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THE PAKISTANI COMMUNITY IN SPAIN: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CHALLENGES

Abstract. This article uses the example of the Pakistani community to explore the phenomenon of multiculturalism in Spain. Although Muslims of Maghrebi origin constitute the most numerous immigrant group on the Iberian Peninsula, the Pakistanis are special in that they represent an exceptionally distinctive and hermetic community. The article analyses social, economic and cultural determinants of this community's situation in Spain. The Raval immigrant neighbourhood in Barcelona exemplifies the mechanisms under study. The article focuses on determinants of Pakistani immigrants' situation as well as the challenges that arise against the backdrop of interaction between this community and the host society. The author also reflects on the issue of the ethnocultural distinctiveness of this group in normative and institutional terms, and analyses the consequences of this distinctiveness.

Keywords: Spain, Pakistani immigrants, distinctiveness, coexistence.

The consolidation of a multicultural society has been observed in Spain over the last few decades. Spain, a state once abandoned by tens of thousands of its citizens who left in search of better living conditions, has recently become an attractive destination for newcomers from various regions of the world, both near the Iberian Peninsula and far away. Motivated mainly by economic reasons, they attempt to reach Spain using both legal and illicit means. For years, Spain has been both a country of transit and a destination for thousands of immigrants. EU integration and Spain's economic growth have played a significant role in the growth of multiculturalism. These processes have contributed to the fact that immigrants represent more than 12% of the population today. Maja Biernacka emphasises that despite a restrictive immigration policy, Spanish society has become irreversibly multicultural, which is due to "[...] the presence of newcomers representing completely different worlds of values, beliefs and customs, who require some form of accommodation to the new social space" (Biernacka 2012: 9).

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This process is particularly visible in large cities such as Madrid, Barcelona (with its Raval district), Valencia, Cordoba and Malaga. Multiculturalism is promoted by the presence of immigrants arriving from locations including the Maghreb, Latin America, Central Europe and Asia, as well as succeeding generations born on the Iberian Peninsula.

As Anna Zasuń rightly points out, problems with the integration of Muslims living in the UK, France, Germany and Spain are often highlighted. These challenges are related to the economic exclusion of many Muslim immigrants, criminality, and insufficient social and political involvement (Zasuń 2018: 33). As in the case of other Western and Southern European countries, multiculturalism undoubtedly enriches the Spanish cultural and economic landscape in many respects. On the other hand, it engenders certain problems with the integration and harmonious coexistence of communities, which often represent different axionormative systems and seek to instil their cultural patterns in the destination country. These issues are clearly noticeable on the Iberian Peninsula, which is home to many Muslims; both immigrants and their descendants born in Europe and holding Spanish citizenship.

According to the Union of Islamic Communities of Spain (Unión de Comunidades Islámicas de España – UCIDE), the Muslim community in Spain comprises nearly 2 mln people, about 4.2% of the total population. Of them, 42% have Spanish citizenship (*Estudio* 2018: 17). Although the most numerous group of Muslims comprises individuals of Moroccan origin (nearly 800,000), the number of Muslims coming to the Iberian Peninsula from other, more distant regions has been on the rise over the past few years.

This article aims to identify the social and cultural challenges that determine the situation of the community of Pakistani origin residing on the territory of Spain. According to official data, about 80,000 people from this part of Asia lived in Spain as of late 2018. The largest group resided in Barcelona and its suburbs – nearly 39,000 (González Enríquez 2019: 7). Among the (post)immigrant communities living on the Iberian Peninsula, Barcelona's Pakistanis can be considered one of the most distinct ethnocultural groups, whose axionormative determinants hinder its integration into Spanish society. This is the main research assumption here.

Methodological aspects

A range of interdisciplinary methods should be used to address this research problem. The historical method, used especially to grasp the causal link underlying the consolidation of certain mechanisms, was combined with the systemic method, which perceives the issues being studied as a set of interrelated elements and focuses on both the constituent elements and their mutual correlations. The

diagnosis of the issues under study was possible thanks to study visits to Andalusia and Catalonia, especially Barcelona, as well as observations and expert interviews conducted there. The author visited Catalonia and Andalusia (Barcelona, Lleida, Granada) in 2015–2018 to participate in meetings at the Islamic Cultural Centre in Barcelona, the Association of Pakistani Workers in Catalonia (Barcelona) and the Masjid Umm Al Qura Islamic Centre in Granada. In addition to consultations with the staff of these centres, interviews were conducted with experts dealing with Islamic issues in Spain: for example Prof. Javier Jordán (University of Granada). The analysis is also based on the results of observations made during study tours in the Raval immigrant neighbourhood in Barcelona.

There are a number of noteworthy aspects related to the conceptual framework. Thus, reference is made to John W. Berry's classic typology of acculturation attitudes: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation (Berry 1997). It is important to emphasise that adaptation mechanisms are extremely diverse and cover a multitude of social and adjustment processes (Jacher 2006: 88). The notion of socio-cultural integration implies immigrants' involvement in various spheres of the host society's life, which entails a multitude of interactions, cultural competences, acceptance of norms and values of this society (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2013: 6). Multiculturalism, in turn, is defined here, after Andrzej Sadowski, as a set of durable, long developed and democratically institutionalised forms of cultural integration of individuals and communities that have their own identity and form a new, culturally diverse whole (Sadowski 2011: 19).

Multiculturalism in Spain is discussed by authors such as Maja Biernacka, but the social and cultural issues of the Pakistani immigrants living in Spain are not addressed by Polish scholars. This topic is raised by Spanish authors including Carmen González Enríquez, Joaquín Beltrán Antolín and Amelia Sáiz López. However, it should be stressed that literature on the situation of Islamic migrants and related challenges is dominated by publications by Iberian scholars devoted to analyzing the situation of newcomers from the Maghreb region, especially Morocco. In recent years, publications on the threats to the Spanish society posed by Islamic integrist movements responsible for terrorist activities have become more common. When it comes to the issue of the Salafi radicalisation of Muslim communities settled in Spain, the publications by the Elcano Royal Institute experts Fernando Reinares and Carola García-Calvo are especially noteworthy.

The social and economic profile of the Pakistani community in Spain

Pakistanis have been present in Spain since the 1970s. Initially, they were mostly young men, who arrived on the Iberian Peninsula for economic reasons and found employment in the mining sector in the provinces of León and Teruel. They were not numerous; those who chose to stay in Spain did not form hermetic

ethno-cultural communities and gradually went through integration. In the 1990s, women began to join this community, mostly as part of the family reunification process. For instance, in 1997, females accounted for about 27% of the population of Pakistani immigrants living in Barcelona (Beltrán Antolín, Sáiz López 2007: 407). The influx of Pakistani immigrants was much more numerous in the first decade of the 21st century, when about 70,000 arrived in Spain. Of them, nearly 55,000 managed to legalise their stay and obtain legal employment (Fuentes 2012: 143). Some immigrants married Spaniards, obtaining residence permits. Over the years, the community has expanded to include children born in Spain to both exogamous and endogamous couples. Individuals born on the Iberian Peninsula received Spanish citizenship and, according to estimates, they constituted about 5% of this community in 2007 (Beltrán Antolín, Sáiz López 2007: 409).

The lack of work permits or other documents authorising their stay in Spain has seriously hindered the influx of Pakistani immigrants since the early 2000s. The language barrier (lack of knowledge of Spanish or Catalan) has also been an obstacle in many cases. Many immigrants do not arrive in Spain directly from their homelands but via other European countries (France, Germany, the UK). They are motivated by opportunities to find employment, mainly in the service sector, construction, agriculture or mining. One can see Pakistani businesses everywhere in Raval: halal butcher shops, Internet cafes, hairdressers, candy shops etc. These entrepreneurs mostly offer products and services to their Pakistani compatriots and their families. As observed during the study tours, this is one of the mechanisms leading to the consolidation of relatively closed communities, which consequently avoid interactions with the outside world.

As has been mentioned, the expansion of this community was primarily driven by family reasons. Thus, relatives of individuals already settled in Spain – especially those coming from the Punjab region – joined them and tried to find jobs. Thus, as in most migration movements, the reasons for migration have mostly been economic. Some of the funds earned in Spain are transferred to families left behind in Pakistan, which is an important means of support for these poor communities. In the early 21st century, nearly 50% of the Pakistanis living in Barcelona provided material assistance to their families in their country of origin (Solé Aubia, Rodríguez Roca 2005: 114).

The employment conditions for this group of immigrants have been poor. For example, around 2005, many Pakistanis living in Catalonia worked 12–14 hours a day, illegally, earning very little i.e. 300–400 euros per month (Parellada 2014: 6). The situation of those who had the required documents to take up legal employment was slightly better. The Pakistani Workers' Association (Asociación de Trabajadores Pakistaníes en Cataluña) was established in Catalonia to protect the interests of this community. The Association monitors Pakistanis' employment conditions, the implementation of labour law and similar issues.

The region that attracted the largest number of Pakistanis is Catalonia, in particular Barcelona. Due to its economic potential, Barcelona has always been attractive for immigrants. Not only does Barcelona attract newcomers from the Muslim world and Latin America who travel there in the hope of a better life, it also draws in Spaniards from poorer parts of the country who move there in search of work. It is estimated that at the end of the first decade of the 21st century, as many as 84% of the total number of Pakistani immigrants in Spain had settled in districts of Barcelona and Badalona (Beltrán Antolí, Sáiz López 2007: 409). Some of the immigrants settled in other regions of Spain such as Sonseca, Toledo or the coast (Valencia).

It is noteworthy that the Pakistani community is not homogeneous, as indicated by the experts during interviews. The community comprises well-educated individuals of a higher social status, belonging to the middle class and brought up in cities, as well as representatives of lower social strata, coming from rural areas in Pakistan and involved mainly in manual labour. The former group constitutes the elite of this community and leads its social and cultural activities, which include the celebration of secular and religious events. One of the events celebrated in Raval in August is Pakistani Independence Day, which brings together more than 3,000 members of the Pakistani minority.

Limited integration of the Pakistani community with the Spanish host society is a problem. The Pakistanis constitute a hermetic ethnocultural group. The extent of their integration is much lower than that of immigrants from the Maghreb region, especially Morocco, living on the Iberian Peninsula. This is undoubtedly due to significant cultural differences, which hinder integration. It is a very conservative community in terms of morals. Religion, Islam, is their axionormative pillar. Research conducted around 2005 showed that nearly 60% of Pakistanis living in Spain shared a rented apartment with other Pakistanis. Let us add that this tendency can mainly be explained by economic factors, and can also be observed among immigrants from Africa (Fuentes 2012: 144). More than 80% of Pakistani immigrants built social ties mainly within their own community and as few as 28% declare that they have acquaintances among indigenous Spaniards (Fuentes 2012: 144).

Belonging to a community and identification with it is a key dimension of identity, which is manifested by spending spare time together, practicing rituals, celebrating holidays, sharing customs etc., all of which contributes to the consolidation of a community. This was confirmed by research conducted in Barcelona in 2004–2005 (Solé Auba, Rodríguez Roca 2005: 109). Within this closed community, governed by internal norms and principles, there exists a system of material support and assistance for the economically disadvantaged. Problems tend to be solved by means of intra-group mechanisms. The solidarity and strong social bonds which cement this community are important determinants of its functioning. This is accompanied by the practice of maintaining

contacts with the family that is left behind in Pakistan. Intra-group ties are also manifested in the form of assistance provided to newcomers, who can count on support in finding housing, work etc. It is noteworthy that this solidarity is also typical of Pakistani communities residing in other countries of the Old Continent.

However, it would be an oversimplification to claim that close ties prevent unfair practices and conflicts. In 2019, eight Pakistanis were detained in Zaragoza. They had forced their illegally employed compatriots to quasi-slave work without pay, starved them and deprived them of liberty. The detainees were charged with human trafficking (Detenidos 2019). However, this is not a widespread phenomenon.

An important socio-cultural aspect of this community's life is common religious practices, active participation in activities of sports organisations and associations. Moreover, there are media outlets run by immigrants for immigrants (e.g. newspapers, TV programmes or the radio station "Pakcelona" launched in 2007 and broadcast in Urdu). Islam is clearly one of the pillars of this group's self-identification, and common religious practices strengthen the bonds within the group and consolidate the sense of identity. Their important role could be observed during study visits and meetings in Muslim cultural centres, not only in Catalonia.

The impact of intra-group social norms

The coexistence of culturally different communities usually leads to a number of challenges. The distinct value system of Pakistani immigrants is manifested in various ways, including patriarchal patterns and specific male and female social roles, which differ from those of immigrant communities from other Muslim countries, including the Maghreb. For example, Pakistani fathers customarily choose husbands for their daughters, and this practice continues among the immigrant community settled in Spain. Qualitative research conducted in 2010 in Logroño, the province of La Rioja, among Pakistani women, indicates the existence of norms incompatible with the principles of liberal democracy (Aretio Romero 2013: 105–124). There were instances of family violence, that is, physical and emotional abuse of women in a family, in a community of nearly 2,500 people. Moreover, physical abuse within the family also occurred in the case of non-heteronormative sexual orientation. An example of this was the case of a severe beating of a young man by his father in 2019. The father testified in court that "he would rather have his son dead than gay" (Unos padres 2019). It is possible to be granted refugee status in Spain based on sexual orientation. It was granted for the first time in late 2009 to an Iranian citizen of a non-heteronormative orientation who had arrived in Madrid a year earlier (Walczak 2012: 279). These issues were regulated during the first decade of the 21st century, when the Socialists (PSOE)

were in power and José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero was prime minister. A number of NGOs, such as Comisión Española de Ayuda al Refugiado (CEAR), provide assistance to non-heterosexual immigrants and refugees, offering legal advice and other forms of assistance (Walczak 2012: 281–289).

As has been mentioned, many Pakistanis moving to Spain come from poor rural areas of Pakistan (the Punjab region) and have primary education at best. No matter what the level of Pakistanis' education is, a characteristic feature of this community is rigorous social control and strict adherence to patriarchal rules of constructing symbolic images of masculinity and femininity. Despite emigration, attempts at normative copying of the rules existing in the region of origin have been observed in the Pakistani community in Spain. This was manifested in customs such as limiting women's contact with people from outside their immediate surroundings, especially men from the host society. Such practices were particularly noticeable in the case of married women in endogamous relationships. For example, as was noticed during the observations in Raval, many women wore traditional clothing and were accompanied by male relatives outside of their homes. There were cases of the physical abuse of women, which resulted in Spanish police interventions on several occasions. Female respondents also raised concerns about returning to Pakistan, where they could fall victim to "honour killings" for alleged violation of morals (Aretio Romero 2013: 126). The scope of the problem is illustrated by the data: in 2017, in a single Pakistani province alone, at least 94 women were murdered by family members (Hongdao et al. 2018: 34).

Pakistani women living in Spain are sometimes described as "invisible", which – not only symbolically – demonstrates the problem of the absence of women in social life abroad (López 2019). They primarily deal with household chores and childcare, and have limited interactions with the outside world. The patriarchal system sets norms and values to a large extent, and in addition there exist prejudices against Muslims in Spanish society. The scope of the problem is revealed by a number of sociological studies on the attitude towards immigrants and their perception by the host society (Informe Anual 2018; Aguilera-Carnerero 2018: 599–616). A Muslim female wearing a hijab finds it much more difficult to find a job than representatives of other communities. The Pakistanis are often subject to various forms of discrimination and prejudice, including in educational institutions. There are also instances of hateful acts and attitudes against them on religious and ethnic grounds.

Despite all these limitations and restrictions, there have recently been accounts of Pakistani women who have managed to go beyond stereotypical and gender-specific social roles, to gain education and achieve professional success. Fahar Butt, who lives and studies in Catalonia, is one of the few women who have achieved this. Her words are worth quoting:

My mother is very happy that I'm studying medicine, although, at the same time, she misses her idea of a daughter involved in her daily routine: cooking, cleaning and looking after her.

It's extremely difficult to go beyond a stereotype of a woman's role which is being imposed on me. I can study medicine and be active but when I come home, I'm expected to act like other women, and when I'm unable to do so, my family gets frustrated. [...] My mother believes that when I get married, I'll have to take care of my husband and home (López 2019).

This statement shows how difficult it is to surpass normative schemata and reconcile numerous social and economic challenges.

Pakistanis' involvement in criminal and terrorist activities

Some of the Pakistanis living in Spain are involved in trafficking psychoactive substances, such as heroin and hashish. This phenomenon is especially widespread in Barcelona, and Raval in particular. It is estimated that up to 90% of heroin sold there comes from Pakistan and Afghanistan. Similarly to the trafficking of cocaine from Latin America, transnational criminal organisations are involved in the smuggling and distribution of heroin (Sánchez 2017; Giménez-Salinas Framis 2018: 33–34). Drugs tend to be smuggled to Catalonia not directly from Asia but via other European states. Due to police operations in recent years, several criminal groups have been dismantled, and many kilograms of psychoactive substances have been seized. Still, drug trafficking poses serious threats. Other foreigners, and immigrants from Latin America and the Maghreb (mainly Morocco), are also involved in drug trafficking. It is noteworthy that despite popular opinion, growth in the number of immigrants and their descendants born in the territory of the host country does not generate an increase in criminal activity. This is indicated by the findings of a number of studies, including by the Sociological Research Centre (CIS – Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas) and National Statistics Institute (INE – Instituto Nacional de Estadística). For example, in 2017, immigrants committed about 25,000 crimes, compared with 303,000 crimes committed by Spaniards. Crimes by foreigners comprised 23% of the total number of criminal acts committed at the time (Cometen 2019; García España 2018). Although a certain percentage of newcomers do undertake illegal actions, these analyses undermine the claim that rates of criminogenic behaviour increase alarmingly together with the influx of immigrants and the consolidation of a multicultural society.

Addressing the issue of Spain's security, one cannot disregard the threats posed by the radical Salafi movement. Salafism also poses serious threats to Pakistan, whose authorities carry out comprehensive military operations against the subversive forces (de la Corte Ibañez 2010: 7; Vicente 2016: 4; Ashraf 2008). Regrettably, the terrorist threats materialised in Madrid on March 11, 2004 and in Catalonia in August 2017. Quite a number of jihadist cells have been dismantled on the Iberian Peninsula over the past few years (Kosmyńska 2016: 179–193). Although counter-terrorist operations on the Iberian Peninsula resulted

in dismantling terrorist groups run mainly by Muslims from the Maghreb region (especially Morocco), this does not mean that the threats have been neutralised. This has been confirmed by the arrests, mainly in Catalonia, of Islamists from Pakistan charged with extremist activities.

In 2004–2006, about 70% of the extremists detained in Spain came from Morocco and Algeria. Twenty-three Pakistani Islamists were detained at the time. By 2012, nearly 26% of the arrested members of radical Salafi units in Spain were of Pakistani origin (Kosmynka 2015: 259, 267; Reinares, García-Calvo 2014: 9). In 2008, police detained 10 citizens of Pakistan carrying explosives. They were accused of belonging to an extremist group which planned terrorist attacks on the territory of Catalonia, including the Barcelona underground. In subsequent years, investigations of radical groups sporadically resulted in detections of Salafi units run by Pakistani migrants. Some representatives of the Pakistani community sympathise with the proselytising organisations Tablighi Jamaat and Dawlat al-Islam, which operate in many countries, including Spain. Obviously, only a handful of the Pakistanis residing in Spain are involved in terrorist activities. It is noteworthy that Islamic integrist groups represent a small minority of Muslims, and associations with Islam are unfair to this religion and the overwhelming majority of its believers. The Catalanian Pakistani community has unequivocally condemned terrorist attacks in Europe (Brussels and Paris in 2016, Barcelona in 2017) and appealed for people not to equate religion with extremism.

It is noteworthy that terrorist threats prompted the Spanish authorities to take action on the international arena. For example, they proposed a transatlantic strategy developed by the People's Party (Partido Popular), which was in power in Spain during the 2004 terrorist attack in Madrid. An alliance with the United States resulted in Spain's involvement in military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. Spain's involvement in the war against terrorism brought about the revival of contacts with Pakistan, as evidenced by the visits of the Pakistani Interior Minister (March 2004) and Defence Minister (February 2005) to Madrid. Still, relations between the two countries were far from close (Fuentes 2012: 142–143); the problem of terrorism fuelled cooperation. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Miguel Ángel Moratinos, paid a visit to Islamabad in March 2007. In return, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, then president of Pakistan, visited Spain the next month. Cooperation in the fight against terrorism and Salafi extremism was high on the agenda of the meetings. This cooperation continued after Musharraf's resignation; Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani visited Spain in June 2010. The talks focused on counter-terrorist strategy and intelligence cooperation between the two countries. The peaceful and counter-extremist attitudes of the Pakistani community in Spain were emphasised.

Summary

To conclude, growing immigrant communities representing a distinct cultural profile have become increasingly visible in the Spanish social landscape. Their distinctive characteristics are particularly noticeable in the case of Islamic immigrants from Africa and Asia. The Pakistani community of more than 78,000 is hermetic and its integration with Spanish society is hindered by distinct customs and axiomatic characteristics. The reflections presented above and based on study visits, observations and interviews, confirm the assumption that this is a distinct group characterised by a specific system of norms, values and customs that interfere with successful socio-cultural integration with the host society. The Pakistani immigrants often form their own micro-worlds that frame their interactions, including institutional ones.

Although the second and third generations of immigrants achieve higher levels of education and integration with Spanish society, these groups also exhibit clear attachment to the traditions and norms of their country of origin (Mushtaq Abbasi 2010: 6). The life of this community is largely encapsulated in its micro-world of institutions run by immigrants and their descendants, and its rhythm is determined by the cultivation of traditions originating in the country of origin. Similarly to other immigrant groups, the Pakistanis maintain ties with relatives left behind in their homeland. Referring to John W. Berry's theoretical model of acculturation (Berry 1997: 10, 46), in the case of the Pakistani community living in Spain we may speak of coexistence, understood as cultural separation, rather than integration. This separation is more apparent compared with that of newcomers from the Maghreb. Separation does not imply antagonism. Still, it hinders mutual understanding and overcoming prejudices as well as stigmatising stereotypes that affect the perception of the "stranger". Let us add that stereotypes in multicultural societies may be reciprocal, and be used both by the host society and immigrants (Janeta 2011: 259), which solidifies mutual barriers.

The Pakistani community is not the only one which follows the model of cultural separation. The same is true of immigrants from China, who form separate communities and are much less integrated into Spanish society than, for example, the culturally similar newcomers from Latin America.

In recent decades, the Spanish government has pursued a policy of multiculturalism, as evidenced by a set of programmes and initiatives undertaken at the national and local levels (e.g. employment of intercultural mediators in Catalan schools to eliminate potential conflicts). However, as in other European countries, the popularity of anti-immigrant groups is growing in Spain. These groups are averse to newcomers, especially from culturally distinct societies. These sentiments are exemplified by the results of the 2019 parliamentary election and the success of the right-wing Vox party, which garnered about 15% of the vote. They also fit a now popular trend in the European context of the securitisation of mi-

gration, the process of classifying certain topics as security issues, which is often accompanied by the demonisation of the “stranger” (Ziętek 2017: 31; Huysmans 2000: 751). Although it is difficult to predict whether these sentiments will spread dramatically in Spain in the near future, the anti-foreigner rhetoric may sharpen, especially given the worsening immigration crisis and socio-economic challenges. Therefore, it is necessary to develop projects of inclusion and the integration of culturally different communities, which may contribute to the elimination of barriers and mutual prejudices and offset the impact of populist discourse. The promotion of intercultural dialogue helps eliminate conflicts and improve the quality of coexistence of different groups within a diverse Spanish society.

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SPÓŁCZNOŚĆ PAKISTAŃSKA W HISZPANII – ZARYS WYZWAŃ SPÓŁCZNO-KULTUROWYCH

Abstrakt. Artykuł podejmuje problematykę wielokulturowości Hiszpanii w odniesieniu do mieszkającej tam społeczności imigrantów pakistańskich. Na tle liczby wyznawców islamu wywodzących się z regionu Maghrebu zbiorowość ta nie stanowi grupy najliczniejszej, jednak wyróżnia się ze względu na swoją odrębność i hermetyczność. Tekst zawiera analizę wyznaczników społeczno-ekonomicznych i kulturowych, określających sytuację tej społeczności na Półwyspie Iberyjskim. Egzemplifikację charakteryzowanych w artykule mechanizmów stanowi barcelońska dzielnica imigrancka Raval. Rozważania tu zawarte przybliżają determinanty sytuacji imigrantów z Pakistanu oraz wyzwania, które krystalizują się na płaszczyźnie interakcji tej zbiorowości ze społeczeństwem przyjmującym. Artykuł podejmuje refleksję nad problemem odrębności etnokulturowej tej grupy w wymiarze normatywnym oraz instytucjonalnym, a także nad jej skutkami.

Słowa kluczowe: Hiszpania, pakistańscy imigranci, odrębność, koegzystencja.