasa de pobreza, ocho son municipios turísticos, situados en la Costa Brava y la Costa Daurada. Así lo evidencian los datos recogidos por AIS Group, compañía catalana pionera en big data. Encabeza la clasificación Castelló d'Empúries (Alt Empordà), con una tasa de pobreza del 30,7%. En esta localidad, se ubica una urbanización con canales de renombre internacional: Empuriabrava. Vivir bajo el umbral de la pobreza significa hacerlo en un hogar formado por dos adultos y dos menores, y donde sus ingresos mensuales son inferiores a los 1.393,25 euros.

(Casals 2015)

Web.06/10/2018<http://www.expansion.com/catalunya/2015/09/15/55f7f2e4268e3e3d178b45ad.html>

Among the ten Catalan localities, with more than 10.000 inhabitants with a higher rate of poverty, eight of them are tourist towns, located on the Costa Brava and in the Costa Daurada. This is evidenced by the data gathered by AIS Group, a Catalan company which is a pioneer in big data. Castelló d'Empúries (Alt Empordà) is at the top of the classification, with 30,7 % poverty rate. In this locality, a big residential area with internationally recognized water canals is located: Empuriabrava. Living under the poverty threshold means living in a home formed by two adults and two minors, where their monthly income is below 1.393,25 euros.

Empuriabrava was founded as an elite tourist community designated for foreign investors and a select international tourism (Compte 1967), although in recent years, aesthetic and socio-economic changes affected the kind of cyclical tourism and mobilities which arrived in the resort. The inhabitants complain that because of the feeling of insecurity and the increase of robberies and illegal activities in the community, many people who belong to the elite tourist sector are no longer visiting Empuriabrava. Economic migrants who needed to find work in order to survive are only able to find a job during the tourist season, remaining unemployed and relying on social welfare for the rest of the year; and many of them resort to the illicit activities of the underground economy.

The totality of participants in the present ethnographic study confirmed to me that the tourist community is undergoing an unprecedented period of economic recession. The lack of improvement in the infrastructures of the community combined with the global financial crisis that started in 2007/2008, which brought fewer visitors, are believed to be the main reasons for the lack of work in Empuriabrava.

ANT: Aquí han cerrado muchas tiendas en los últimos años y la verdad que no queda mucho. Yo llegué en Empuriabrava cuando Empuriabrava estaba en la cima del turismo, en su época dorada vamos a decir.

MAX: Y como las has visto cambiar en estos años?

ANT: Pues, de peor en peor. Económicamente en peor...por un factor de crisis mundial que se nota a nivel de la gente que hay aquí.

ANT: A lot of shops have been shut down in the past few years and the truth is that there is not much left. I arrived in Empuriabrava when the tourism in Empuriabrava was at its highest peak, in its "golden age", let's say.

MAX: In what ways have you seen things changing over these years?

ANT: Well, for the worse. Economically, for the worse... because of the world crisis which can be noticed by the number of people who are here.

(Antoine 30/04/2015)

People who live in the community complain that Empuriabrava has changed in recent years. Many shops, bars, and nightclubs are open only for a few months of the year,

moreover many of them closed for good. Antoine talked about a downgrading of the community, as many bars and nightclubs which aimed at prestigious tourists and elite residents closed, and only the bad ones are still open. Moreover, tourists and residents are less interested in spending their time in the nightclubs and bars of the commercial area, as the economic area has gained a bad reputation due to the illicit activities that take place in those spaces. Illicit activities which are focused around the commercial and night club areas, negatively affect the whole community, as the majority of activities and economic services are concentrated close to this area. Antoine, who is from France and who came to Empuriabrava for leisure, points out that nowadays, in the community there are no safe or drug free nightclubs and bars for upper class people with greater economic resources, as the spaces of the community project a bad image (Anderson 1991) of insecurity:

ANT: No sé si hubo una voluntad de romper con el ocio de noche, que han cerrado casi todas las discotecas. Esto de los Arcos que antes era muy de marcha, que ahora quedan solo un bar de lo que habían hace seis o siete años anteriores, y solo quedan los de mala muerte.

MAX: Que tipo de personas encuentras en estos bares?

ANT: Bueno. Un poco gentuza. Camellos, Putas. Personas que se buscan la vida. Aquí ya no viene gente de clase. ¿La gente elegante que tiene dinero donde va aquí? A parte un par de bueno restaurantes no hay nada, no hay discos limpia y con seguridad y todo. Porque un cincuentón que tiene dinero no va a entrar en estos bares de mala muerte

ANT: I don't know if there was an intention to put an end to the nightlife, they closed almost every night club. Those in the Arches that were on the top before, and now there is just one bar of those when there were six or seven years ago, and only the seedy bars are left"

MAX: *What kind of people can you meet in these bars?*

ANT: Well, basically scum. Dealers, Prostitutes. People who are looking for living. Here classy people do not come any more. Where can elegant people with money go here? Apart from a couple of good restaurants there is nothing left, there are no clean night clubs with security and everything. Because a person in his fifties is not going to enter one of these seedy bars.

(Antoine 30/04/2015)

Many other participants in the study explained that the community is living through an extended period of crisis which according to them is due to the uncontrolled arrival of migrants from the developing world, who have increased the rate of illegal and

underground economic activities such as: drugs, prostitution, and burglaries. Amin, who is an economic migrant from Senegal who was living in Empuriabrava for work, told me the reason he decided to move from the community. He mentioned all the drug dealers and the exploitation of prostitutes which is part of the night activities of the marina; he saw how many people relied on the underground economy in order to get by during the winter months. Moreover, he observed that the shops, and the service economy in general, were undergoing a difficult time as there were no clients and the shops in the community were empty most of the time:

Hay muchísima droga en Empuriabrava, man. Marihuana, hachís, cocaína, pastillas y todo. Y bueno lo hemos vivido y por suerte no hemos tenido ningún problema. Pero cuando salía de noche me quedaba flipado man hay de todo, el dinero circulaba en todos lados, la droga y todo, las putas y tal. Había muchísimas putas, hasta donde vivía Abdel. Este palacio estaba lleno y las veías de día y eran tías normales y corrientes... pero tenía que irme porque no hay nada. Las tiendas abrían por abrir sin ningún cliente. Abren y cierran porque no hay quien entra y la gente de Empuriabrava no se relaciona en Empuria. Yo tenía que irme porque no había trabajo para mí y quería hacer las cosas bien. Yo podía ocupar una casa, porque había bastantes casas vacías, pero no! Pero alquilaba mi casa y la pagaba cada vez como un ciudadano normal, hacia todo lo que tenía que hacer siguiendo las reglas. Y habría podido ocupar una casa como todo el mundo, porque el cincuenta por ciento de las personas ocupan casas. Pero yo quería hacer las cosas bien y participar en la ciudad como un buen ciudadano pero el dinero que salía ya no entraba y no tuve otro remedio que irme.

There are really a lot of drugs in Empuriabrava, man. Marihuana, hash, cocaine, pills and everything. And well, we've lived with it and luckily we didn't have any problems. But when I went out at night I was freaked out, man. There was everything, money was moving all around the place, drugs and everything and the whores and that stuff. There were many whores, even where Abdel lived. This flat was full of them and you could see them during the day and they were regular chicks... But I had to leave, because there was nothing; the shops opened just for the sake of opening, without any clients. They open and close because there is nobody who goes in, and the people from Empuriabrava don't hang out in Empuriabrava. I had to leave because there was no job for me and I wanted to do things well. I could have squatted a house, because there were several empty houses, but no! I rented my house and I paid for it regularly like a normal citizen. I did everything I had to following the rules. And I could have squatted a house, like everybody else, because fifty percent of the people are squatting in houses. But I wanted to do things well and participate in the city as a good citizen. But the money that was going out wasn't coming in anymore so there was no alternative but to leave.

(Amin 21/02/2015)

What Amin narrates above is the consequence of the low tourist season, an event which many other informants (i.e. Antoine, Carlos, Clara, Victor, Maria) described during their semi-structured interviews. The lack of economic opportunities for working people in the community is associated with the economic crisis and the arrival of mass tourism. The economic instability is directly connected to the increase of illicit activities and the underground economy. Residents who are in the community for work and who are unable to find work end up in the margins of society, and they are forced to move or live in impoverished socio-economic conditions (Creswell 2010), and forced to take desperate measures such as occupying private houses or resorting to the underground.

Victor, who is a local born resident of the marina, talked extensively about the scarcity or lack of work in the community, especially in the winter. He often found himself in the uncomfortable position of having to rely on illicit undertakings, such as selling drugs to tourists and residents of Empuriabava, because there was no way to find a job:

Ahora que he conseguido un trabajo estable durante el invierno fuera del país, porque me tengo que ir a buscarlo a Francia y pegarme tres horas de viaje cada día si quiero trabajar, porque aquí no me dan trabajo, pues ahora que he conseguido trabajo mira trabajo, pero antes básicamente me buscaba la vida en invierno, como podía. Si tenía que vender droga la vendía, si me tenía que ir una noche por allí de fiesta con los amigos a vender pues mira, sin hacer daño a nadie, sin robar ni matar. Pero mira como hay gente que consume drogas. Tienes todos tipos de clases, de consumidores y todos tipos de clases de consumidores de diferentes drogas. De gente que consume de hachís, cannabis, cocaína, hasta gente que consume ketamina, éxtasis o se pinchan caballo.

Well now that I've found a stable job for the winter outside the country, well look, work! But before, I basically looked for a living in winter, as I could, you know? If I had to sell drugs I'd sell them, if I had to go... out at night with a friend to sell, well you see, without harming anyone, without stealing or killing, but... since there's many people that take drugs! You have all types and kinds of consumers of different drugs. Starting with people who consume hash, including people who consumes ketamine, ecstasy or shoot up heroine.

(Victor 04/03/2015)

The residential marina of Empuriabrava is still one of the most important localities for Northern European tourism on the Catalan Costa Brava. However, this elite residential marina has passed through complicated phases in which it was possible for the residents to notice the growth of an underground economy aimed at the seasonal tourists, who

among other services also consumed drugs and prostitution. Clara, who is a long term resident of the marina and who saw the marina change during the past few years, provides background information about Empuriabrava and its connected illicit activities. When Empuriabrava became part of the municipality of Castelló d'Empúries, and especially when Spain joined the European Union in 1986, the polices and authorities of the different countries started to look carefully at this residential marina, because in the community there were many people who had legal problems back in their home country. When the resort was still a privately owned community the aerodrome was not subjected to any kind of control, and all kind of drugs could easily arrive by air, by the main road, and by sea, because of the canals directly connected to the sea. Drugs have always been part of the entertainment of the upper class of this wealthy residential marina where in the past people frequently organized parties on boats out of local Spanish jurisdiction waters. Moreover, it was increasingly clear to the local authorities that this elite residential marina was a strategic place where mafias and criminal organizations from other countries could easily launder their money because of the lack of control over foreign investors and people in the community.

If we look at the newspapers and news reports about this tourist community, we can easily read about drug dealing and prostitution. Drug consumption in this tourist resort is important in every social group. Many people, independent of their social background, consume hashish and cannabis, however the substance most commonly consumed is cocaine followed by the other substances such as speed and ecstasy that can easily be purchased in and around the commercial area The Arches, where the nightclubs and bars are concentrated. Criminal organizations of different provenance operate in this community. The most important influence in this area consists of criminal organizations from Marseille (France). However, lately the growing influence of an organized criminal group from Eastern Europe which operates with both drugs and prostitution¹⁰ has been noticed.

People who use drugs are residents or short term visitors of all nationalities and all ages, and people involved in drug dealing are of diverse nationalities, which include both locals and other Europeans. Residents, in their public discourses, more commonly represent people with a European background in the position of consumer and migrants

¹⁰ Example of newspaper article about the activities of these organizations can be consulted in Appendix D

from the developing world as promoters of these activities. However, both Victor and Amin provided firsthand information about drugs and underground activities which partially contradicts these discourses. Amin observed that many local people were directly involved in these activities. Victor openly admitted he saw himself in the unpleasant position of relying on the underground economy. Carlos, who is from Barcelona but who lived many years in Buenos Aires (Argentina), provides another example which helps to clarify why certain categories are more likely to be associated with underground activities, while the participation of people of other nationalities is omitted from these discourses. He described the changes in the community and how elite residents from Germany were no longer arriving in Empuriabrava because of the problems of migration and the illegal activities he directly associated with people from Morocco. Moreover, the representation he gave of French residents who took over the place of the German elite in the community is interesting:

Empuriabrava antes de que empezó la crisis ya estaba cambiando, porque ya los alemanes se habían ido. Ya los alemanes se habían empezado a largar por lo que digo yo, por culpa de los Marroquíes de mierda y la basura que entró acá. (...) Yo no soy racista, pero esta gentuza son parásitos, y se dedican a vender mierda, droga y basura. (...) Esto antes era de los alemanes, ahora han llegado los franceses y gracias a ellos estamos viviendo. Pero, los que vienen, el cuarenta por ciento es toda basura de Marsella pa bajo, gente que esta escapada ya de su país. Pero gracias a ellos, vengan mal o vengan bien, es la única entrada que tenemos nosotros, si no aca nos matariamos a tiros.

Before the crisis started Empuriabrava was already changing, because German people had already gone away. German people already started to leave as I say, because of the shitty Moroccans and all the trash who moved in here (...) I am not racist, but this scum are parasites, and they sell shit, drug and garbage. (...) Before, this belonged to German people, then French people arrived, and thanks to them we are living. However, the ones who come here, the forty percent of them is trash from Marseille to the south, people who run away from their country. But thanks to them, if they come for better or for worse, it is the only income we have, otherwise we will shoot each other dead.

(Carlos 15/05/2015)

In Carlos's representation French people who take the place of the German elite are described as people who have legal problems back in France, or people who are here involved in shady activities. However, the activities of these people are justified because

they have more economic resources and because nowadays in Empuriabrava it is the French network which works as the economic engine of the service economy. For this reason, there is a deliberate omission of the participation of certain national categories from discourses about drugs and the underground economy, which are almost exclusively associated with people from Romania, Morocco, and other developing countries.

With respect to prostitution, things are equally complicated. Prostitution is a major attraction of this area of the Costa Brava because of its proximity with France, where prostitution is considered illegal. Empuriabrava is located close to La Jonquera (Girona, Spain), a town where there are many brothels and nightclubs intended for French people. Carlos describes how prostitution is becoming an issue for the residents of the community. Moreover, he describes prostitution as one of the businesses in which people of Romanian nationality are involved; girls as prostitutes and males as pimps and exploiters:

Esa es la zona de España que mas puticlub hay. Aca hay más puticlub que Iglesias. En veinte quilometros de ronda hay mas de cuarenta puticlub. O sea yo no estoy en contra de los putclubs (...) pero aqui han abierto puticlubs como si fueran bares o quioscos de cigarillos. Hay una cantidad de puticlubs impresionante y las putas en la carretera que da verguenza. Que debería estar prohibido que hay turismo y gente que viene con familia. (...) Los rumanos el noventa por ciento que ha venido esta metido en la prostitución, ha llegado la mafia rumana acá, que son tambien los que roban, que vienden mierda, los chulos, el noventa por ciento son rumanos. Y te vas a un club de diez chicas ocho son rumanas.

This is the zone in Spain where there are more brothels. There are more brothels than churches here. In 20 kilometers around there are more than forty brothels. I mean I am not against brothels (...) but they have opened brothels as if they were bars or tobacco shops. There is an incredible quantity of brothels and the whores on the road are shameful. This should be forbidden, there is tourism and people who come in families (...). Ninety percent of Rumanians that came are involved in prostitution, the Rumanian Mafia has arrived here, they are also the ones who steal, who sell shit, the pimps, ninety percent are Rumanian. And when you go to a brothel eight girls out of ten are Rumanian too.

(Carlos 15/05/2015)

Prostitution is considered by different residents as a major problem for local tourism and its connected service activities. For example, Lory, who arrived in the community for work and who is from France, reiterates the problems of prostitution which she associates directly with the downfall of the service economy in this area.

Ha empezado mucha prostitución aquí, también esto hizo caer el turismo aquí, porque claro te vienes aquí en familia. Te he dicho que hay muchas familias que vienen aquí, turismo y todo esto, y se ven cada rotonda una chica allí en bañador, vamos a decirlo así. Y ¿qué le dices a tu hijo? Que están esperando el autobús... cada rotonda esperan el autobús, al punto que la madre se pone celosa de la chica que el padre está mirando y no quieren volver. Es broma. Pero hay ya muchos clubes aquí, (es lamentable) que estén también en la calle.

A lot of prostitution has begun here, this also made tourism, decline because of course you come here as a family. I have told you there are many families that come here, tourism and all that. And at each roundabout there is a girl in a swimsuit, let's put it that way. And what can you tell your child? They are there waiting for the bus... in each roundabout they wait for the bus, to the point that the mum starts getting jealous of the girl who is being checked out by the dad, and they do not want to come back. I am kidding. But there are lots of clubs here, it is a shame they are also on the street.

(Lory 27/05/2015)

As in the case of drugs and other underground activities, migrants from the developing counties are more likely to be associated to with prostitution in the position of providers and the residents and tourists of Northern European origins are represented as consumers of these diverse services. However, it is possible to find local Catalan prostitutes, prostitutes from China, and virtually from every single country. Most of them work at home and it is possible to contact them through the internet.

Figure 6.1 – Webpage Offering Sex in Empuriabrava

Ella 28 años

Je suis une femme de haut niveau, une parfaite compagne pour un homme courtois, respectueux et généreux à qui j'offre un service très exclusif. Vous serez gâté par ma personnalité attentive et sexy. Je suis toujours disponible pour divers activités comme un petit déjeuner, un brunch, un dîner raffiné, un événement social ou d'affaire ou simplement un accompagnement en privé. Je me déplace a hôtel ou siz vous.
P.S: Je me reserve le droit de refuser notre rencontre si je ne me sens pas en confiance. Merci

Soy una mujer de alto nivel, una compañera perfecta para un hombre respetuoso y generoso a quien ofrezco un servicio muy exclusivo. Siempre estoy disponible para diversas actividades, tales como desayuno, comida, cena Me desplazó a hotel o domicilio.
PS: me reservo el derecho de rechazar nuestra reunión si no me siento confiada. Gracias

Categoría: Eróticos profesionales
Provincia: Girona
Ciudad: Figueres

Fecha: Sábado 16 de Agosto de 2014, 16:56:03 CEST
Zona: Empuriabrava Roses Santa Margarita

Dí que me has visto en MundosexAnuncio

[Contactar con el anunciante](#) [Marcar anuncio](#) ❤️

Source: Web.16/08/2014 <http://www.mundosexanuncio.com/escorts-girona/ella-28-anos-60232263.html>

She 28 years

I am a refined woman, a perfect mate for a respectful and generous man. I offer a very exclusive service. I am always available for social activities, including breakfast, lunch, dinner. I meet you at your Hotel or your home.

P.S: I reserve the right to turn down our meeting if I do not feel safe.

Thank you.

The languages used to advertise their services are French and Spanish. Prostitution is illegal in France and it is quite common to see men of French nationality paying a visit to this area, which is close to the French border. However, prostitution is not limited to brothels, and in Empuriabrava it is possible to see that many women, from Eastern Europe (Romania, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Russia, and Byelorussia) and South America (Dominican Republic, Brazil, and Cuba), resort to these activities.

Moreover, there are many documented examples, such as newspaper articles, which prove that many young girls were exploited against their will to prostitute. There are published accounts in local newspapers of young girls led to commit suicide or killed by their exploiters in Empuriabrava. Even though these events are known they are not widely diffused in order to avoid a negative impact on the arrival of visitors, especially at a time when the economic situation of the community is critical. As an example of the pieces of news which describe episodes of violence connected with prostitution in Empuriabrava, I present below an online article from the newspaper *El Diario de Mallorca*, which talks about a young girl from Romania forced into prostitution by two pimps of the same nationality:

UNA PROSTITUTA SE ARROJA DESDE ONCE ALTURAS PARA HUIR DE SUS EXPLOTADORES

Una joven de 22 años y de nacionalidad rumana se encuentra en estado grave después de saltar desde un undécimo piso en Empuriabrava (Girona) para huir de unos compatriotas que la obligaban a prostituirse y que han sido detenidos por los Mossos d'Esquadra, informó ayer este cuerpo policial. Los detenidos, de entre 27 y 39 años, están acusados de presuntos delitos de amenazas, coacciones, lesiones y lucro de explotación por prostitución.

A las 16,30 horas del viernes, los Mossos de Roses tuvieron que investigar por qué una joven de 22 años había saltado once pisos resultando gravemente herida, por lo que fue ingresada en el Hospital Josep Trueta de Girona. Según los Mossos, la chica herida, de

nacionalidad rumana, llevaba un mes en España bajo la falsa promesa de encontrar un trabajo estable y legal. Pero una vez en Empuriabrava los acusados la encerraron en un piso de la población, reteniéndole su documentación personal y trasladándola a un club de carretera para que ejerciera la prostitución. Los Mossos aseguran que la chica estaba constantemente controlada y amenazada por tres hombres y dos mujeres que vivían en el mismo piso donde la retenían y además la golpeaban con un palo de manera regular y le amenazaban con dañar a su familia. Los acusados se quedaban todo el dinero que obtenía la mujer ejerciendo la prostitución.

Source: Web.22/09/2016 <http://www.diariodemallorca.es/sucesos/1474/prostituta-arroja-once-alturas-huir-explotadores/249601.html>

A PROSTITUTE THROWS HERSELF FROM ELEVEN FLOORS TO ESCAPE FROM HER EXPLOITERS

A 22-year-old young woman of Rumanian nationality is in a serious condition after jumping from the 11th floor of a flat in Empuriabrava (Girona) to escape from some Rumanians who were forcing her into prostitution and who have been arrested by the Mossos d'Esquadra, informed this police force. The detainees, aged 27 to 39 years, are accused of alleged crimes of threats, coactions, injuries and profit from exploitation of prostitution.

At 16:30 on Friday, the Mossos from Roses had to investigate why a young 22-year-old woman had jumped eleven floors resulting in severe injuries, for which she was taken to Josep Trueta Hospital in Girona. According to the Mossos, the injured girl of Rumanian nationality had been in Spain for a month under the false promise of finding a stable and legal job. But once she got to Empuriabrava, the accused locked her inside a flat in the locality, retaining her personal documents and transferring her to a road club to exercise prostitution. The Mossos assured that the girl was constantly controlled and threatened by three men and two women that lived in the same flat where they retained her and threatened to harm her family. The accused kept all the money that the woman obtained from prostitution.

The underground economy and the increased rate of burglaries, drugs and prostitution are represented as major problems for the prestige of this residential marina; the problems of the service economy are associated with the growth of these illicit activities which are casting a bad image on the community and that have (in a reciprocal manner) negative effects on the tourist industry. Residents point out that in the last few years many shops have closed, while others reduced their working season generating unemployment for people who depend on service jobs. In spite of the situation many people decided to remain in the community living in precarious situations on the

margins of society, and taking part in the underground economy during the winter, as their last resort.

Moreover, the underground and illicit activities of the community take place in spaces which were dedicated to night leisure, where the bars, nightclubs, and more generally the diverse social activities, are concentrated; and which is the core of the economic area of the marina. Because of this, residents no longer feel safe in some areas of the marina, and this sentiment of insecurity has a direct impact on people's lifestyle, as many residents do not spend their time in Empuriabrava anymore, tourism and visitors have reduced their visits, and the marina service economy is no longer enough to provide for all the residents who are in the community for work and better life chances.

Having analysed the way people use national categories to define each other and their different social activities and everyday practices, the following chapter considers the last research question with regard to Catalan, Spanish and other languages in the social structuration of the marina.

Chapter 7

Multilingualism in the wider context

The following chapter deals with the third research question, that sets out to understand how structuration is accomplished in the tourist community with respect to the local Catalan municipality of Castelló d'Empúries. The chapter addresses the dynamics of relations enacted between the residents of Empuriabrava with the local inhabitants of the old town, considering the way social structuration and the residents of Empuriabrava fit into this larger picture.

The study focuses on Spanish and Catalan language as important features of specific spaces and activities, in the municipality and the marina, and aims to discover how the different inhabitants of Empuriabrava relate to these co-official languages; and how the knowledge of these languages influences the outcomes of the social structuration in the community.

Residents' everyday activities and social practices define the discourses about how they carry out their lives in the community (Blommaert 2005), and how they define the different spaces, and the linguistic capital assets commodified and consumed in these spaces. In this sense, the study is interested in the impact of German, French and English, which are the languages associated with the tourism of the local economy (Heller 2010), and the influx of their connected language networks, on the social structuration of the marina; as social structuration in the community is directly linked to the effects of people's mobility trajectories connected with both work and leisure (Cohen 1984, 1986; Guardado 2015; Hall, 2005) and their diverse power relations (Bourdieu 1991; Foucault, 1994) which have important effects on space (Creswell and Merriman 2011) and social (re)organization.

The first section of this chapter, *Empuriabrava in the wider Catalan context*, takes into account the ideas displayed by the residents of the residential marina to understand the nature of their relationship with the administration of the municipality. I look at the different problems highlighted by the residents of the community, and the public discourse that gained more intensity and agreement in relation to the management of the public resources of the municipality. The second section, *The role of Catalan and Spanish in Empuriabrava*, takes up the role of Spanish and Catalan languages in

Empuriabrava for the residents of the tourist community. It explores the everyday language practices in these languages and who stands to gain or not by learning Catalan and/or Spanish. It seeks to understand how the knowledge of these languages may contribute to incorporation into the community of Castelló d'Empúries. The third section, *Social structuration and language practices*, looks at how language and multilingualism influence the spaces connected with the service sector in the residential marina, and how the outcomes of different language power relations (Foucault 1994) recreate boundaries (Barth 1998) between residents of different mobile trajectories and socio-economic backgrounds.

7.1 Empuriabrava in the Catalan context

Before Empuriabrava joined the municipality of Castelló d'Empúries in 1981, only 249 residents were established there (Idescat 2018). At that time, the marina was considered a private enterprise in charge of all services that needed to be offered, such as the public waste disposal, illumination or the maintenance of streets and the canals. Subsequently however, Empuriabrava underwent great changes, such as the application of the local legislation as well as Spanish coastal laws, and the exponential growth of a stable population who established their residence on a permanent basis in the marina. In 2015, there were 6827 registered inhabitants (Idescat 2018). Consequently, services in the locality which were taken care of basically during the summer season, were not sufficient to cope with the large number of residents that were settling in the community. As a result, residents asked the municipality to take measures to improve the services for the whole year. Nevertheless, the informants who experienced this exponential growth of inhabitants in the marina, Antoine, Clara, Carlos, María and Víctor, complain that these measures have never been carried out by the local administrations, and highlighted the poor maintenance of the infrastructure of the marina, which was never improved after the community joined the Catalan municipality in 1981. It can be claimed that an instance of private becoming public may have had something to do with the deterioration of the community. Besides, the inhabitants of the tourist community developed a sentiment and public discourse of dissociation from the main Catalan administration, which is accused of supporting only the interests of the Catalan population of Castelló d'Empúries. Because of the deterioration of the marina,

many international tourists and people who owned a second house in the community have sold their properties at reduced prices and the vacancies have been taken up by tourists with less economic capital.

Empuriabrava ha cambiado en estética, en la población, ¡en todo! Por el municipio. Empuriabrava se creó para el municipio de Castelló d'Empúries, no se creó por otra cosa, claro la autonomía y todo la tiene Castelló d'Empúries entonces no hay inversión aquí. Aquí no se construye nada nuevo. Todo va a Castelló d'Empúries; y no cuidan de Empuriabrava, aquí no han hecho trabajos. Aquí llevamos 45 años sin aceras, cuando llueve uno no puede salir a la calle (...) Esto se construyó y la llamaban la pequeña Venecia, hoy por hoy de pequeña Venecia no tiene nada.

Empuriabrava has changed in the way it looks, in population, in everything! Because of the municipality. Empuriabrava was built for the municipality of Castelló d'Empúries, it was not built for anything else, obviously its autonomy and everything is controlled by Castelló d'Empúries, so there is no investment here. Nothing new has been built here. Everything goes to Castelló d'Empúries; and they do not take care of Empuriabrava, they have not generated any jobs here. We have been living here for 45 years without any pavement, when it rains we cannot go out to the street (...) This was built and called "The little Venice", nowadays it has nothing to do with a little Venice.

(Clara 27/04/2015)

The degraded infrastructure of the tourist community is experienced as a major source of conflict with the local Catalan administration by the residents, who blame the municipality for not having improved or maintained the residential marina, and for spending public funds only for the interests of the Catalan ward of Castelló d'Empúries.

The deterioration of the infrastructure of the marina and the lack of improvements of public services (such as the streets, the canals and the pavements, which in the community consist of clay which becomes mud when it starts to rain) are described as aggravating causes for Empuriabrava's loss of prestige. The residents of the marina started to perceive themselves as being put in second place by the local administration. This idea was extended in the community and increased in intensity in 2010 when it was brought into politics. Some residents of the tourist community decided to start a political party to defend the interests of Empuriabrava, so they founded the political party *Unitat i Defensa d'Empuriabrava* (Unity and Defence of Empuriabrava) in September

2010, to compete in the municipal elections and therefore have a voice in administrative, legal and political decisions.

Aquesta formació té com a objectiu "crear consciència i unir la gent d'Empuriabrava i l'equilibri entre Castelló i el Mar", un vell deute, que durant anys cueja Empuriabrava

The objective of this formation is to raise consciousness and unify the people of Empuriabrava, and achieve a balance between Castelló and the Sea, an old debt, which has vexed Empuriabrava for many years.

(Web Unitat i Defensa d'Empuriabrava 2015)

The political agenda of this party is to unite the people who live in the tourist community, and to improve the administration of resources in the interests of the whole municipality. The spokes-person and president of this party, Joan Auge, affirms that they want to reach a balance in the relations between Castelló d'Empúries and Empuriabrava, which is metaphorically referred to as "the sea" in the previous quote. Implicit in the discourse of party objectives is that more importance is given to public administrative aspects related to Castelló d'Empúries, and thus the interests of the residents of Empuriabrava have been put to one side by the public administration.

The impoverished infrastructure and the absence of basic public services, such as the maintenance of the streets, the seafront or the public transport in Empuriabrava, were the main complaints of the party which participated in the municipal elections in 2015. The Unitat i Defensa d'Empuriabrava presented itself as the party that aimed to recover the loss of prestige of the tourist community.

A committed and enthusiastic team to correct the lost prestige of Empuriabrava. A team that believes in the qualities of the largest marina in Europe, which has the best and most modern infrastructure.

(Unitat i Defensa d'Empuriabrava 2015)

The agenda of this political party is grounded in ideas expressed by residents of different socio-economic extraction, who coincide in denouncing both the lack of interest displayed by the municipal administration with regard to Empuriabrava and the conditions of abandonment which both it and its inhabitants suffer from. Antoine, who is from France and who has been living in the community for 14 years, supports Clara's point of view and highlights the fact that the local administration in Castelló d'Empúries did not make use of the resources to promote and maintain the marina.

ANT: Aquí en Empuriabrava han cerrado muchas tiendas en los últimos años.

MAX: Es lo que dice también tu hijo.

ANT: cuando viene, ya no vive aquí como estuvo. Me dice :hostia no queda nada todo ha cerrado

MAX: Tú has llegado en Empuriabrava -

ANT: en la época mejor para el turismo, en su época dorada podemos decir...

MAX: ¿Y como la has visto cambiar en estos años?

ANT: de peor en peor, económicamente en peor. Yo pensó que hacen muchos errores, vale la crisis. Pero pienso que un sitio tan bonito como esta segunda marina de Europa, no la promocionan tanto, no la cuidan. No promocionan el sitio excepcional que tienen. Cuando ves el paseo marítimo, no pedimos que sea la Promenade des Anglais de Nizza pero que sea algo limpio, por lo menos como Santa Margarita o Rosas, que puedes pasear y todo, aquí no, es muy feo, muy dejado. No es un frente de mar digno del balneario de Empuriabrava.

ANT: Here in Empuriabrava many shops have closed in the past few years.

MAX: That's what your son says.

ANT: When he comes, he does not live here anymore. He tells me: Fuck, there is nothing left, everything is closed.

MAX: You arrived in Empuriabrava -

ANT: At the best time for tourism, in the golden age, we could say...

MAX: And in what ways have you seen the community change?

ANT: Worse and worse, economically for the worse. I think people made a lot of mistakes, okay, the crisis. But I think that such a beautiful place like this second marina in Europe, is not well promoted or taken care of. They do not promote the exceptional place they have. When you see the maritime esplanade, we are not asking for a Promenade des Anglais in Nice, but we ask for someplace that is clean, at least like Santa Margarita or Rosas, where you can go for a walk and everything. Here no, everything is ugly and very degraded. It is not a coastline worthy of Empuriabrava.

(Antoine 30/04/2015)

The lack of maintenance and improvement of the public infrastructure of the marina is at the centre of the residents' criticisms. They complain that the indifference of the Catalan administration has affected the kind of people who arrived in the community as well as the local businesses which were directly dependent on tourism. The impoverishment of the marina along with the economic crisis of 2007-2008 brought

about the closure of many economic activities and the reduction of tourist activity. The seafront is described as abandoned and in decline, and the public administration is blamed for not spending enough resources and effort in the development of the community and its promotion. Carlos, who arrived in the community from Buenos Aires (Argentina) in 1997 and who has seen how Empuriabrava changed in the past few years, asserted that the insufficient maintenance of several areas of the marina, such as the seafront, and the lack of interest in precise areas, such as The Arches, generates security issues that threaten the everyday practices of the residents of the marina. The area which in the past used to be renowned for leisure activities, with trendy nightclubs and bars is nowadays represented as a problematic section of the community. Besides, the administration of Castelló d'Empúries, does not act to make any improvements. Many long term residents expressed the idea that the Catalan administration of Castelló d'Empúries is interested in Empuriabrava only in an economical sense. The residents of the marina pay higher taxes because the ward is registered as a residential area, and they complain that they receive worse services. The local authority only collects taxes from the residents but does not take care of infrastructures, or plan improvements for the problematic areas of the community.

Empuriabrava mantiene Castelló d'Empúries, por esto los impuestos están mucho más altos. Acá ha entrado muchísimo dinero, sin embargo se lo han robado todo. Aquí no han invertido no han hecho cosas nuevas. Habrían tenido que derribar Los Arcos y hacer allí tiendas de lujo y mover los lugares donde se generan siempre conflictos y hay puñaladas afuera. La área night podrían hacerla fuera del pueblo (...) y -además aquí hay mucha droga. El frente de mar da miedo, uno tiene miedo que le violen. Cuando yo vine esto era un paraíso, se podía andar por la parte de Los Arcos, y ahora da miedo.

Empuriabrava financially supports Castelló d'Empúries, which is why taxes are much higher. A lot of money came in here; however, all of it has been stolen. They have not invested here; they have not done anything new. They should have knocked down Los Arcos and built some luxurious shops there and moved all the places where conflicts are generated and stabbings occur. The nightlife area should have been built in the surroundings of the town (...) And, on top of that, here there are a lot of drugs. The promenade by the sea is scary, you are afraid of being raped. When I first came here, this was a paradise, you could walk around Los Arcos”, and now it is scary.

(Carlos 15/05/2015)

This representation of the public administration shared by many, gained prominence with the municipal election of 2015. This was due to the fact that other political parties,

such as Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya or Convergència i Unió, were also supporting those ideas in order to compete for the votes of the residents of the different wards of the municipality. Security, reform, and maintenance of the tourist community were issues at the centre of the political agendas of the various local parties. So, in 2015 Unitat i Defensa d'Empuriabrava obtained a seat in the town council represented by Xavier Martínez i Canter, who was elected with 149 votes. 5% percent of a total 2938 votes (Ajuntament de Castelló d'Empúries 2016). This low result may be due to the low participation from the residents in the marina, and thus the Catalan population of Castelló d'Empúries still maintained its political weight. The political formations that led the municipality are Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (Republican left of Catalonia) with 793 votes and Convergència I Unió (Convergence and Union) with 541 votes.

After the elections, in which Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya won the greatest number of votes, the local administration of Castelló d'Empúries refuted the discourse about the two realities, which were those of the socio economic problems of the community and those which concern public administration in Empuriabrava. In his acceptance speech, the newly elected mayor, Salvi Güell i Bohigas (leading the coalition of Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya and Convergència i Unió¹¹), suggested that such views and discourses have the aim of confronting one part of the town against the other part.

Crec que qui vulgui enfrontar els diferents nuclis del municipi s'equivoca. No hi ha un enfrontament, ni hi ha de ser. Així ho veiem nosaltres i esperem convèncer a tothom amb les accions de govern que anirem aplicant en el dia a dia.

I believe that whoever wants to confront the different groups in the municipality is wrong. There is no confrontation, and there should not be. That is the way we see it and we hope to convince everyone with the actions that the government will be applying day-to-day.

(Salvi Güell i Bohigas 2016)

According to this point of view, the discourses about the socio economic problems of the community and those concerning public administration in Empuriabrava are understood as mere political discourses that aim to confront both parts of the

¹¹ The two political parties, *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* and *Convergència I Unió* are the parties who obtained the majority in the election of this municipality and they formed a coalition to run this administration. These political parties also formed a coalition at a regional level which promotes Catalan language and culture, and the autonomy and independence of Catalonia from the Spanish nation-state.

municipality, and that do not correspond to reality. He repeatedly states that his administration represents and takes care of the whole municipality, to reach out to those who claim to be abandoned by the public administration of Castelló d'Empúries.

Jo seré l'alcalde de tothom. Que quedi ben clar. No seré l'alcalde d'una part del municipi, no. Seré l'alcalde de tothom. I el govern que presidiré serà el govern de tothom, no només d'una part del municipi. Repeteixo: serem el govern de tothom.

I will be everybody's mayor. That should be clear. I will not be the mayor of a part of the municipality, no. I will be everybody's mayor. And the government that I will lead will be everybody's government, not just for one part of the municipality. I reiterate that we will be everybody's government.

(Salvi Güell i Bohigas 2016)

The discourse of the elected mayor, Salvi Güell i Bohigas, implicitly admits there are two nuclei in the municipality, and he is conceptually evoking in his speech the division of the municipality in different wards. Even if he states many times that he will be the mayor of the whole municipality and not of just a part of it, the public discourse of the mayor is published on the web only in Catalan, which evidences the lack of interest in the language diversity present among the different inhabitants of the marina.

Having observed politicians' discourses, we could assert that Salvi's political discourse was created as a token gesture towards those persons who had a sentiment of dissociation from the administration of Castelló d'Empúries. Nevertheless, its purpose is to deny the discourses that arose during the 2015 election about the imbalance of the public administration which is blamed for letting Empuriabrava fall into decline. However, the public criticism of the administration is not a mere political argument used as a strategy to reach the constituents of the marina. In fact, in recent years the residents of Empuriabrava have started to openly criticise the policies of the local administration, and these criticisms have incited a sentiment of dissociation from policy of the municipality of Castelló d'Empúries. People of different nationalities and social extractions coincide in representing the municipality of Castelló d'Empúries as focused on its particular local interests, which exclude promoting and supporting the residential marina. The residents' discourses are a reaction to the politics and the methodical Catalan nationalism broadcast by the administrations of the municipality, and it is a manifestation of the two different systems of structuration which developed in the two wards of this Catalan town: one based on the mainstream culture of the Catalan

autonomous region; the other grounded on mobility and national representation, and which displays an adverse sentiment towards the politics of the local administration.

7. 2. The role of Catalan and Spanish in the communities

In order to understand the role of Catalan and Spanish in the communities we should first look at what is at stake for the residents of Empuriabrava in learning these languages. Both languages are co-official in both communities, however, Catalan is the vehicle to participate in the decisions of local municipal power and to be informed about them. On the one hand, the employees of the public Administration of Castelló d'Empúries and many of its residents are not particularly happy to interact in Spanish. Consequently, Catalan becomes the key for accessing the local administration and for interacting in the Catalan society of the municipality. On the other hand, there is a network of migrants from other areas of the nation state and some migrants from Europe and Morocco who had already learnt Spanish before arriving to the tourist community and thus they already know one of the co-official languages which enables them to understand some Catalan, because they state these two languages have many similarities. So, they do not see the point of improving their knowledge or learning Catalan, because in the community it is seen as a language that only opens the door to opportunities in the Catalan network of the municipality and its administrative power. Moreover, it should be noted that the autochthonous populations are more attached to their local values while inhabitants or mobile persons place greater value on communicating than on the use and defense of the Catalan language.

The residents of Empuriabrava who participated in this study reiterated that Catalan is not a fundamental language in order to live in the community as the majority of people who live in the tourist community, who are migrants from other areas of the nation state, or foreigners who are looking for work in the community, speak Spanish. According to Victor, an informant who grew up in Empuriabrava, this is due to the fact that people who arrive in the community, either for better life chances or for leisure, consider Spanish a more valuable resource than Catalan, because it opens up more work opportunities and a greater access to Spanish speaking regions outside Catalonia. Importantly, he distinguishes two types of migrants according to their relation to Catalan and Spanish. On the one hand, there are migrant families who settle in

Empuriabrava and send their children to the local school, which is located in Castelló d'Empúries, where they learn Catalan from early years and thus introduce this language to their families too. On the other, there are mobile people who may know Spanish already, or who are not interested in learning Catalan because they consider knowing Spanish is enough to carry out their daily practices in the tourist community.

El catalán aquí lo habla la gente del pueblo. En Empuriabrava no se habla catalán. Empuriabrava es la urbanización de Castelló y la construyeron hace cuarenta, cincuenta años y lo construyeron todo españoles, gente que venía de fuera, Andalucía, Extremeños, nada de los catalanes. Los catalanes no han edificado eso, los catalanes han sólo hecho aquí su negocio. El idioma que se habla en Empuriabrava es el castellano. Hay dos clases de personas, los que vienen de niños aprenden el catalán primero. Pero la gente adulta que viene a trabajar, esta gente aprende el castellano directamente, porque el catalán no te sirve fuera de Cataluña.

Catalan is spoken here by the people in the town. In Empuriabrava Catalan is not spoken. Empuriabrava is a housing development that belongs to Castelló and it was built forty or fifty years ago, and everything was built by Spaniards, people who came from outside, Andalusia, people from Extremadura, no Catalans. Catalans did not build this; Catalans have only made business here. The language spoken in Empuriabrava is Castilian. There are two kinds of people; the ones who come when they are children and learn Catalan first. But adults who come to work, these people learn Spanish first thing, because Catalan is useless outside Catalonia.

(Victor 04/03/2015)

However, as we pointed out in the previous section, public administration, social services and all official matters connected to Castelló d'Empúries upon which Empuriabrava depends politically, are carried out entirely in Catalan. Thus, if the relevant languages in the residential marina, especially in the service sector, are English, German and French, in the sphere of political power, Catalan is the language that is particularly important. In order to access and communicate with the bureaucratic officials at the city hall and to gain access to public services Catalan is a must. Marta, who has been living in Empuriabrava for almost her entire life, illustrates from her point of view which are the fundamental languages in order to live in the marina.

Para vivir en Empuriabrava son necesarios los tres idiomas, el inglés, el francés y el alemán. Son los tres idiomas principales, a parte claro del catalán ¿no? Porque el catalán aquí tú ya lo ves que todo el papeleo que te viene normalmente te viene todo en catalán. Entonces

los que no saben por lo menos interpretar más o menos lo que le salen diciendo en un papel lo tiene un poco mal.

In order to live here three languages are necessary, English, French and German. These are the main languages, apart from Catalan, right? Because Catalan here, you can see that all the paperwork is usually in Catalan. So, those who don't know more or less how to interpret what a paper says, they're going to have a hard time.

(Marta 06/05/2015)

Catalan is a valuable resource for the people who want to open a business or invest in this area because the paperwork, the administrative decisions and the policies, and all public communication with the diverse municipalities of the province require the use of this language. Moreover, in the province of Girona, Catalan culture and language are key aspects of people's identity and everyday life (Clua 2014). The Catalan language is an indispensable resource for people who intend to work or open a business, or who aim to expand their business outside the limits of the residential marina. Most of the autochthonous population of the municipality lead their lives in Catalan. Use of the Catalan language is limited to the network of residents mainly located in the old town of Castelló d'Empúries, whose policy with respect to Catalan is different depending on the kind of mobility and social background these people display. In this sense, people who have experienced living abroad or have connections with other regions in Spain, are usually more comfortable changing their discourse to Spanish, whereas the persons who have always lived in the Catalan municipality are more reluctant to speak in Spanish, because they do not feel as comfortable as when they speak in Catalan, their everyday language.

Aquí es muy importante hablar catalán con los catalanes, porque si tú vas a un emprendedor catalán a ofrecerle algo, algún producto o a trabajar con él si no le respondes en catalán es como si les cayeras mal. El catalán de l'Empordà es así, muy orgulloso a cambio vas a Barcelona y el catalán barcelonés habla tranquilamente castellano. Pero aquí en el área de l'Empordà particularmente si no hablas catalán estás muerto.

Here, it is very important to speak Catalan with Catalan people, because if you go to offer something to an enterprising Catalan, like a product, or to ask for work, if you don't answer them back in Catalan it will seem like they dislike you. The Catalan from l'Empordà is like this, very proud of himself. But, if you go to Barcelona, the Catalan from Barcelona speaks in Spanish without a problem. But particularly

here in the area of l'Empordà, if you don't speak Catalan you're dead.

(Marta 06/05/2015).

In line with this, in order to mediate between the European residents and the Catalan administration, some language brokers (which are represented by the traditional translation agencies and also by privates who offer the translation/interpretation services themselves) have established their businesses in Empuriabrava. These agencies and privates serve the interests of those people from outside Spain who own properties in Empuriabrava, who do not speak the language and who typically can afford to pay private agencies to take care of any administrative business with the public administration. For instance, Craig, the German informant who has been living here since 2005 and who only knows German and some basic English, had to contact one of these agencies that helped him to find a house and go through all the paperwork without the language barrier. Also, the British couple, May and her husband, who have lived in the community for years without learning either Spanish or Catalan, make use of these services and rely on their newly acquired social networks (i.e. their Catalan friends in the town hall, see next example) to avoid learning the local languages. The residents find themselves in many situations in which they could not understand the administration but they had the impression of being understood.

There are people here in Catalonia that are firstly Catalan and when you speak in English they speak in Catalan and that's it, even if they can speak English. Not many of them, but that happens in places of bureaucracy, official places (...) But now we have friends in the *ajuntament*¹² and we always get somebody that speaks English.

(May 21/05/2015)

Often, the fact that Catalonia is a region in Spain with a different language and culture is completely unknown to these arriving residents.

The linguistic policy of the local administration is perceived as a barrier by the residents, because they do not understand the symbolic and social importance of the Catalan language for the autochthonous residents. In the area of Alt Empordà, where

¹² Ajuntament means city hall in Catalan

Empuriabrava is located, the Catalan language assumes an important role in social life, as it is spoken by the vast majority of people who live in this region and is present in economic activities, social services or leisure. Therefore, Catalan is essential to establish social relationships and to work.

The situation is rather different for Amin, who is a 33-year-old Senegalese national. As we saw in the analysis of his life trajectory Amin has knowledge of several languages. He speaks four languages (Wolof, French, Spanish, and English) fluently and he has a basic competence in two other languages which are Romanian and Swedish. In contrast with the experience of people who are in the community for leisure, who do not experience the need to learn Catalan for everyday practices, Amin felt pressured to learn the language. In this sense, the people working in local administration who were attending him spoke Catalan, and they wanted him to speak in Catalan too even if this was difficult for him, so he asked to speak in Spanish instead. He discovered that to receive social benefits and economic support from the municipality, Catalan was required in order to request help, to a point that representatives of the local administration directly told him that if he wanted a job it was mandatory for him to learn the language.

AMI: Aquí en España, o en Empuriabrava en general valoran más el, el catalán.

MAX: El Catalán dices?

AMI: Yeah, no el Español. Valoran más él porque ellos viven eso.

MAX: En Empuriabrava viste que valoran más el Catalán?

AMI: Si. Valoran más el catalán porque hasta yo frecuentaba unos asistentes sociales en Castelló y me obligaban a hablar catalán. Yo tenía dos asistentes sociales. Tenía una en Castelló. Tenía una en Empuriabrava en la policía local. Pues iba allí a (xxx) me hablaban en catalán. Pero yo no me interesaba el catalán, hasta que le dije. "sinceramente yo no tengo ningún interés para hablar catalán. Porque de donde vengo yo en África tenemos muchos más idiomas, el doble o el triple que aquí y solo hablo uno bien. Y ya no puedo estar aquí en Cataluña, no me lo permite el tiempo. Mi capacidad –no! Porque no me interesa! Yo para mí el castellano, español es suficiente. Porque si tengo que hablar catalán, algún día de mañana tengo que ir al País Vasco, hablar vasco. Ir en Galicia, hablar gallego. Tengo que ir... a (xxx) eran tantas tonterías! Prefiero no aprenderlo. Pero te lo obligan. Porque si no lo hablas, no tenía trabajo. Así de claro. Si no aprendes catalán no hay trabajo para ti!.

AMI: Here in Spain, or in Empuriabrava in general, Catalan is more greatly valued.

MAX: You mean Catalan, right?

AMI: Yes, not Spanish. Catalan is considered better because they live their lives with it.

MAX: Did you see that Catalan is more valued?

AMI: Yes, they assign greater value to knowing Catalan over other languages, because I even went to see some social workers in Castelló and they made me speak Catalan. I had a social worker in Castelló and one in Empuriabrava at the local police station. I went there to (xxx) they spoke to me in Catalan. But I wasn't interested in Catalan. Because where I come from, in Africa, we have many more languages, double or triple than here, and I only speak one of them well. And I can't be here in Catalonia anymore, my time is running out. My ability, no! Because I'm not into it! For me Castilian, Spanish is enough. Because if I have to speak Catalan, then some day in the future, I have to go to the Basque Country and speak Basque, or go to Galicia and speak Galician, I have to go to (xxx), there were so many silly things! I prefer not to learn it, but they make you do it, because if you don't speak it, you don't get a job. It's that simple. If you don't speak Catalan, there's no job for you.

(Amin 21/02/2015)

However, as stated by Victor, who has been living in Empuriabrava for the greatest part of his life, people who arrived as migrants looking for work and better life chances do not see the need to learn Catalan, as they see there are more opportunities for mobility connected with Spanish. At this point, it is important to remember, as was explained above, that mobile people who come to Catalonia do not understand the symbolic importance and meaning Catalan has for the autochthonous population. In this sense, the history of repression of the language is totally ignored by people who come without any intention of wanting to understand it or fit in. Amin supports Victor's perspective and embodies the type of mobile person who does not understand the symbolic importance of Catalan. He supports the idea that Catalan is useless outside Catalonia, whereas Spanish opens up a possibility for further mobility. And he highlights the discourse of the social helpers as a mechanism of exclusion.

AMI: Luego hay un momento que hay otro juego.

MAX: Aham.

AMI: Si, tú le dices "Si quiero aprender el catalán" y te dicen que ya las clases han empezado.

MAX: ¡Ah!

AMI: El año que viene...y te dice pos que está gente me quiere echar de aquí! Te lo dicen porque tú. Tú te desesperas y te vas.

AMI. Then there is a moment when they start playing another game.

MAX: Aham-

AMI: yes, you tell them - yes I want to learn Catalan, and they tell you that the classes have already started.

MAX: Ah!

AMI: Next year...and this means that these people want to kick me out! They tell you this, so that you... You get exasperated and you leave.

(Amin 21/02/2015)

Having observed the informants' opinion towards the use of Catalan, and considering each of their situations (Amin is forced to speak in Catalan by the representatives of the Administration, and May has the means to deal with the public administration of Castelló d'Empúries without being forced to learn Catalan), it could be claimed that mobile people, such as Amin, who want to work in the community or want to have access to social care, depend on the language to make a living, whereas mobile people who are retired or come here for leisure, such as May and her husband, do not have the need to learn Catalan because in many cases they can afford to pay private companies or agencies which speak their language, and that take care of administrative processes dealt with in Catalan. Moreover, the example of Amin demonstrates what Marta was affirming about the Catalan administration and the language policy of the municipality, which is that they ask those persons who are in Empuriabrava for reasons of work and better life chances to learn Catalan. These two cases illustrate how actors are positioned by the host society. Namely, tourists with higher economic capital, and residents who are in the community for leisure who bring wealth and activate the local economy, have the power to overcome the linguistic barriers; and this confers on them a higher social status.

In addition, many of the residents of the marina tend to associate Catalan exclusively with the Catalan network of Castelló d'Empúries, while Spanish is seen as a language that can provide more opportunities to find a job and more possibilities of establishing relationships with a greater population, or travelling outside Catalonia.

I would like to know Spanish, because I do not disparage Catalan, but it is spoken only in a tiny and little part of this world that is Catalonia.

(May 21/05/2015)

Residents who arrive both for leisure and for work find Spanish a more useful language for moving around in the world. It is for this reason that the inhabitants of Empuriabrava prefer first to learn the language spoken in the wider context of the nation state that is represented by Spanish. In the tourist community, there is an important network of national migrants from other regions in Spain, so Spanish is used as a lingua franca among them, as is the case of Victor's family, who came from Extremadura. This language is also the preferred choice of migrants of diverse nationalities who arrived in Empuriabrava for work and better life chances. In this sense, it could be claimed that for a full and better integration in the tourist community, Spanish is perceived as a fundamental resource.

Para vivir en Empuriabrava tienes que conocer el idioma de tu propio país porque te vas a juntar con gente de tu nacionalidad y el castellano.

In order to live in Empuriabrava, you have to know the language of your own country because you are going to interact with people from your same nationality and Spanish.

(Antoine 30/04/2015)

These ideas on language expressed by residents of both Castelló d'Empúries and Empuriabrava, make clear that the social boundaries (Barth 1998) of the tourist community are intertwined with language and they contribute to the reproduction of two different realities where language and language use assume a totally different dimension. On the one hand, in the ward of Castelló d'Empúries life is totally conducted in Catalan and Catalan (language and culture) has a symbolic importance for the autochthonous population. On the other hand, in the residential marina the inhabitants of different nationalities and social extraction reproduce a parallel society where European languages and their use play an important role in social organization, in the sense that languages are not just mere tools for communication within the different networks, they bring with them their socially constructed meanings. In this context,

Spanish is preferred over Catalan and it is acknowledged as the common language by most of the inhabitants of the marina.

7.3 Social structuration and language practices.

The scarcity of job offers in the community brought about by the economic recession of 2007-2008 as well as a demand for specific kinds of language capitals (Bourdieu 1991) as gateways to the few positions available in the job market, reduced the work opportunities in the tourist community. The fundamental languages needed to take part in the service economy of Empuriabrava are the languages of the main tourist groups such as French, German, and English. People who do not have competence in these languages are not competitive in the local job market, and hence they have fewer work opportunities. So, the commodification of the languages of tourism (Heller et al., 2014) over the others recreates a situation of power inequality that is resented by the historical inhabitants of Empuriabrava who have seen how European foreign languages have established themselves as fundamental resources to access the local service economy. Clara, who is from Barcelona and who has lived thirty-seven years in the community, emphasized that nowadays these languages work as a barrier for the young as they make it impossible to find a job there, even if these languages are not official, and therefore should not necessarily imply the impossibility of making a living there. In this sense, prior to the economic crisis when there was a high demand for workers, employers expected workers to learn the language on the job. Nowadays, however, in order to get a job in the community people need to know one of the languages spoken by the tourists in the community; a condition that coincided with fewer job openings and a stiffer job competition. When Clara arrived in Empuriabrava in the seventies she had the opportunity to learn the languages of the various nationalities by working in the diverse bars and restaurants of the marina. She had contact with tourists of different nationalities every day at work, and she learned French and German. However the knowledge of a given language was not a requirement to find work, as the demand in the service sector was very high and employers understood that languages could be acquired by the workers by means of practicing.

Es muy penoso que tenga que irse la juventud española para darle paso a otros que vienen de fuera. Porque no saben los idiomas que se necesitan aquí, porque tampoco les han dado las oportunidades, ¿me

entiendes? Porque o tú te lo tienes que pagar tú de tu bolsillo, o si tienes la suerte de que bueno, que trabajando vas a aprender estos idiomas como aquí hemos aprendido muchos a base de tratar con ellos y servirles muchos platos de comidas y muchas cervezas... ¿si no de qué? No todo el mundo puede ir a buenas escuelas de idiomas. Ahora aquí tienes que ir ya preparado. Por eso aquí trabajan las personas que han tenido la suerte de aprender un alemán perfecto, o un francés perfecto, o un inglés perfecto.

It is deplorable that the young Spanish people have to leave the country to let in others that come from abroad. Because they don't know the languages that are needed here. Because nobody has given them the opportunity, do you understand? Because either you have to pay to learn a language from your own pocket or if you are lucky to learn these languages while working, like many of us here who have learned lots of languages by having contact with tourists, by serving them plates of food and lots of beers.... Otherwise, how? Not everybody is able to go to good language schools. Now, you need to be ready here. That's why the people who work here, are the ones who were lucky to learn perfect German, or perfect French or perfect English.

(Clara 27/04/2015)

If before it was possible in Empuriabrava to learn the languages on the job, today knowledge of languages, especially English, German and French are a barrier that excludes persons who do not have a chance to gain access to this symbolic capital. In consequence the demand for these linguistic capitals (Bourdieu 1991), gives an advantage to those people who belong to the networks where these languages are spoken. Clara highlights the symbolic capital that these languages have in the community. In this sense, she identifies French at the top of this symbolic hierarchy, as French tourism is dominant in the community. And she evidences that before the economic crisis, the community was oriented to German tourism and therefore German had this symbolic power too.

Antes esto era Alemania y ahora es Francia, porque claro los que están dominando ahora son ellos. Aunque el francés no es tampoco mucho de invertir en negocios, porque normalmente el francés invierte y al año ya está cerrado. Porque ellos creen que están en su país y que pueden cobrar los precios de su país y encima es otra mentalidad. El alemán en cambio era más abierto, al alemán por regla general le gustaba la comida española pisaban los ambientes españoles y bueno hay muchos que han estado aquí toda su vida y no saben decir ni papa en español, figúrate en catalán. Pero en cambio ha habido muchos que han llegado a aprender hasta el catalán y que se han integrado. Pero los franceses no, los franceses son ellos, ellos y ellos.

Before, this was Germany and now it is France, because, of course, the ones who are in control now, are them. However, the French are not the type who invests in a business, because usually after a year it is already closed. Because they think they are in their country and they can ask the same prices as in their own country, and on top of that they have another way of thinking. The German, by contrast, is more open. The German, in general, liked Spanish food, they made contact with Spanish circles and well, many of them have been here for their whole life and they don't even know how to say "potato" in Spanish, so imagine in Catalan. But, there were also many who even learned Catalan and they have managed to fit in. But French people don't, French people are themselves, out for themselves and themselves only.

(Clara 27/04/2015)

Over time there has been a change in the national origin of the visitors and residents in Empuriabrava. This renewal of the population by persons moving for purposes of leisure has brought about a restructuring of the social and linguistic composition of the community. In the year 2000 the most important language for finding a job in the service sector of the community was German. Nowadays it has shifted to French. However, to have some knowledge of these languages is not enough to get a job in the community. In fact, as Clara points out people who have a job in Empuriabrava today know perfect French, perfect German, or perfect English, and they should have great skills in more than one of these languages, as there is a scarcity of job offers and this has created greater competition among job seekers.

Even so, these languages merely work as a sort of gatekeeping mechanism and are not valued in economic terms, as workers' salaries for many of these service jobs are low (Martin Rojo, Anthonissen, García-Sánchez, and Unamuno 2017). The tourist industry of the community expects high linguistic competence for unqualified jobs in bars and restaurants and other services catering to the tourists' leisure. The spaces of leisure for tourists open mainly during the summer and they are aimed at the tourists of the diverse European networks. As a mechanism to promote their symbolic power to face the economic recession and the declining economic situation, the influential networks of the community hire people with high competence in the languages of the visiting tourists. English, German, and French are valued over the knowledge of Spanish or Catalan. This recreates a situation of social exclusion of those people who do not possess the linguistic capital necessary to find a job in the community. Moja, who is from Morocco

and without a regular job, finds himself in a situation where he appreciates the need to know other languages in order to be competitive on the job market.

MOJ: Aquí hay mucha gente, hay de todo.. hay franceses, alemanes.. por esto que te he dicho que tengo que aprender idiomas. francés, inglés.

MAX: ¿Para encontrar curro?

MOJ: Sí, aquí piden mucho los idiomas.

MOJ: Here there are many people, they are from all over... there are French, Germans... for this reason I told you that I need to learn languages, French, English.

MAX: To find a job?'

MOJ: Yes, here they frequently ask for languages.

(Moja 15/05/2015)

In this way, Northern European immigrants are perceived by the working population as belonging to a higher social position. The persons who are mobile for reasons of leisure are those who are requesting that services be supplied in their own language. Workers need to know those languages in order to be able to work. Lory, who arrived in the community from France without knowing any Spanish or Catalan was easily able to find a job thanks to her knowledge of French and the support from the French network of the community.

Yo aprendí español trabajando aquí. Cuando llegué hace trece años no hablaba nada el castellano, ni tampoco catalán y los aprendí trabajando. Porque yo vine por trabajo y tuve la suerte de encontrar trabajo el día siguiente porque hablo francés. El día siguiente al llegar trabajaba de camarera y aprendí castellano trabajando, y era más joven todo era más fácil. Luego empecé a salir con un chico de Uruguay así que necesité aprenderlo sí o sí.

I learnt Spanish working here. When I came here thirteen years ago I didn't speak Spanish at all, or Catalan and I learned them at work. Because I came here for a job and I was lucky to find one the day after I arrived because I speak French. The day after I arrived, I worked as a waitress and I learnt Spanish while working, and I was younger, and everything was easier. Then, I started to date a Uruguayan guy, so I had to learn it, no argument.

(Lory 27/05/2015)

The hierarchy of languages in the community of Empuriabrava is related to the structuration in the community, as pointed out in earlier sections, and to persons' national origin and to their reason for being mobile (i.e. for work and better life chances or for leisure). This suggests that the structuration that is going on at a local level in this tourist community is tied to a more global social dynamics of inequalities that exist on a world scale. By going beyond the methodological nationalism criticized by Çaglar and Glick-Schiller (2011) we are able to see how social differences and inequalities that are present in this small tourist community are the outcome of global scale inequalities between the developed and developing world. People of Northern European origin and local Spaniards and Catalans, who own economic activities and business in the community restrict the access to work and integration of those categories of migrant who do not display the features these networks prioritize. Migrants who arrive to find work and better life chances, and who compete for the few jobs available in the marina, need to have greater linguistic knowledge in order to have any chance or opportunity. The only economic activities which do not require any linguistic competence in the community are connected with illicit activities. For this reason, people from the developing world with limited linguistic competence in Spanish and other foreign languages are often represented as criminals and associated with the underground economy. As Heller and McElhinney (2017: 30) point out, colonialism, postcolonialism and decolonization are processes at the root of contemporary social relations and inequalities that are played out at local levels as we see in this tourist community. The different languages of the important tourist networks who settled in the marina destabilized what was once the regular organization of this Catalan municipality, redefining the different spaces of the local economy. German, French and English became important features for locals and migrants and these languages redefine the layout of power and its connected social structures. Residents of Northern European origin who are in Empuriabrava for leisure can access the services of the community which are provided in their own languages and fed by the tourist industry which is the only economic engine of the service based economy. In contrast, local residents and migrants who are in the community for work and better life chances have to be multilingual, to learn, and master the languages of the diverse seasonal visitors. This recreates a situation of inequality with relation to the job resources available in Empuriabrava, and many people who are not able to find a job are forced into mobility,

into illicit businesses, or into living on the margins of society in extreme socio-economic conditions.

Considered the data under study in this last chapter of analysis, which looks at the relationship between the administration of Castelló d'Empúries and the residents of the marina, and the importance of Spanish, Catalan and the other languages for the residents of Emuriabrava, the following section includes a collection of conclusions that bring together the key aspects of this study.

Chapter 8

Conclusions

The last chapter of this thesis summarizes the main findings that have emerged from this ethnographic study of the tourist community of Empuriabrava in Girona, in the autonomous region of Catalonia in Spain. This study was inspired by Giddens's (1984: 15) notion of social structuration, seen as the structural spine and basis for organization of human society, that relies on dynamics of a wider dimension involving people's agency. The polymorphic nature of human societies, and their inherent structuration is what makes them different from one another. Tourist communities such as Empuriabrava are places where it is possible to observe the structuring effect of mobility on local host communities and to understand the way situated language and social practices shape the social and economic reality of the community. The tourist space of Empuriabrava is destabilised by drastic fluctuations in population, from the high season where the population increases to over eighty thousand residents, to the low season where only a small number of inhabitants remain. The negative economic consequences of this fluctuation are experienced more acutely by residents whose main purpose for residing in the community is to find better life chances than those in their country of origin. The mass influx of visitors in the summer months challenges the organization of society and its social structure by unveiling the multiple factors – in addition to the possession of material resources – that are relevant for understanding processes of social differentiation in the community (Grusky 2008). Each one of the chapters in the present study has taken up a different aspect that covers the complex manner social structuration is accomplished in Empuriabrava. Social structuration is reflected in the way residents approach language choices and their connected networks in the community. The diverse multilingual practices intertwine with people's social activities and the (re)construction of the social meanings which are connected to the different spaces of work and leisure in this tourist community. Residents' life trajectories and national origins are brought together in the categories people use to identify each other, and these elements are key to an understanding of the social structuration that takes place in the residential marina.

In this concluding chapter I take up the way motivation for mobility, language, national origin, physical spaces, ownership, and work participate in the process of social structuration and exclusion that takes place in the residential marina of Empuriabrava. I finish by presenting some of the limitations of the present study and I suggest some further areas of research that would contribute to a wider understanding of the social and linguistic processes that contribute to structuration.

In the different spaces of the marina, the diverse multilingual practices of the residents, and their different relationships towards languages and multilingualism, delimit the range of their socio-economic possibilities that are directly connected to their personal life trajectories and the reason for their decision to move. Those persons who move to Empuriabrava seeking good weather, as well as sports and leisure activities are identified mainly as the Northern European residents who have the material resources to invest in their leisure time. These people recreate their spaces and activities around other persons of the community who participate in their particular language network. Consequently, multilingual practices are perceived as unnecessary for their social participation, as they can get by in their daily lives without having to learn the local autochthonous languages. These are the cases of May and her husband, who arrived from England and have been living in the tourist community for almost ten years speaking only in English; or Craig, who came to live permanently in Empuriabrava to stay with his father in 2012, and who speaks German and English in his every-day life. This contrasts with the people who typically come from the developing world whose reasons for being in the tourist community are work and better life chances. The majority of people who are mobile for reasons of seeking a better life are multilingual when they arrive in the community and they are more open to learning Catalan and Spanish in order to improve their chances of finding work. They also have wider and more heterogeneous networks because they frequent different spaces, where they have to interact with people from different nationalities, and thus they get to extend their multilingual practices.

In Empuriabrava, the manner in which the inhabitants of the community understand and conceptually represent social class is connected with their personal mobility trajectory, national origin, and language. These features become important aspects in people's everyday life, because the residents of the marina adopt these elements to define their diverse networks, spaces, and social activities. The community of Empuriabrava is a

residential marina deeply influenced by seasonal tourism, and the socio-economic activities of its service economy are reduced during the winter and in the low season. Residents who live in the marina on a permanent basis complain about the lack of services and social activities during this time of the year; many shops, bars, and restaurants are closed and people limit their social activities to specific spaces in which they meet with people who belong to their language network, and with whom they share similar lifestyles and socio-economic conditions. With regard to residents' everyday practices, two main groups of inhabitants who live in the marina on a permanent basis are identified, which are the people who are in the community for leisure, and the people who are looking for work and better life chances. These two categories are linked in peoples' discourse and activities to mobility and nationality as indicators of social prestige and economic wealth, and they display the idea that people who share the same language and national networks share the same interests, frequent the same spaces and have similar economic conditions. This particular representation of society is the general outcome of the everyday practices and discourses of the residents, who display a society where there is an extreme disparity of conditions among the inhabitants.

The different residents' everyday practices, their different relationship towards languages and multilingualism and their socio-economic possibilities define the social spaces of the marina. At the same time, this practical representation of space marks out the spaces where people live, spaces of leisure and social activities as well as spaces for illicit activities for the residents of different nationalities and social extraction. It could be said that spaces and practices are intertwined in a reciprocal relation, as social structuration is defined by residents' well known practices and socio-economic conditions in the particular and diverse spaces of the community.

Northern European networks occupy exclusive and selective spaces, not aimed at residents coming from the developing world. These are the canals and bars and restaurants identified with specific cultures, which present German or French symbols and languages. People who want to take part in the activities in these spaces need to possess greater economic capital and be fluent in the languages of these influential northern European networks. Other spaces of leisure and social activities, which are traditional bars and restaurants located in a less prestigious area of Empuriabrava, are occupied by Spaniards, Catalans and migrants and more generally by all residents who are in the community for work and better life chances. The differences perceived

among the practices of these two networks are few, as the possibilities for leisure are very limited in the marina during the winter and the low season. Still, members of Northern European networks get to display activities in exclusive spaces that require a high economic capital, and also have the time and resources to spend outside Empuriabrava, whereas residents who have limited economic capital are constrained to spend their time and resources in the spaces of the community aimed at people of different national networks and socio-economic background. These spaces for locals and migrants are less homogeneous, and people display diverse languages and forms of multilingualism. However, the activities in these spaces are oriented towards local interests, and people who take part in them normally have, or develop, high communicative competence in Spanish which is the language most people who live permanently in the community end up learning.

From this point of view, Empuriabrava can be considered a community only in the geographical sense of the term, as a circumscribed area. The constituted groups and networks have diverse lifestyles, languages, and tastes, and their activities organize the symbolic power and material resources of the different spaces of the marina. The diverse networks of residents organize themselves in different spaces and they rarely blend with each other; resulting in a reality which has nothing to do with the traditional conception of community.

Social structuration in this community is the outcome of the way people's agencies play out (Giddens 1984), and to untangle the complex ways in which residents orient their activities and social practices, it is important to identify what those features, which become inherent aspect of their identities, are (Blommaert 2005). The first thing that leaps out of the ethnographic study in Empuriabrava is that the inhabitants of different national origins nominally categorized the inhabitants in the community by their nationality, and this was meant to be an indication of their social standing in the marina.

The diverse lifestyles of the residents and the categories they recreate reveal the ideologies behind their social practices and discourses. Northern Europeans are idealized as the elite with the material resources to own properties and to use their leisure time sailing in their boats or eating at the exclusive restaurants. These are the people who are perceived as bringing wealth to the marina community. People from Germany and France are the foreign networks which invest the most in the service

economy of the marina, as many businesses and shops are owned by and oriented to people of these Northern European networks. On the contrary, people from the developing countries, but especially from Morocco and Romania (which are the migrant networks which register a higher growth in the marina), and whose motivation for coming to Empuriabrava is to seek work rather than to spend their leisure time, are perceived as being active in the underground economy and the cause of the social problems which have contributed to the degradation of Empuriabrava.

Empuriabrava, in the imagination of the long term residents was an idealised paradise community which had been created for elite tourism before it joined the municipality of Castelló d'Empúries. Even so, after this event, the local municipality and the town inhabitants involved in the tourist industry did not expect the exponential growth that the resident population of Empuriabrava experienced over the years. In this sense, the administration did not consider that extensive resources had to be spent on the maintenance and improvement of the diverse spaces, infrastructures, and services of the marina.; Empuriabrava lost its well-established prestige and exclusivity, bringing about a change in the kind of residents and visitors to the community.

Most of the residents whose motivation to be in Empuriabrava is for work survive a good part of the year without a job, because their employment is dependent on the seasonal arrival of Northern European and other international tourists seeking the beach and a good climate, and which is concentrated in just a few months each year. Moreover, the great majority of the shops and services of the tourist community, such as clothes shops or souvenir shops, have expensive goods which are oriented to the visiting tourists more than for residents. This explains why they remain closed most of the year, and also why the inhabitants (regardless of their motivation for being in Empuriabrava) prefer to shop in other nearby towns, such as Figueras or Rosas. In Empuriabrava there are few bars and restaurants which remain open all year long, and these economic activities work with their particular networks of residents.

The change in the kind of residents and visitors who arrive in the community is associated by many residents, such as Victor, Carlos, and Clara, with the increasing arrival of people from the developing world, the economic inflation caused by the Euro currency in 2002, and the world financial crisis of 2007-2008. Even so, Empuriabrava was already undergoing a generation shift of people who owned the prestigious

properties which were purchased in the sixties and seventies; and their successors manifested less interest in the kind of leisure and activities offered (Zbinden 2007; Yago 2010), as nowadays people are attracted by more diverse tourist experiences.

However, due to the change in the kind of visitors and because of the lack of work and the world financial crisis which started in 2007-2008, there has been an important growth of the underground economy and illicit activities in the marina, which has cast an image of insecurity and decline over the whole area. An example of this (no comma) is the decline of the commercial area, The Arches. This was considered as an attraction for its exclusive ambience and night clubs until approximately 2006, but nowadays it is considered as a problematic area with no such exclusive stores or clubs, and where illicit activities are carried out. The underground economy associated mainly with the selling and consumption of drugs and sex, are leisure activities that people of different social extractions and networks pursue with different degrees of involvement. But these practices are not entirely represented in local residents' and tourists' discourses, since people who are linked with illegalities are frequently migrants who come from the developing world. These migrants are represented as providers of these illegal services, and the tourists, and Northern European residents are typically identified as consumers of these services. However, the involvement in the drug and sex trades of residents of more affluent networks, such as the Germans, the French, the Catalans, or the Spaniards, is omitted from the public discourse, because there is an unspoken will not to compromise the image of certain networks that represent the only incomes for the community. In fact, tourists and local residents, such as the German or French, who often participate in the same networks, are perceived by migrants who are in Empuriabrava for reasons of work, as close networks that do not mingle and who spend resources and time in spaces other than their own, something they used to do before the crisis. Finally, Catalans whose networks are concentrated in Castelló d'Empúries and who do not spend time or resources in the marina, have little knowledge of the reality that takes place in the tourist community. Since they are unaware of many of the problems and conflicts that have developed over the years, Catalan residents tend to adopt the perspective favored by the influential networks of the community, with whom they have more contact.

Empuriabrava presents two realities which can simultaneously be valid conceptions of the marina. On the one hand, Empuriabrava is a tourist community which undergoes an

exponential growth of residents in the summer and offers many social activities, sports, and leisure services. On the other hand, during the rest of the year both economic activities and population are reduced, and the social practices of migrants and people who are in the community for work and better life chances are more visible in the spaces of the marina. Before economic problems affected the community, the wealthy image of Empuriabrava thrived all year long, whereas nowadays this image is barely sustained during the summer season and is now much more deteriorated.

The inhabitants of the residential marina blame the local administration of Castelló d'Empúries, which from their perspective has not maintained nor improved the public infrastructures of the marina. In this sense the residents of Empuriabrava elaborated a public discourse of resentment towards the administration of Castelló d'Empúries, which is accused of negligence and an unequal redistribution of public resources between the two wards.

Tourist communities in Catalonia and Spain typically live in isolated bubbles, where interaction with the local autochthonous population is limited and generally involves a kind of economic relationship. In this sense, the socio-economic activities of the residential marina have deeply affected the life and activities of the residents of Castelló d'Empúries too, as the population of the two wards grew considerably, and because the service economy linked with tourism became an important aspect also of this local town. For the local autochthonous population, tourism has become a substitution for agriculture and also their main means of livelihood. The local administration and people linked with the service economy somehow allow Northern European residents and tourists to conduct their lives without interfering in their practices, and giving them the possibility of freely developing their networks around their specific languages, without the requirement of learning the local languages, Catalan and Spanish. In contrast, migrants who arrive in the community for work and better life chances are pushed by the autochthonous population and the public administration to improve their language capabilities as a gateway to their participation in society.

The Catalan language is an important resource to participate in the society of Castelló d'Empúries, and to be able to communicate with the administration and the Catalans who live there. In the case of Empuriabrava people who moved to the community for reasons of finding better life chances, as well as international residents, prefer to learn

Spanish as a second language or to use this language as a lingua franca. Residents who do not speak Spanish are perceived with a veiled distance by the rest of the residents, as they limit their public participation to spaces intended for their language networks, and rarely mix with people of other social extractions. Because of this, residents of Northern European origin that do not speak any Spanish are perceived as belonging to a wealthy elite who can find language brokers or intermediaries who will take care of their interests with the local administration. In contrast, people who are in the community and work in the service sector, are more open to multilingualism and to acquiring linguistic capital that they see as an indispensable resource for their participation in the local economy. However, these multilingual people, who compete for scarce socio-economic resources and jobs, often see themselves assigned to subordinate social positions.

Migrants who did not know about the Catalan language or Culture before arriving in Empuriabrava do not understand the symbolic importance of this language for the Catalan population. In consequence, the fact that the administration asks them to learn Catalan, apart from Spanish, is perceived as another excuse to exclude them from specific spaces, activities, and networks.

The in-depth study of tourist communities and mobility “reveals that they are potent propellers of socio-cultural and environmental change, and essential processes of identity formation, the making of place, and the perpetual invention of culture” (Salazar 2012:876; Adams 2004). The local service economy of the marina is almost exclusively focused on the arrival of visiting tourists in the summer months; and their language and practices have a great impact on local economy, and then on the consequent social structuration, as the variation and fluctuation of these mobilities have direct consequences on residents’ work opportunities.

The fact that Spanish is mostly used in Empuriabrava and that Catalan is mostly spoken in Castelló d’Empúries, regardless of the Catalan tourists and residents who are in Empuriabrava, reinforces the conceptual distance of residents towards the Catalan culture and the policy of the Catalan administration. Moreover, this indicates that Spanish is preferred over Catalan because it opens up to more opportunities for work and mobility outside the area of Catalonia. The language hierarchy, or the value of certain languages over others in this residential marina, defines the powers and possibilities of the diverse residents, and determines the layout of social structuration in the residential marina.

Language commodification (Heller 2003, 2010) and language capitals (Bourdieu 1991) acquire a fundamental importance in the marina, as these linguistic features contribute to define the diverse spaces of the society and the local economy, and they act as gateways to find work and access the opportunities offered in the community. Because of the arrival of tourists and residents from France, who are taking over the residential spaces and the activities of the German network, the French language is nowadays the most important resource to find a job in the community, followed by the knowledge of English, and then German. These languages are associated by residents with high-profile tourist activities and leisure, and these linguistic capitals get exchanged in the exclusive spaces aimed at the wealthy networks of residents, and seasonal visitors, to maintain and underline their privileged positions; and to set the conceptual boundaries which define the diverse spaces and their connected lifestyles and activities.

Empuriabrava is an example of how in tourist communities the activities and language practices of the international residents establish distinct networks that define people's language choice in the diverse spaces, which indexes nationality, class-like categories, and personal material resources. These mechanisms of interpretation and transformation of society rely on the power involved in people's agency (Giddens 1984); therefore, languages and multilingual practices which circulate about the diverse groups and networks carry the ideological view that residents use to categorise and represent each other, and each other's practices, across time and space (Giddens 1984).

This shows that the multilingual practices that take place in the community are understood and used by people for different economic, political, and ideological reasons, and also that linguistic capital is differently distributed among residents of different social extraction, nationality and economic resources. The findings of this study are an example of other broader phenomena in Catalonia and Spain linked with the mobility, language, and multilingual activities of people for both work and leisure; and they make a contribution to the knowledge of the process of social structuration and inequalities which are recreated in this tourist community on the Catalan Costa Brava.

The undertaking of ethnographic research rarely follows a straight path. It required me to question my initial ideas and hypotheses about the community of Empuriabrava, and as I acquired new knowledge throughout the time of my fieldwork along with my observations and participation, I was forced to revise many of the ideas I initially held. I

was intrigued from the start by the multilingualism of the community but I observed that not all languages had the same status. In order to understand that puzzle and how it was connected to the diversity of life motivations for mobility and relocation in the space of this tourist community at the particular time that I carried out my study, I had to use all the languages I know to mingle with people of diverse nationalities and socio-economic background.

The dynamics of doing ethnography have taught me the need for constant reflexivity as new meanings emerged from the participants in this study. A critical theoretical stance guided my initial interests in how structuration, social difference and exclusion were constructed by the social actors residing in Empuriabrava. One of the main obstacles I found throughout my ethnographic journey was the difficulty to gain access to all the views of the diverse nationalities residing in the community, especially since I was not a speaker of many of the languages that were part of the everyday interactions there. My knowledge of English, Italian, Spanish and some Catalan allowed me to engage with persons who had one of these repertoires in their everyday lives. It is in this sense that I, as researcher, did not entirely fit in with any of the groups. Ideally I would have liked to engage more with the elite residents of Germans, British and other Northern Europeans who had settled in this community for reasons of leisure. However, previous research on the community (Zbinden 2007 and Yago 2010) dealt with these elite communities in depth, while my own contribution to knowledge of the community has come from being male and single which has given me access to certain groups in the community who came from the developing world, or who were resident in Empuriabrava seeking work and better life chances. I was able to participate in their marginality and in the life at the limit of subsistence which they led. The present study of multilingualism and structuration is also limited by the disciplinary boundaries of anthropology and sociolinguistics. However, the findings presented in this thesis are relevant for other research on tourism and geographical space which may be studied by sociologists and geographers. The task of writing this thesis has required the ability to link the everyday social and language practices that were going on in the community with their wider significance. Global scale processes such as mobility, the economic crisis, regional nationalism, and tourism and the way they are materialized in Empuriabrava are relevant for other communities along the Mediterranean coast where I have been able to show there is much more than initially meets the eye.

The results of this ethnographic study, that show the importance of people's mobility and language in the (re)construction of the social structure and organization of spaces in society, invite us to think on several aspects that could be analysed in further research. For instance, the study lets us interpret tourism as an important contemporary socio-economic force which intersects with the diverse aspects of people's life trajectories and everyday life social practices. This has a great impact on the persons and places connected with tourism for reasons of work and leisure. The social diversity of Empuriabrava, and its particular dimension in the Catalan context, encourages further study about the implication and growth of nationalism in this municipality, and the impact of tourist economies on the socio-economic (re)organization of the nation state.

Moreover, the ethnographic study provides a base to be integrated with successive studies about other forms of mobility, work and leisure, which take place in the community that have an effect on the social structure and organization of the marina. Further research could directly undertake the study of tourism during the summer. Alternatively, a deeper study which focuses exclusively on the diverse dimensions of work in the marina could be carried out. Furthermore, there are important networks which are growing and becoming relevant in the (re)organization of social structure in Empuriabrava, such as people from Romania and Russia, to whom I did not have direct access, and that would improve our understanding of the processes of structuration that take place in this tourist community. Finally, I observed that the problems connected with leisure and services that the tourist industry of the community has undergone in the past few years, have required the tourist industry to renew and change the kind of activities and services offered in Empuriabrava. In this sense, it would be interesting to study how the municipality, the people, and the economic activities which are connected with sports and nature are making an effort to restore the prestige of the residential marina through the promotion of adventure sports, such as windsurfing, skydiving, and other kinds of trendy and exclusive activities. All in all, it would be interesting to observe the outcome of further changes in the kind of tourism, activities and services, in terms of language and multilingualism, for the social structuration and reorganization of power in the residential marina.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Semi-structured interview questions

The questions below guided the semi-structured interviews I conducted with a selected set of participants in this study. The questions have been designed to address aspects of the life trajectory and the reasons for mobility put forth by the participants. While I conducted the interview using the list of questions as a reminder of the topics I wanted to take up, the manner in which I engaged with the participants was as an open dialogue where the interviewee could speak freely about the community.

Guideline questions for the semi-structured interviews

A. Origin and Life Trajectory

- 1) Can you tell me when and why you came to Empuriabrava?
- 2) Where did you grow up? Tell me about your childhood
- 3) Have you lived in other places? Can you tell me about them? Do you think you will ever move to another place? Do you feel comfortable here in Empuriabrava?

B. Lifestyle of the country of origin and in Empuriabrava

- 1) How do you spend your time here? -Do you have a boat? Do you go the beach? Do you have friends? Where are they from?
- 2) What is it like living/ being here in comparison to your own country?
- 3) Can you tell me a little bit about what you do for a living?

(If retired –what was their work and activity?)

(If the person has a shop or a business –what kind of business or shop is it? why did he/she open a business in Empuriabrava? – What kind of customer shops there?)

(If underground economy –what kind of drugs or illicit activity and who are the typical customers)

- 4) Have you ever worked here in Empuriabrava? - Do you work all year long?
- 5) Do you have any hobbies or activities you like to do in your free time? What are your hobbies, what do you like to do?
- 6) Where do you go to eat when you go out? What do you eat?
- 7) What is the best place to go to shop to? Do you go there? Who else goes there to shop?

C. Networks and Mobility

- 1) Is it easy to meet people here? Can you tell me about the kind of people you have met here in Empuriabrava?
- 2) What are some of the activities that you do together? Where can you go to meet people in Empuriabrava? Do you belong to any club or association where other people from your country /or religion meet?
- 3) How do you stay in touch with your family and friends?
- 4) Do you live all year long in Empuriabrava?
- 5) How do you get around? Do you have your own vehicle or do you use public transport?

D. Language and communication

- 1) How many different languages do you know? Do you use them all here? How did you learn them? (Here it is better to repeat and ask directly for each language the person knows)
- 2) What languages do you need to know to get by here in Empuriabrava?
- 3) Would you like to learn a new language or to improve a language you already know?
- 4) What TV programs do you watch? What newspaper and magazines do you like to read? Do you use internet?
- 5) Is it necessary for you to know Spanish to live here?
- 6) Is it necessary for you to know Catalan?

E. Empuriabrava

- 1) What do you like the most about Empuriabrava?
- 2) What do you think needs to be changed or improved in Empuriabrava?

From these two questions I aim to see the degree of involvement of people with the problem of the community they live in, and how they are aware of these problems and affected by them.

Appendix B

Information on fieldwork and index of fieldnotes

I conducted two periods of ethnographic fieldwork in the community of Empuriabrava. The first period from April 1, 2014 until July 31, 2014. The second fieldwork extended from February 1, 2015 until May 31, 2015. During my stay in the community I collected fieldnotes about my everyday observations and interactions with the local inhabitants in different spaces of the Empuriabrava community, where I included information about participants in everyday life. The following tables summarize by month the general content of my observations. All the persons and locations mentioned in this table are referred to with pseudonyms to maintain the anonymity of the participants and people who helped me with my study.

First period of fieldwork

April 2014

Date	Space(s) /Events	People	Keywords	Data collected
01/04/2014	Castelló d'Empúries and Empuriabrava Hotel Porto fino Delta Muga	Residents of the community and Castelló d'Empúries	First arrival in the community	Fieldnotes
03/04/2014	Empuriabrava – Reaver's walk - Puigmal – The seafront – Café XXX - Portofino	Abdel	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
04/04/2014	Castelló d'Empúries	Locals living in the old town	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
07/04/2014	Empuriabrava – Reaver's walk - Portofino – French Restaurant	Amin. Abdel, Moja	Leisure	Fieldnotes
08/04/2014	Empuriabrava – Café XXX – El	Amin, Munir, Moja, Ali, Abdel	Leisure	Fieldnotes

	Rincon Cubano			
09/04/2014	Empuriabrava – El Cordobés – Kebab restaurant	Abdel	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
10/04/2014	Empuriabrava – Xon’s	Amin, Manuel	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
11/04/2014	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Santo Domingo	Moja, Abdel	Leisure	Fieldnotes
12/04/2014	Empuriabrava – Café XXX	The costumers of the bar and the people working	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
13/04/2014	Empuriabrava – Portofino – Abdel’ house	People in the bar of the hotel and Abdel	Leisure	Fieldnotes
14/04/2014	Empuriabrava – Delta Muga – Seafont	Residents and people	Leisure	Fieldnotes
15/04/2014	Empuriabrava – Santo Domingo	People living in the neighborhood	Work and everyday life	Fieldnotes
16/04/2014	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos	People working in the shops and costumers	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
17/04/2014	Castelló d'Empúries – The town all	People living in the old town and people working in the town hall	Work and everyday life	Fieldnotes
18/04/2014	Empuriabrava – Delta Muga – El Cordobés	People living in the neighborhood	leisure and everyday life	Fieldnotes
19/04/2014	Empuriabrava – Delta Muga – El Cordobés – Café XXX	People talking about language end nationality	Leisure – Everyday discourse	Fieldnotes
20/04/2014	Empuriabrava – Abdel house	Abdel, Moja, Ali, Malik	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
21/04/2014	Empuriabrava El Cordobés – Aim’s flat	Amin	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes

22/04/2014	Empuriabrava – Los arcos	Amin, Manuel	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
23/04/2014	Empuriabrava – The channels – Residential areas	Residents of the elite area of the community	Leisure and everyday life	Fieldnotes
24/04/2014	Empuriabrava The channels – Residential areas	Residents of the elite area of the community	Leisure and everyday life	Fieldnotes
25/04/2014	Empuriabrava – The gim, the swimming pool	People in the gym and the swimming pool	Leisure and everyday life	Fieldnotes
26/04/2014	Empuriabrava – French bar – Los arcos – Amin’s flat	French speaking costumers, Amin	Leisure - Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
27/04/2014	Empuriabrava – Alberes – German Supermarket – German Bakery	German speaking costumers and people of the area	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
28/04/2014	Empuriabrava - Los Arcos – Delta Muga – Café XXX	The costumers and the international tourists	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
29/04/2014	Empuriabrava – El Cordobés – Café XXX - Abdel house	The costumers and the international tourists, Abdel	Leisure - Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
30/04/2014	Empuriabrava – Seafrent- Delta Muga - Xon’s – Supermarket – Los Arcos	The tourists and the international residents in the different spaces of interests and leisure activity	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes

May 2014

Date	Space(s) /Events	People	Keywords	Data collected
01/05/2014	Empuriabrava – Amin’s Flat – El Cordobés	Amin, Manuel	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
06/05/2014	Castelló d'Empúries	Residents of Castelló	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes

		d'Empúries		
07/05/2014	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos - Manuel's Flat	Manuel, Victor, Pedro, Consuelo, Mariona	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
08/05/2014	Empuriabrava – Delta Muga – Bar Puigmal	Resident's and costumers	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
09/05/2014	Empuriabrava – Aldi – Mercadona - Alberes	The tourists and the international residents in the different spaces of interests and leisure activity	Leisure	Fieldnotes
10/05/2014	Empuriabrava – El Cordobés – Café XXX – Hotel Portofino	The tourists and the international residents in the different spaces of interests and leisure activity	Leisure	Fieldnotes
11/05/2014	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Tony's	Resident's and costumers	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
12/05/2014	Empuriabrava – El Cordobés – Bar la locanda	Resident's and costumers	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
13/05/2014	Empuriabrava – El Cordobés – Café XXX	Resident's and costumers	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
14/05/2014	Empuriabrava – Delta muga – Gran Reserva	People living in the neighborhood	Leisure and Everyday life	Fieldnotes
15/05/2014	Empuriabrava – Amin's flat – Delta Muga	Amin, Miguel	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
16/05/2014	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Gran Reserva – The Channels - Restaurant Capitan	The tourists and the international residents in the different spaces of interests and leisure activity	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
17/05/2014	Empuriabrava Café XXX – El Cordobés	Abdel, Abdel's friends	Leisure	Fieldnotes

18/05/2014	Empuriabrava – The harbor – the seafront – Los Arcos	Residents of this elite area of the community	Leisure	Fieldnotes
19/05/2014	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Santo Domingo – Moja’s flat	Abdel, Moja	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
20/05/2014	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Santo Domingo	Amin, Abdel, Moja	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
21/05/2014	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Delta Muga – Café XXX	Maria, Amin	Leisure	Fieldnotes
22/05/2014	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Delta Muga– Xon’s	Adbel, Amin, Manuel, Victor, Consuelo	Work	Fieldnotes
27/05/2014	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Hotel portofino	Amin	Leisure	Fieldnotes
28/05/2014	Empuriabrava – El Rincon Cubano – Café XXX	Manuel, Victor, Consuelo, Pedro	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
29/05/2014	Empuriabrava – Police – Aldi – Delta Muga	Police officers - Costumers – Amin, Abdel, Manuel	Work	Fieldnotes
30/05/2014	Empuriabrava - Castelló d'Empúries – Montserrat	The inhabitants of Castelló d'Empúries and tourists	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
31/05/2014	Empuriabrava – Seafront- Delta Muga - Los Arcos	French and German tourists, Manuel, Abdel	Leisure	Fieldnotes

June 2014

Date	Space(s) /Events	People	Keywords	Data collected
05/06/2014	Empuriabrava –	The costumers and the international	Work and Leisure	Fieldnotes

	Café XXX	tourists		
06/06/2014	Empuriabrava – Puigmal – Spanish Bar	Residents from Spanish, Moroccan and South American – Pedro, Victor, Consuelo, Bernard	Leisure	Fieldnotes
07/06/2014	Empuriabrava – Puigmal – French Restaurant	French speaking costumers	Leisure	Fieldnotes
08/06/2014	Empuriabrava – Alberes – German Restaurant	German speaking costumers	Leisure	Fieldnotes
09/06/2014	Empuriabrava – Residential areas – Gran Reserva – The seafront	The tourist and visiting people – Victor, Consuelo	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
10/06/2014	Empuriabrava – Castelló d'Empúries - Caritas	Manuel, people working at Caritas, people asking help at Caritas (around 15 people from Morocco)	Work	Fieldnotes
14/06/2014	Empuriabrava – Delta Muga – El Cordobés – La Farigola	Maria, Clara, Rafael, Manuel – The costumers	Leisure	Fieldnotes
15/06/2014	Empuriabrava – The marina – The harbor	People at the harbor with their boats driving on the channels	Leisure	Fieldnotes
16/06/2014	Empuriabrava – El Rincon Cubano	Victor, Pedro, Consuelo – A huge group of German costumer – Local Spaniards	Leisure	Fieldnotes
17/06/2014	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – El Cordobés – The seafront - Restaurant Capitan	The tourists in the different spaces of interests and leisure activity	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
18/06/2014	Empuriabrava – Delta muga – Miguel's flat	Miguel, Amin	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes

19/06/2014	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – El Cordobés – The seafront – Abdel’s house	Adbel, Amin, Malik, Moja, Manuel	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
20/06/2014	Empuriabrava – Residential areas – Gran Reserva – Alberes - The seafront	The tourists and the international residents in the different spaces of interests and leisure activity	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
21/06/2014	Empuriabrava – Café XXX – El Cordobés	Zafira, Cair, Clara, Lory	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
22/06/2014	Empuriabrava – Delta muga – Miguel’s flat	Miguel	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
23/06/2014	Empuriabrava – Delta muga – Miguel’s flat	Miguel, Amin	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
24/06/2014	Empuriabrava – Café XXX – Delta Muga – Portofino	The tourists and the international residents in the different spaces of interests and leisure activity	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
25/06/2014	Empuriabrava – Santo Domingo – Moja’s house	Abdel, Moja	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
30/06/2014	Empuriabrava – Delta muga – Miguel’s flat	Miguel, Amin	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes

July 2014

Date	Space(s) /Events	People	Keywords	Data collected
01/07/2014	Empuriabrava El Cordobés – Café XXX- Aim’s flat – Restaurant Capitan	Amin, Manuel - The tourists in the different spaces of interests and leisure activity	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
02/07/2014	Empuriabrava Delta Muga –	Amin	Everyday life observation	Fieldnotes

	Aim's flat		participation	
03/07/2014	Empuriabrava El Cordobés – The seafront - Aim's flat	Amin, Maria, Clara, Munir, Cair, Zaffira	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
04/07/2014	Empuriabrava – Café XXX – Los Arcos – Tony's	Abdel, Malik, Moja	Leisure	Fieldnotes
05/07/2014	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Tony's – Bar Kiwi	Miguel - The tourists and the international residents in the different spaces of interests and leisure activity	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
06/07/2014	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – The seafront – The Orange Bar	The tourists and the international residents in the different spaces of interests and leisure activity	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
07/07/2014	Empuriabrava – Delta Muga - The seafront – The Orange Bar – Bar Kiwi	The tourists and the international residents in the different spaces of interests and leisure activity	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
08/07/2014	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Tony's – Delta muga – El Cordobés	The tourists and the international residents in the different spaces of interests and leisure activity	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
09/07/2014	Castelló d'Empúries - Caritas	People working at Caritas and people asking for help at Caritas	Work	Fieldnotes
10/07/2014	Castelló d'Empúries and Empuriabrava – Puigmal – Alberes – German supermarket	The tourists in the different spaces of interests and leisure activity – German speaking customers	Leisure	Fieldnotes
11/07/2014	Empuriabrava –	Amin, Abdel,	Everyday life	Fieldnotes

	Amin's flat – Delta Muga – Los Arcos	Manuel	observation participation	
12/07/2014	Empuriabrava - Abdel's House – Los Arcos -	Abdel and his family – International tourists	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
13/07/2014	Empuriabrava – Residential areas – Gran Reserva –	Tourist and visiting residents, Miguel	Leisure	Fieldnotes
14/07/2014	Empuriabrava – Residential areas – Gran Reserva – Delta Muga	Tourist and visiting residents, Miguel	Leisure	Fieldnotes
15/07/2014	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – The seafront	The tourists and the international residents in the different spaces of interests and leisure activity	Leisure	Fieldnotes
16/07/2014	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – The seafront – Bar Kiwi	The tourists and the international residents in the different spaces of interests and leisure activity	Leisure	Fieldnotes
17/07/2014	Empuriabrava – EL Cordobés – Delta Muga – Amin's flat	Amin, Manuel	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
18/07/2014	Empuriabrava – Puigmal – Alberes	Victor, Manuel	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
23/07/2014	Castelló d'Empúries and Empuriabrava – Puigmal – Los Arcos – Pago Pago	Christine, Victor, Richard, Consuelo	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
24/07/2014	Empuriabrava – Puigmal – Alberes – French restaurant	Maria, Marta	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
25/07/2014	Empuriabrava- Puigmal – Los Arcos - Karaoke	The tourists and the international residents in the different spaces of interests and	Leisure	Fieldnotes

		leisure activity		
26/07/2014	Empuriabrava — Los Arcos — Tony's — Delta muga — El Cordobés	Abdel, Moja — The tourists and the international residents in the different spaces of interests and leisure activity	Leisure	Fieldnotes
27/07/2014	Empuriabrava — Los Arcos — The seafront	The tourists and the international residents in the different spaces of interests and leisure activity	Leisure	Fieldnotes
28/07/2014	Empuriabrava — Los Arcos — The seafront — Puigmal — El Rincon Cubano	Clara, Benny, Cair, Alfonso, Munir, Zafira	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
29/07/2014	Empuriabrava — Los Arcos — The seafront — Caffè XXX — El Cordobés	The tourists and the international residents in the different spaces of interests and leisure activity	Leisure	Fieldnotes

Second period of fieldwork

February 2015

Date	Space(s) /Events	People	Keywords	Data collected
02/02/2015	Empuriabrava — Puigmal — Pedro's house	Pedro, Mariona	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
03/02/2015	Empuriabrava — Café XXX — Los Arcos	Victor, Craig	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
04/02/2015	Empuriabrava — Los Arco — El Cordobés	Clara, Benny, Cair, Alfonso	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes

05/02/2015	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Delta Muga – Gran Reserva	Clara, Benny, Cair, Victor, Consuelo	Leisure	Fieldnotes
06/02/2015	Empuriabrava – Puigmal - French Restaurant – Los Arcos	Maria, Marta, Rafael	Leisure	Fieldnotes
07/02/2015	Empuriabrava – Puigmal – Pedro’s flat	Victor, Pedro, Consuelo, Mariona, Michelle	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
08/02/2015	Empuriabrava – Delta Muga – El Cordobés	Clara, Munir, Stella, Joaquin, Zafira	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
09/02/2015	Empuriabrava – Puigmal – El Rincon de Cuba	Victor, Pedro	Leisure	Fieldnotes
10/02/2015	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Gran reserve – Victor’s flat	Victor, Consuelo, Pedro, Mariona	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
11/02/2015	Empuriabrava – puigmal – Café XXX – Craig’s house	Craig, Hagon	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
12/02/2015	Empuriabrava – Alberes – Craig’s House	Craig, Marcos, Victor	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
13/02/2015	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Gran Reserva – Victor’s flat	Victor	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
14/02/2015	Empuriabrava – puigmal – Café XXX – Craig’s house	Hagon, Victor, Craig	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
15/02/2015	Empuriabrava – puigmal – Café XXX – Craig’s house	Craig, Antoine	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
16/02/2015	Empuriabrava – puigmal – Café XXX – Craig’s house – Antoine’s	Antoine, Craig, Hagon, Victor	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes

	house			
17/02/2015	Empuriarbava – puigmal – Café XXX – French restaurant	Antoine, Lory	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
18/02/2015	Empuriarbava – puigmal – Craig’s house - Rosas	Craig, Victor	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
19/02/2015	Empuriarbava – puigmal – Craig’s house - Figueras	Hagon, Craig	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
24/02/2015	Empuriarbava – puigmal Craig’s house – Los Arcos	Hagon, Craig, Victor	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
25/02/2015	Empuriabrava – Craig’s house	Craig, Victor, Marcos	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
26/02/2015	Empuriabrava – Craig’s house – Figueres	Craig, Victor, Marcos	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
27/02/2015	Empuriarbava – puigmal –French restaurant – Figueras – Peralada	Antoine, Lory, Restaurant’s owner, Antoine’s French friends	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
28/02/2015	Empuriarbava – puigmal – Antoine’s house	Antoine, Remi, Olga, Craig	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes

March 2015

Date	Space(s) /Events	People	Keywords	Data collected
01/03/2015	Empuriabrava – Residential area – Café XXX	May, Edward, John, Karol	Leisure	Fieldnotes
02/03/2015	Empuriabrava – Residential area – Los Arcos	Robert, Marie	Leisure	Fieldnotes
03/03/2015	Empuriabrava – Alberes – Craig’s House	Craig, Victor, Hagon	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes

04/03/2015	Empuriabrava – Alberes – Craig’s House – Puigmal	Craig, Maria, Antoine	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
05/03/2015	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Delta Muga – El Cordobés	Rafael, Clara, Maria, Joaquin	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
06/03/2015	Empuriabrava – Antoine’s house – Los Arcos	Antoine, Maria, Lory	Leisure	Fieldnotes
07/03/2015	Empuriabrava – Puigmal – May and Edgar’s house	May, Edgar	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
08/03/2015	Empuriabrava – Antoine’s house – Los Arcos	Antoine, Raul, Lory	Leisure	Fieldnotes
09/03/2015	Empuriabrava – Alberes – Craig’s House – Los Arcos - Karaoke	Victor, Craig, Carlos, Antoine	Everyday life observation participation – Leisure	Fieldnotes
10/03/2015	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Delta Muga	Abdel, Moja, Cair, Zafira, Munir, Rafael, Marta	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
11/03/2015	Empuriabrava – puigmal – Craig’s house	Hagon, Victor, Craig, Marcos	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
12/03/2015	Empuriabrava – Clara’s flat	Clara	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
13/03/2015	Empuriabrava – Puigmal – May and Edgar’s house	May, Edgar	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
14/03/2015	Empuriabrava – Puigmal – Delta Muga	Joaquin, Victor, Pedro	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
15/03/2015	Empuriabrava – Puigmal – Café XXX	May, Edgar	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
16/03/2015	Empuriabrava – El Rincon Cubano – Café XXX	Tourist and international residents	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes

17/03/2015	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Delta Muga – Café XXX	The tourists and the international residents in the different spaces of interests and leisure activity	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
18/03/2015	Empuriabrava – El Cordobés – Delta Muga	Carlos, Rafael, Maria, Clara	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
19/03/2015	Empuriabrava – Café XXX	May, Edgar	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
20/03/2015	Empuriabrava – Alberes – Craig’s House	Craig, Victor, Hagon, Marcos	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
21/03/2015	Empuriabrava – El Cordobés	Joaquin	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
22/03/2015	Empuriabrava – Puigmal - Lory’s flat	Lory, Lory’s house mate	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
23/03/2015	Empuriabrava – Puigmal – May and Edgar’s house	May, Edgar	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
24/03/2015	Empuriabrava – Residential areas – Gran Reserva – Alberes - The seafront	The tourists and the international residents in the different spaces of interests and leisure activity	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
25/03/2015	Empuriabrava – El Cordobés – Delta Muga – Los Arcos	Cair, Rafael, Munir	Work and Leisure	Fieldnotes
26/03/2015	Empuriabrava	Joaquin	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
27/03/2015	Empuriabrava – El Cordobés – Residential areas	The tourists and the international residents in the different spaces of interests and leisure activity	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes

April 2015

Date	Space(s) /Events	People	Keywords	Data collected
01/04/2015	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Delta Muga	Rafael, Marta, Zafira, Munir, Cair, Alfonso	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
02/04/2015	Empuriabrava – Italian restaurant	Victor, people’s working at the restaurant	Work	Fieldnotes
03/04/2015	Empuriabrava – El Cordobés – Delta Muga	Victor, Pedro, Rafael, Marta, Zafira, Munir, Cair, Alfonso	Leisure	Fieldnotes
04/04/2015	Empuriabrava – Delta Muga - Clara’s flat	Clara	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
05/04/2015	Empuriabrava – Puigmal – Caffè XXX	May, Edgar, John, Karol	Leisure	Fieldnotes
06/04/2015	Empuriabrava – Gran reserva - Carlos’ flat	Carlos	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
07/04/2015	Empuriabrava – El Cordobés – Delta Muga	Victor, Pedro, Rafael, Marta, Zafira	Leisure	Fieldnotes
08/04/2015	Empuriabrava – Santo Domingo – Moja’s flat	Moja, Abdel, Malik	Leisure	Fieldnotes
09/04/2015	Empuriabrava – Cair’s flat	Cair	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
10/04/2015	Empuriabrava – French restaurant – Antoine’s house	Antoine, Lory, Antoine’s French friends	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
11/04/2015	Empuriabrava – El Cordobés	Clara, Benny, Cair, Zafira	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
12/04/2015	Empuriabrava – Rosa’s flat	Rosa, Juan	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
13/04/2015	Tourist office	Employees and tourists asking	Work	Fieldnotes

		information		
14/04/2015	Empuriarbava – French bar – Los Arcos	Lory, Marie	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
22/04/2015	Empuriarbava – Alberes – Rosas – Antoine’s house	Craig, Victor, Antoine, Remi	Leisure	Fieldnotes
23/04/2015	Empuriarbava – The seafront – Los Arcos	The tourists and the international residents in the different spaces of interests and leisure activity	Leisure	Fieldnotes
24/04/2015	Empuriabrava – Italian restaurant	Victor, Vito, Roberta	Work	Fieldnotes
25/04/2015	Empuriabrava – Victor’s flat	Victor, Pedro, Consuelo	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
26/04/2015	Empuriabrava – El Cordobés – Delta Muga	Joaquin, Clara, Cair, Marta, Munir, Rafael	Leisure	Fieldnotes
27/04/2015	Empuriarbava – French bar – Los Arcos	Lory, Antoine, Antoine’s friends	Work - Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
28/04/2015	Empuriarabva – Antoine’s house – Puigmal – Los Arcos	Antoine	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
29/04/2015	Empuriarbava – French bar – Delta Muga	Antoine, Lory, Remi, Maria, Cair, Rafael	Leisure	Fieldnotes
30/04/2015	Empuriarbava – Puigmal	Joaquin	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes

May 2015

Date	Space(s) /Events	People	Keywords	Data collected
01/05/2015	Empuriarabva – Antoine’s house	Antoine, Remi, Craig, Maria, Lory	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
02/05/2015	Empuriarabva – Antoine’s house – Puigmal	Antoine	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
03/05/2015	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Delta Muga – El Cordobés	Benny, Cair, Clara, Zafira, Rafael, Marta	Work and lesure	Fieldnotes
04/05/2015	Empuriabrava – Delta Muga _ El Cordobés	Clara, Zaffira, Marta, Rafael	Work and lesure	Fieldnotes
05/05/2015	Empuriarbava – French restaurant	Lory	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
06/05/2015	Empuriarbava – French bar – Delta Muga	Antoine, Lory, Remi, Maria, Olga	Work and Leisure	Fieldnotes
07/05/2015	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Delta Muga – Marta’s flat	Marta, Rafael, Benny, Calra	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
08/05/2015	Empuriabrava – Puigmal -	May, Edgar, John, Karol, Susan, Margareth	Leisure	Fieldnotes
09/05/2015	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Delta Muga – Rafael’s flat	Marta, Rafael	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
10/05/2015	Empuriarbava – French restaurant	Lory	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
11/05/2015	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Delta Muga – El Cordobés	Consuelo, Pedro, Mariona, Marcos, Cair, Clara	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
12/05/2015	Castelló d’Empúries – Town all	Local, visitors and people working in the town all	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes

13/05/2015	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Delta Muga	Benny, Cair, Clara, Munir, Zafira, Rafael, Alfonso, Marta	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
14/05/2015	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Antoine’s house	Antoine, Remi, Antoine’s son	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
18/05/2015	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – Delta Muga – El Cordobés	Joaquin, Clara, Cair, Benny	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
19/05/2015	Empuriabrava – Italian restaurant – Los Arcos	Victor, Vito, Raul, Roberta, Christine, Robert, Juan, Giovanni	Work	Fieldnotes
20/05/2015	Empuriabrava – Italian restaurant	Victor, Vito, Raul, Roberta, Christine, Robert	Work	Fieldnotes
21/05/2015	Empuriabrava – Craig’s house	Craig, Hagon	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
22/05/2015	Empuriabrava – El Rincon Cubano _ Café XXX	The tourists and the international residents in the different spaces of interests and leisure activity	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
23/05/2015	Empuriabrava – Victor’s flat – Los Arcos	Victor, Consuelo, Pedro, Mariona, Marcos	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
24/05/2015	Empuriabrava – Italian restaurant	Victor, Vito	Work	Fieldnotes
25/05/2015	Empuriabrava – Italian restaurant	Victor, Vito, Raul, Roberta, Christine, Robert	Work	Fieldnotes
26/05/2015	Empuriabrava – Craig’s house	Craig, Hagon	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
27/05/2015	Empuriabrava – El Rincon Cubano _ Café XXX – French Bar – Tony’s	The tourists and the international residents in the different spaces of interests and	Work and Leisure	Fieldnotes

		leisure activity		
28/05/2015	Empuriabrava – Antoine’s house	Antoine, Antoine’s son	Everyday life observation participation	Fieldnotes
29/05/2015	Empuriabava – El Café XXX – El Cordobés	Benny, Cair, Clara, Zafira, Rafael, Marta, Raul, Munir	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
30/05/2015	Castelló d'Empúries and Empuriabrava	Local Catalan residents of Castelló, tourists and residents of the Empuriabava	Work and leisure	Fieldnotes
31/05/2015	Empuriabrava – Los Arcos – The seafront	Victor, Vito, Raul, Roberta, Christine, Robert, Manuel, Consuelo	Leisure	Fieldnotes

Fieldnotes sample

Empuriabrava, 1st of April 2014.

I arrived to Castelló d'Empúries April 1st by bus at 14.00. The SARFA bus goes directly from the airport “El Prat” Barcelona T1-T2 to Barcelona Nord and then it goes to Castelló d'Empúries, Empuriabrava, Roses and Cadaques. It is a bus line that works with tourists - it costs 21.50 Euros, which in my opinion is quite expensive for only 140 km.

I had to meet with Maria to see the room she was renting. I also had other appointments in the afternoon to see possible accommodation. I called Maria and she told me her address. The house was five minutes away from the bus stop of Castelló d'Empúries. It was a sunny day and the atmosphere was quiet and relaxed, there were few cars on the street. Two kids were playing football in the middle of the street where Maria’s apartment was located.

Maria is a woman in her fifties. She rents the room because she needs money to pay her son’s university fees in Girona. She was renting the accommodation to a couple that moved out the week before; they had stayed there with her for two years. Right now she is living with her son, who comes back home for the weekends or for the holidays, and she is renting another room of her house to Oscar, 23 year old from Burgos who works

as an engineer (He was not at home when I visited the flat). The price for the room was 300 € per month including all the services (without any other payment for gas, water or electricity). I saw the room and considering the relatively cheap price I decided to rent it. The prices for other accommodation I saw online (idealista – habitacion.com – Enalquiler.com – milanuncios.com and Fotocasa.es) were more expensive. Moreover, I preferred to rent a place out of the direct field of study, to be able to keep some distance from the spaces I will be investigating. Maria told me the only problem was that she had to bring a bed on Friday (in fact the bed was missing when I saw the accommodation). I told her that it was not a problem; I had already booked a room for the first night at the Hotel Portofino Wellness in Empuriabrava and I had to go back to Barcelona to organize more things for this period of time. I asked Maria how to go to Empuriabrava. She told me that there was a bus but that she did not know its schedule, because she never used it. However, she thought it had to come every hour, and a ticket cost 1.60 Euros. Otherwise, I could go walking along the Muga river or following the main road. The walk along the Muga is really long but it is a nice trail. The main road has no sidewalk and it is not for pedestrians, as there are many cars passing by at high speed. I decided to walk to Empuriabrava following the Muga, because I considered it was safer. Castelló d'Empúries is 5 km from Empuriabrava. Walking along the way I saw two black persons who seemed to be wearing work clothes (They were dressed in blue jeans and t-shirts and their clothes were dirty) who were going by bike to Empuriabrava, they were going on the main road where cars pass by. The main road is faster and shorter (3.7 km) than the nature walk along the river. During the walk I met a few people with dogs, with bikes, running or simply walking. Some of them seemed to be locals; others appeared to be Germans or French. The people I assumed to be locals smiled at me and greeted me when our gaze crossed using the Spanish “Buenas tardes” – or “Hola”. People who appeared to be of other nationality greeted me too, some of them using the Spanish “hola” and some others simply with a hand or head gesture.

Following the path of the river, I arrived to a big park where I saw at least 10 people walking their dogs. When I was walking through the park one black dog started to bark at me, and then two other dogs did the same. They started to run around me barking. The owners started to yell at the dogs to make them stop but they were 30 meters away from there. I was not scared and I continued my walk without paying attention to the dogs. One of the owners came yelling at his dog to make the animal stop and he apologized for the barking. He was speaking Spanish. I told him it was not a problem,

and I saw a first chance of getting to know a local resident. I told him that I also had a dog and that I knew what it meant to have one, and then I presented myself. - The man's name is Jesus, he is a senior in his sixty and he has been living in Empuriabrava for three years. He came to the community when he retired because he could afford to buy a little apartment in a less tourist area of the community. He lives with his dog and he likes to spend time having long walks in the marina, as there are few activities in this moment of the year. He told me that if I stayed in the community we would be seeing each other soon.

I walked up to the main street, a big wide road that goes through all Empuriabrava, from its entrance until its beach. I walked towards the Hotel that is located in the middle of Empuriabrava on the main street. I saw many Moroccan women wearing a veil to cover their hair, with children (approximately 4 or 5 women and 15 children). I heard people talking Moroccan or some other variety of middle eastern language. I saw two children riding the same bike, one of them clearly Moroccan and the other who seemed to be local Spanish. They appeared to be 13-or 14 years old. One of them – the Moroccan was filming with a smartphone while the other was pedalling. They were speaking Spanish. I passed by a local supermarket, a German telecommunications shop and two kebab restaurants. It seemed to me that this part of the enclave had a neighbourhood with little houses where mainly people from Morocco were living.

When I was closer to the main street I noticed a change in the panorama. I heard people talking French and German. Most of them were elderly people. I noticed differences with regard to the area where I was before, close to the park. This part on the main street seemed to be more industrial, and I noticed different kinds of people (i.e European people, French – Germans). On the main street I noticed a huge club and there by an Aldi supermarket, on the other side of the main street there was an airport, the skydiving center and a huge shop for boats and nautical supplies. The markets and shops have their insignias in different languages; some of them - especially the real estate agencies – display the flag to indicate in which language they offer their services. I noticed many development companies. There were few cars on the street. Some people were walking their dogs, but there were few people around. Walking along the main street I started to see the canal and other kind of houses and cottages (richer and bigger). But many of them seemed to be empty. Along the main street there were some bars and restaurant and a lot of real estate agencies.

After half an hour walking I arrived in the Hotel – I looked at the clock and it was

16.40. The Hotel has two stars, and it was the cheapest in Empuriabrava and Castelló d'Empúries. I observed that the hotel bar was empty and I wondered if I was the only customer. When I entered at the reception a girl from the Hotel bar attended me. She came out from a back door. She told me the owner was out, but she could check the data in the computer and give me the key for my room.

I noticed she had a strong accent and I asked her where she was from. She told me she was Romanian. When she said she was Romanian I asked her, in Romanian how she was. She smiled and she replied in Romanian that she was fine, and then she asked me if I was Italian. We talked and she told me she had been living in Empuriabrava for 9 years. She works at the hotel bar and her name is Ester. She speaks Spanish and French fluently, a little bit of English, and of course Romanian. She told me she learnt the languages there and that before arriving to the community she did not know how to speak other languages apart from her own, but that she had to learn them in order to get the job. Then she said she had some work to do so I went to my room.

I booked a single room and when I arrived the accommodation was very big, it was “family size” with a double bed and two other beds in another room divided by a big curtain. I went to ask Ester if that was my room or if there had been any problem with the keys. But she told me the hotel only had that kind of accommodation.

I went back to my hotel room and I called the people I had to meet to arrange an appointment to see the apartments they rented in the marina. The person who was renting two apartments in Delta Muga told me that he could not meet me that afternoon because he had work to do in Figueres, and at that point I told him that I had already found accommodation. I called the other person and we decided to meet near the apartment in the main street to go and see the place at 17.30. I did not have to walk much because the apartment was near the hotel. The man named Marco was a Spaniard in his forties and he owned that little apartment near Puigmal (an area that seems industrial, or at least oriented towards the people who are working in the community). I asked him if he was living in Empuriabrava. He told me he was from Barcelona and that his family owned the apartment that they preferred to rent because they do not use it. The flat was 40 square meters and he was renting it for 375 Euros per month. I saw the apartment and I told him that I had other appointment and I would call him to let him know if I was interested in renting it. He told me that there were no problems but I should let him know as soon as possible because another person had called him to see the apartment too.

I then decided to go and have a walk around the resort. I walked to the beach, and the walk took me half an hour (and I walk quite fast. I realized then, I should buy a motorbike). I saw a few people going by bike and many by car or motorbike. There were a few people walking like me. When people met me they greeted me, waving or saying “hola”. I walked a lot but I did not see many people around. The few that were going on foot were people with dogs. I also saw two Moroccans who smiled and greeted me. Along the beach there was no one. I walked to the Delta Muga, one of the neighbourhoods of Empuriabrava that has a bad reputation nowadays. I saw many people of Moroccan origin, and other three people who seemed to be from India or Pakistan.

I called Marco and I told him that I had decided not to rent his flat because I found a better solution, and he told me that it was ok. Then I realized that the weather was not the best (it was starting to rain) and I decided to go back to the Hotel. I walked to the Hotel following another route to see the different areas of Empuriabrava. The area near the Muga is crowded with cottages, some of them with a car parked outside, but most of them seem to be empty. Still, this area is better maintained than the Delta Muga or the area near the police (next to the entrance of the community) and the park. After 30 minutes, I arrived at the hotel and I went to the bar. There was a person in his fifties eating and another two drinking at the counter, who were speaking French. They were all well dressed with shirts and one of them was wearing a red cashmere sweater. Behind the counter, serving at the bar, was Ester and another blond girl in her thirties. I sat at the table and ordered a beer and a hamburger with French fries. The television was broadcasting an English music channel and the loud volume of the music prevented me from understanding what the people in the pub were talking about. The few people in the bar were speaking French and I could understand only a few things about their conversation. It would have been difficult to me to understand something anyway, as I do not master the French language. While I was eating three women entered the bar. They were speaking in French loudly and laughing loudly They ordered a cocktail in French, and then they started to joke and laugh with Ester and the other waitress who were both speaking French fluently. I observed the three women were dressed in fancy expensive coats and they seemed to be in their forties. I finished my meal which was terrible and I did not feel very well. I went outside to breathe some fresh air and there was a hotel employee smoking a cigarette and talking in Spanish with another person. They seemed to be 30 or 35 years old. They were talking about another person who

drinks a lot and from what they said is very good at fighting. I overheard the conversation, and when they realized I was there the employee started to talk with me too. He told me that this resident was a good guy but that when he fights his personality changes, and it seems that this person has had a lot of troubles and fights in the pubs of the community. I presented myself to them and I asked to the person in work clothing if he was working in the kitchen. He told me that he was working there but that he was the owner's son, named Agustín. The other person was a friend, Fidel, who stopped by. He continued the conversation about this guy. He did not tell me the name of the person, but he told me that this person had owned a hotel in Empuriabrava some time ago and that now he had sold the hotel and he spent his time getting drunk from 11 in the morning because he is basically bored. They are very good friends and they usually go out together. Agustín also works as a waiter, and he told me the hotel is managed by his family. His father arrived from Estremadura in the 1960s and he saw the growing economic opportunities that the marina presented, and he decided to open one of the first hotels. He then had to go back to work. Fidel finished his cigarette and he told us he had to go too and he took his motorbike and left us there.

Staying a little bit more outside I met two guys in their thirties that were selling red roses. They were riding a bike. I had a little talk with them. They were speaking Spanish, one of them better than the other. They asked me if I wanted a rose and I told them I was not interested in buying any roses. I asked them where they were from and they said they were from Pakistan. One of them offered me a cigarette and he asked me if I was Spanish. I told them I was from Italy and I asked them how was the night life in the community and if they were working. He replied that there were few people around and that the tourists would arrive in a few weeks, and until that moment Empuriabrava would be empty with little to do. All bars and restaurants were empty or closed. They asked me if I was there for tourism or to stay there for a living. I told them I was there for work and that I would be staying there in Empuriabrava for a while. Back in the bar and the people who were there before were still there talking French at a larger table. They seemed to be enjoying their time drinking and joking with the two waitresses.

I looked at the clock at it was 23.00, I decided it was time to go to my room to write the first impressions and then rest because I had had a long first day.

The first impression I had was positive with regard to my investigation. Castelló d'Empúries and Empuriabrava seemed two different realities. One is a little village with its countryside life-style and the other is an enclave where the economy is oriented

toward touristie activities and services. As I expected there were not many people because tourists had not started to arrive yet. The fact that only 7000 people live here all year long, and that there are a lot of vacant houses gives this resort a sense of emptiness. What I firstly noticed is that Empuriabrava is different from all the other towns or areas of the territory as it is evident that it has been recently built. Moreover, the tourist resort displays different areas that seemed filled by diverse kinds of people. What I observed during a first walk is the higher presence of people from Morocco especially in the area near the entrance and the Delta Muga. Many of the people I saw around were elderly people or people walking their dog.

Appendix C

Tables of recordings

The following table summarizes the recordings carried out for the semi-structured interviews. Each interview lasted approximately one hour and they were recorded using an Olympus multi-Function stereo recorder. The place and time of each interview were chosen by the interviewee in order to guarantee a friendly environment where the participant would feel comfortable to talk. Each participant signed a consent document where it was explained their name would remain anonymous as well as all personal information that they disclosed. In a few cases the semi-structured interview has to be sopped to be continued at a later moment. For this reason for the same informant may appear in more than a single file.

Semi-structured interview recordings

File Name	Date of Recording	Duration	Participant	Language
Interview_Abdel.WMA	04/02/15	00:44:16 h	Abdel	Spanish
Interview_Amin.WMA	21/02/2015	00:48:32 h	Amin	Spanish
Interview_Lito01.WMA Interview_Lito02.WMA	07/02/15	01 - 00:24:01 h 02 - 00:10:48 h	Miguel	Spanish
Interview_Victor.WMA	04/03/15	00:44:24 h	Victor	Spanish
Interview_Craig.WMA	05/03/15	00:55:22 h	Craig	English
Interview_Clara.WMA	27/04/15	01:26:11 h	Clara	Spanish
Interview_Antoine01.WMA Interview_Antoine02.WMA	30/04/15	01 - 00:32:14 h 02 - 00:18:25 h	Antoine	Spanish
Interview_Marta.WMA	06/05/15	00:46:41 h	Marta	Spanish
Interview_Cair01.WMA Interview_Cair02.WMA	08/05/15	01 - 00:39:44 h 02 - 00:08:39 h	Cair	Spanish
Interview_Moja01.WMA Interview_Moja.WMA	15/05/15	01 - 00:20:08 h 02 - 00:23:08 h	Moja	Spanish
Interview_Carlos01.WMA Interview_Carlos02.WMA Interview_Carlos03.WMA	15/05/15	01 - 00:34:25 h 02 - 00:24:32 h 03 - 00:12:34 h	Carlos	Spanish

Interview_Mary01.WMA Interview_Mary02.WMA Interview_Mary03.MWA	24/03/2015 21/05/2015	01 -00:17:44 h 02 – 01:15:00 h 03 – 01:18:40h	Mary	English
Interview_Juaquin01.WMA Interview_Juaquin02.WMA	21/05/15	01 - 01:17:32 h 02 – 00:17:26 h	Juaquin	Spanish
Interview_Lory.WMA	27/05/15	00:46:22 h	Lory	Spanish

The following table is a summary of the spontaneous conversations I recorded during my fieldwork in Empuriabrava. These spontaneous conversations were recorded using an Olympus multi-Function stereo recorder. The people (and when necessary the places) named appear under pseudonymous to maintain their anonymity and protect the personal data they shared in these conversations.

Spontaneous conversation recordings

File name	Date	Time	Participants	Place
Recording1	10/04/2014	02:59 minutes	Max, Abdel, Moja, Akmed, Ramon	Abdel's home
Recording2	11/04/2014	02:59 minutes	Max, Abdel, Amin	Café Internet
Recording3	12/04/2014	29:19 minutes	Max, Abdel, Amin	Café Internet
Recording4	13/04/2014	12:13 minutes	Max, Abdel, Amin	Cordobés (BAR)
Recording5	14/04/2014	12:26 minutes	Max, Abdel, Amin	Amin's Home
Recording6	15/04/2014	02:57 minutes	Max, Abdel, Amin	Amin's Home
Recording7	16/04/2014	00:40 minutes	Max, Amin	Amin's Home
Recording8	16/04/2014	04:55 minutes	Max, Amin	Amin's Home
Recording9	17/04/2014	16:20 minutes	Max, Amin	Amin's Home
Recording10	18/04/2014	02:12 minutes	Max, Amin	Amin's Home
Recording11	20/04/2014	03:35 minutes	Max, Amin	Amin's Home
Recording12	22/04/2014	28:50 minutes	Max, Abdel, Amin	Amin's Home

Recording13	23/04/2014	41:44 minutes	Max,Ana, Abdel, Amin, Akmed, Moka, Abdil, Ramon, Rubén, Daniel	Abdel's home
Recording14	24/04/2014	17:25 minutes	Max,Ana, Abdel, Amin, Akmed, Moka, Abdil, Ramon, Rubén, Daniel	Abdel's home
Recording15	27/04/2014	19:18 minutes	Max, Zaffira, Malik, Amin	Cordobés(Bar)
Recording16	28/04/2014	11.59 minutes	Max, Amin, Lito	Amin's home
Recording17	28/04/2014	38:49 minutes	Max, Amin, Abdel	Amin's home
Recording18	22/04/2014	03:53 minutes	Max, Amin	Amin's home
Recording19	23/04/2014	18:32 minutes	Max, Lito, Amin	Lito's home
Recording20	12/05/2014	23:29 minutes	Max, Ramon, Amin, Abdel, Malik, Abdil, Moja	Abdel's home
Recording21	20/05/2014	31:48 minutes	Max, Ramon, Amin, Abdel, Malik, Abdil, Moja, Lito	Abdel's home
Recording22	08/06/2014	44:27 minutes	Max, Ramon, Abdel,	Abdel's home
Recording23	10/06/2014	09:33 minutes	Max, Lito, Carita's woman, other people that were at Caritas	CARITAS – Castelló d'Empúries
Recording24	11/06/2014	02:25 minutes	Max, Victor, Richard, Gerard, Frederik	On the street close the Pizzeria I Sapori d'Italia
Recording25	11/06/2014	04:09 minutes	Max, Zaffira, Marcel, (a France couple)	Cordobés (Bar)
Recording26	17/06/2014	10:55 minutes	Max, Zaffira, Mandil Estella	Cordobés (Bar)
Recording27	19/06/2014	11:44 minutes	Max, Zaffira, Manil, Roberto	Cordobés (Bar)
Recording28	24/06/2014	00:27 minutes	Max, Mark	Café Internet
Recording29	27/06/2014	04:20 minutes	Mark, two English clients	Café Internet
Recording30	23/07/2014	05:43 minutes	Max, Victor, Christine, Richard	(French Bar)
Recording31	03/02/2015	23:15 minutes	Max, Mark, Victor, Abdel	Café Internet
Recording32	16/02/2015	00:16 minutes	Max, JD	Café Internet
Recording33	16/02/2015	03:24 minutes	Max, JD, Dario	Café Internet

Recording34	19/02/2015	05:22 minutes	Max, Craig, a French client, the mechanic	Mechanic (Rosa)
Recording35	20/02/2015	08:48 minutes	Max, Bernardo, Celeste, Mark	Café Internet
Recording36	03/03/2015	04:40 minutes	Max, Rik, Carmen	Café Internet
Recording37	05/03/2015	10:41 minutes	The German couple, Craig, Max	German couple cottage
Recording38	06/03/2015	33:15 minutes	Mary, Edward, Shury (The dog), Max	Café Internet
Recording39	11/03/2015	26:38 minutes	Max, Craig	Craig's cottage
Recording40	12/03/2015	06:58 minutes	Max, Rossana	EL Rincon Cubano
Recording41	13/03/2015	18:51 minutes	Max, Rossana, Carlos (Other people that were at Barbara's Birthday party)	El Rincon Cubano
Recording42	13/03/2015	07:40 minutes	Max, Victor, Manil	Cordobés (Bar)
Recording43	18/03/2015	53:22 minutes	Max, Benny, Roger	Cordobés (Bar)
Recording44	23/03/2015	00:45 minutes	Max, Craig, Victor	Craig's house
Recording45	23/03/2015	01:44 minutes	Max, Craig, Victor	Craig's house
Recording46	24/03/2015	02:59 minutes	Max, Craig, Victor	Craig's house
Recording47	25/03/2015	03:09 minutes	Max, Craig, Victor	Craig's house
Recording48	26/03/2015	01:45 minutes	Max, Benny, Cair, Manu, Zaffira	Cordobés (bar)
Recording49	27/03/2015	00:39 minutes	Benny, Cair	Cordobés (bar)
Recording50	02/04/2015	22:02 minutes	Max, Aurel	Cordobés (bar)
Recording51	06/04/2015	14:48 minutes	Max, Antoin, Sesame's owner	Sesame Restaurant
Recording52	07/04/2015	03:07 minutes	Max, Craig, Victor	Craig's home
Recording53	07/04/2015	03:01 minutes	Max, Rik	Café Internet
Recording54	08/04/2015	05:14 minutes	Max, Craig	Craig's home
Recording55	09/04/2015	31:39 minutes	Max, Andrew, Craig	Hospital
Recording56	09/04/2015	01:09 minutes	Max, Andrew	Craig's (and Andrew's) home
Recording57	09/04/2015	02:52 minutes	Max, Andrew, Craig	Craig's (and Andrew's) home
Recording58	09/04/2015	01:27 minutes	Max, Andrew, Craig	Craig's (and Andrew's) home
Recording59	09/04/2015	09:30 minutes	Max, Concita (A tourist from Navarra that owns a second house in EB)	Cordobés (Bar)

Recording60	10/04/2015	00:34 minutes	Max, Craig, Victor	Craig's home
Recording61	12/04/2015	03:09 minutes	Max, Mary, Edward,	Delux (Bar)
Recording62	23/04/2015	01:46 minutes	Rose, John	Delux (Bar)
Recording63	23/04/2015	05:15 minutes	Max, Paco, Jenny, stranger	Delux (Bar)
Recording64	23/04/2015	14:50 minutes	Max, Paco, Benny, Shafir, Jenny	Delux (Bar)
Recording65	23/04/2015	09:37 minutes	Max, Paco, Benny, Shafir, Jenny	Delux (Bar)
Recording66	30/04/2015	05:17 minutes	Max, Shafir	El Oasis (Bar)
Recording67	01/05/2015	12:17 minutes	Max, Babdil, Sajed	Antoin'd home
Recording68	02/05/2015	10:24 minutes	Max, Antoin, Marchell, Stella	Sesame Restaurant
Recording69	04/05/2015	16:09 minutes	Max, Sesame's Owner, Marie	Cordobés (Bar)
Recording70	05/05/2015	11:13 minutes	Max, Manil, Cair, Betty, Tarik,	Delux (Bar)
Recording71	06/05/2015	02:18 minutes	Max, Shafir	Cordobés (Bar)
Recording72	07/05/2015	15:31 minutes	Max, Manu, Zafira	Alfonso's home
Recording73	11/05/2015	02:27 minutes	Max, Benny, Alfonso	On the street of Delta Muga
Recording74	12/05/2015	05:17 minutes	Max, Sajed, two tourist	Benny's home
Recording75	13/05/2015	13:02 minutes	Max, Benny	Cordobés (Bar)
Recording76	13/05/2015	03:01 minutes	Max, Melissa, Tourist office workers	Tourist office
Recording77	26/05/2015	18:24 minutes	Max, Carlos Max, Benny, Cair, Manu, Manil	Cordobés (Bar)

Appendix D

Other data collected

This last appendix is dedicated to the other information and data I collected about Empuriabrava. Even if the period of fieldwork was limited to a period of two years, I collected data and information about the community also when I was preparing the study and after my stay in the residential marina. While I was conducting my fieldwork I collected a considerable number of business cards, folders and flyers advertising the different services offered in the most important tourist languages of the community, such as: French, German, English, Spanish, Catalan; and also in other languages which have less visibility in the community (i.e. Russian or Italian). Moreover, I collected other written material such as magazines, bulletins and the political programs of the municipal election of 2015 in Castelló d'Empúries.

Newspaper articles

Source	Title	Data
EL ECONOMISTA	El cadáver hallado en Empuriabrava es el de un hombre al que han degollado	26/04/2013
LA VANGUARDIA	Impulso al Skydive de Empuriabrava con capital de Dubai	17/09/2013
LA OPINION	Aparece el cadáver de un hombre con signos de violencia en el río Muga	05/10/2013
CUATRO	Desmantelada en Cataluña una banda de traficantes de hachís e intervenidos 600 kilos	21/02/2014
LA VANGUARDIA	Condenado a tres años el 'Doctor Muerte' francés	14/03/2014
LA VANGUARDIA	Diez detenidos en Marsella por un asesinato en Empuriabrava por drogas	16/03/2014
EL PAÍS	Abandonados dos gemelos de un año en un piso de Empuriabrava	13/05/2014
EUROPA PRESS	Detenido en La Jonquera (Girona) un ruso buscado por 33 asesinatos en su país	19/05/2014
EMPORDÀ	L'Àrea de turisme fixa la vista en el mercat Francès	24/03/2015

EMPORDÀ	Empuriabrava compta amb una àmplia oferta en activitats esportives, d'oci i al aire lliure	24/03/2015
HORA NOVA	La fira del vaixell d'ocasió d'Empuriabrava exposarà prop de 450 embarcacions	25/03/2015
DIARI DE GIRONA	L'incògnita dels canals d'Empuriabrava	05/04/2015
EL PUNT AVUI	Cuatro regidors i tres nous candidats per CiU a Castelló	11/04/2015
DIARI DE GIRONA	La concessionaria dels canals lamenta que els usuaris continuen negant-se pagar quotes	15/04/2015
EL PUNT AVUI	Denuncien 70 veïns que no paguen els ammaradors a Empuriabrava	15/04/2015
EL PUNT AVUI	Castelló i Empuriabrava estrenen imatge turística	23/04/2015
EL PUNT AVUI	“Si cal fer millores, an de ser totes a Empuriabrava”	28/04/2015
LA VANGUARDIA	Empuriabrava reclama el cobrament de les quotes de manteniment dels canals	01/05/2015
DIARI DE GIRONA	Castelló d'Empúries liquida el pressupost amb un superàvit de 3,4 milions	05/05/2015
EL PUNT AVUI	Més impostos impagats a Castelló	12/05/2015
DIARI DE GIRONA	Castelló renova la via principal d'accés a Empuriabrava	23/05/2015
DIARI DE GIRONA	ERC guanya el pols a Xavier Sanllehí (CiU) a Castelló	25/05/2015
EL PUNT AVUI	Creix el turisme a la Costa Brava però no la contractació	30/05/2015
EL PUNT AVUI	Un pacte de CiU, PP, Plataforma i UDEM treu l'alcaldia a ERC a Castelló d'Empúries	12/06/2015
EL PUNT AVUI	Sí, Castelló és diferent en tot	20/06/2015
EL PUNT AVUI	Una incendiària destrossa dos bars i ataca a pessics un mosso a Empuriabrava	26/06/2015
EMPORDÀ	Un pacte per poder governar bé Castelló	07/07/2015
DIARI DE GIRONA	L'associació d'oci de Castelló i Empuriabrava s'amplia a bars i restaurants	09/07/2015
EMPORDÀ	L'Ajuntament Castelloní reinventarà 'Àrea de Turisme amb més participació	14/07/2015
EMPORDÀ	Visita Nova autoritat francesa a Empuriabrava	14/07/2015

EL PUNT AVUI	Veïns d'Empuriabrava, tips de la falta de serveis	22/07/2015
EL PERIODICO SOCIEDAD	Un Rambo en Empuriabrava	11/09/2015
EMPORDÀ	Ultimatum municipal per millorar la imatge del sector Delta Muga d'Empuriabrava	12/01/2016
EL PUNT AVUI	Castello' s'estabilitza en 10.884 habitants	14/01/2016
EUROPA PRESS	Detingut a Empuriabrava (Girona) un traficant de droga fugat des de l'estiu	10/02/2016

Other written documents

Type of document	Name	Data
Bulletin	British Society of Catalunya bay of Roses monthly bulletin	03/2015
Bulletin	British Society of Catalunya bay of Roses monthly bulletin	04/2015
Bulletin	British Society of Catalunya bay of Roses monthly bulletin	05/2015
Magazine	Amigos	04/2014
Magazine	Amigos	05/2014
Magazine	Amigos	06/2014
Magazine	Amigos	07/2014
Magazine	Amigos	02/2015
Magazine	Amigos	03/2015
Magazine	Amigos	04/2015
Magazine	Arena	03/2015
Magazine	Arena	04/2015
Political program	Avancem political program	04/2015
Political program	CiU political program	04/2015
Political program	ECE political program	04/2015
Political program	ERC political program	04/2015
Political program	PP political program (Catalan and Spanish version)	04/2015
Political program	PP political program (French and German version)	04/2015

Political program	PP political program (English version)	04/2015
Political program	PC political program	04/2015
Political program	PSC political program	04/2015
Political program	UDEM political program	04/2015

Sample of newspaper article

Newspaper: LA VANGUARDIA, February 12, 2017.



REFUGEE FOR BOSSES AND DEALERS

From Mafia bosses from Marseille to dealers of drugs, weapons or explosives, as well as hit men or even a French surgeon chased by the police for having disfigured 96 patients in his examination room... Empuriabrava has been the place chosen by many fugitives from justice, who have found in its systems of canals, the ideal place to go unnoticed. With more than one thousand hotel vacancies and around 2000 apartments for tourists (without taking into account the illegal ones) and much empty accommodation in the low season, international crime has found shelter in this area of the Costa Brava. Nevertheless, the majority of the criminals did not raise any suspicion. “They were charming people, polite, good customers”, explained a neighbour, owner of a veterinary clinic near a canal, who had had contact with some of them.



PROTESTS FROM THE RESIDENTS

They complain about the poor maintenance and they report the lack of transparency.

(...) “Phone signals fail, there isn’t any fibre optic network, when it rains the streets are flooded and there are problems in the drains”, explains Quim Gomis, who has been resident in Empuriabrava for a decade. “We have a building complex that could be the jewel of the Mediterranean Sea, but it is abandoned” complains Pelters.



IN EMPURIABRAVA 69 NATIONALITIES LIVE TOGETHER

42,03% Spain, 12,61% are from Morocco, 12,13% France, 7,18% Germany, 4,52 Romania, 4,35% Russia, and 17,18% other nationalities.

IN SUMMER ITS POPULATION IS MULTIPLIED BY 10

Population in summer: around 100000 people.

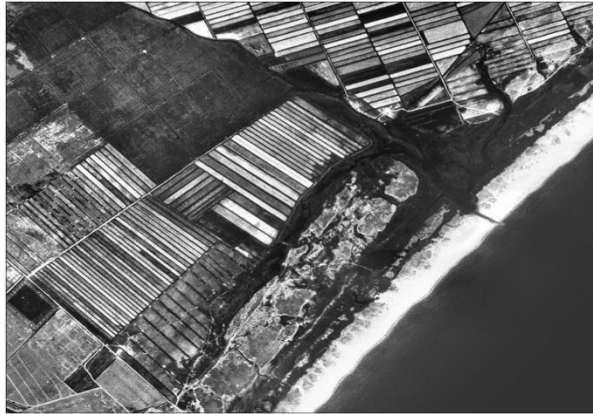
Population registered all year long: 6940



23 REALSTATE AGENCIES PER SQUARE KILOMETRES

Empuriabrava has more than one hundred real estate agencies, which shows the healthy state of property purchases in this tourist nucleus that occupies 4'37 km². According to data from the Ministry of Development, during the first three terms of last year, 493 real estate transactions were carried out, a number which has only been surpassed by Girona and Roses. The majority of the customers are French, followed by Belgian and Dutch. “The taxation system in France is heavier, so here it is cheaper for them to maintain a property”, explains Josep Maria Llobart, from the Apart-Rent real estate agency. The president of the real estate agents of Girona, Ramon Corominas, highlights that the majority of the purchases are second residences.

Empuriabrava before and after its construction 1



Antes, todo esto era campo (2012) Retrieved September 28, 2018 from <http://www.pensandoelterritorio.com/antes-todo-esto-era-campo/>

Empuriabrava before and after its construction 2



Urbanització Empuriabrava. Sector nord: el rec dels Salins fa de frontera. A l'esquerra l'any 1957. A la dreta en l'actualitat.

Antes, todo esto era campo (2012) Retrieved September, 28, 2018 from <http://www.pensandoelterritorio.com/antes-todo-esto-era-campo/>

The languages of tourism – first steps to social interaction

Good to know

GREETINGS & SMALLTALK

Good to know

Hallo

Comentarij pa vat?

Engo be

ESPAÑOL	CATALÀ	DEUTSCH	ENGLISH	FRANÇAIS	ITALIANO
Hola	Hola	Hallo	Hi/Hello	Salut	Ciao
Buenos días	Bona dia	Guten Morgen	Good morning	Bonjour	Buon giorno
Buenas tardes	Bona tarda	Guten Tag	Good afternoon	Bon après-midi	Buona sera
Buenas noches	Bona nit	Gute Nacht	Good night	Bonne nuit	Buona notte
¿Cómo estás?	Com estàs?	Wie geht es dir?	How are you?	Comment ça va?	Come stai?
Bueno bien	Bé	Sehr gut	Very fine	Très bien	Sto bene, grazie!
Bueno mal	Mal	Nicht so gut	Not too good	Pas trop bien	Sto male
Bueno regular	Regular	Sich im Mittel	Just so-so	Assez bien	Sto regolare
Me va bien	Me va bé	Es ist in Ordnung	It's all right	Ça va	Per niente
¿Cómo te llamas?	Com es el teu nom?	Wie heißt du?	What's your name?	Comment t'appelles-tu?	Come ti chiami?
Me llamo...	Em dic...	Mein Name ist...	My name is...	Je m'appelle...	Mi chiamo...
¿Te sientes bien?	Et tu t'es bien?	Siehst du dich gut aus?	Do you feel well?	Te sens-tu bien?	Come ti senti?
¡Sí!	Sí	Ja	Yes	Oui	Sì
¡No!	No	Nein	No	Non	No
¿Habla inglés?	Parla anglès?	Sprachst du Englisch?	Do you speak English?	Parlez-vous anglais?	Parli italiano?
¡Sí!	Sí	Ja	Yes	Oui	Sì
¿Habla catalán?	Parla català?	Sprachst du Katalanisch?	Do you speak Catalan?	Parlez-vous catalan?	Parli catalano?
¡Sí!	Sí	Ja	Yes	Oui	Sì
¿Habla francés?	Parla francès?	Sprachst du Französisch?	Do you speak French?	Parlez-vous français?	Parli francese?
¡Sí!	Sí	Ja	Yes	Oui	Sì
¿Habla italiano?	Parla italiano?	Sprachst du Italienisch?	Do you speak Italian?	Parlez-vous italien?	Parli italiano?
¡Sí!	Sí	Ja	Yes	Oui	Sì

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Amigos Magazine 03/2015: 44 – 45.

This magazine promotes multilingualism and contact between people of different nationalities who are in the community for leisure and it introduces Smalltalk in different languages which are important in the tourist community of Empuriabrava, such as: Spanish, Catalan, German, English, French and Italian.

Appendix E

Ethics and consent form

Consent of Participation in the Study

Mobility and Multilingualism in Empuriabrava

The investigation studies the different cultural and multilingual dynamics going on among the mobile citizens of different nationalities that live in the tourist enclave of Empuriabrava. Massimiliano Sassi, PhD investigator of the Universitat Autònoma of Barcelona, is studying mobility and multilingualism of citizens from different part of the world. The investigation consists of observing your social interactions with other people and recording a personal interview about your personal experience in Empuriabrava.

Your anonymity will be maintained throughout this study. None of the data you generate, your name or the name of your activity will appear in any publication. Moreover, all data and documents will be stored with particular attention according to the ethics commitment of the Universitat Autònoma of Barcelona.

This document clarifies that your participation with this study is voluntary and that you are free to end it at any moment without the necessity of giving explanations. If you chose to discontinue your participation in this study all your data information will be erased.

You can obtain more information about the study from the supervisor of the project, Melissa Moyer Greer, or by contacting Massimiliano Sassi on the following e-mail addresses or by phone:

Melissa G. Moyer: melissa.moyer@uab.cat

Massimiliano Sassi: massimilainopaolo.sassi@e-campus.uab.cat Tel: (xxx - xxxxxx)

If you require additional information from the Ethics committee of UAB you can contact the Comité de Ética de la UAB: nuria.perez@uab.cat

I have been informed about my participation in this study and my questions have been answered by the investigator.

I have received a copy of this document and I have signed one for the investigator.

Date and location:

The informant:

The investigator:

