

Highlights

Local and regional mediations: the semantics of (anti-)racism and 'integration' at the interplay between institutions, organisations and people.

Portugal

'Civilising' the Roma/Gypsies. Public policies, 'employability' and the depoliticisation of (anti-)racism in Portugal

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- This research argues that it is crucial to locate analysis of the marginalisation and segregation of the Roma within the historicity of the modern nation states and colonialism, the idea of Europe/Europeanness and its interrelation with 'race', racism and modern configurations of political belonging.
- For the last two decades the EU has shown an increasing concern for the situation of the Roma in the different member states and, in broad terms, for the situation of ethnic/national minorities. The signing of the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* (FCNM) in 1995 established a turning point in the legal and political approach provided for combating discrimination and for monitoring the situation of the Roma.
- We argue that the FCNM is a weak instrument for combating racism and promoting a comprehensive anti-racist strategy. Whilst failing to address racism as a central political phenomenon in understanding the current situation of the Roma in European states, the FCNM stresses a reading of the problem as one related to the misrecognition of difference, that is, of the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identities of minorities.
- Much academic work on the Roma/Gypsies (the Portuguese Roma self-identify as *ciganos*) in Portugal continues to focus on the opposing stereotypical representations of majority and minority groups. The state systems of bio-political administration are generally left out of the analysis or superficially mentioned as a problem of the gap between laws/policies, and their effective application. Theoretical reflections on 'race' and racism are quite marginal and linked to the differentiation between biological and cultural racism, on the one hand, whilst also lacking a thorough discussion of the close relationship between routine racialised governance and nation-formation.

- The exclusion of the Roma/Gypsies from policy developments and public debate in Portugal is usually read as self-exclusion and racism as reciprocal hostility between them and the 'majority' population. The question of 'difference' has become, in the employment sphere, a discursive trap within the neo-liberal paradigm of 'empowerment' and 'activation of competences'.
- The arithmetic of centuries of poverty and cultural difference produces, under state and NGO regulation, the dominant approach toward the Roma/Gypsies as pathological. Thus, public policies and initiatives for 'active inclusion' in the labour market and 'empowerment' are implemented as a civilising and disciplinary programme.
- The diagnosis of the situation of the Roma/Gypsies produced by different public bodies over the last two decades has focused on their 'structural' deficient characteristics, thus relegating racism to the fringes of society, i.e. to extreme and sporadic behaviour. The dominant semantics of social discrimination and prejudice relegates racism to the sphere of social attitudes, foreclosing any discussion of political and legal structures.
- The implementation of policies and initiatives for the socio-economic inclusion of the Roma/Gypsies in Portugal is permeated by two discursive and practical fields of intervention: 'inclusion through activation of personal and social competences' and 'respect for cultural difference'.
- The evaporation of (anti-)racism in policy development is brought about via the deployment of a key area of discourse and intervention: sensitisation. This is grounded on the assumed reciprocal nature of prejudices and negative/positive attitudes between the two sides involved in these employment initiatives: the Roma/Gypsies and the employers and technicians. This approach conceives of racism as a reciprocal attitude between groups, removing any 'recognition of the powers that produce and contour it'. Any anti-racist initiative, which is already marginal as we have seen in the initiatives and policies analysed, is relegated to a well-bounded 'cultural sphere' focussing on the ephemeral celebration of the 'other's' culture.
- The constant amplification of cultural difference and of the 'other's' way of *being* and *doing* functions – as in mainstream academic narratives – as a formula for depoliticisation that still allows the 'other' to achieve a certain degree of 'moral progress' and prove his/her 'goodness'. However, the Roma people's 'characteristics' and 'culture' function as regulating the pace that this *civilising mission* should take and the expectations of the state and society. Racism is reproduced throughout the constant ontologisation of the Roma/Gypsies as 'pathological' subjects, this being interpreted as the structural condition facing public policies.

Denmark

The geography of (anti-)racism and tolerance: local policy responses, discrimination and employment in Denmark

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PART I Employment conditions for ethnic minority youth in Denmark

- Young ethnic minorities in Denmark are less frequently employed than ethnic Danish youth. Although ethnic minorities' participation in the labour market has increased over the last years, a strong focus rests on particularly young ethnic minority men, who tend to drop out of school and have lower labour market participation. In the public debate, these young men are often represented as *problematic youth*. Danish research reveals different barriers to the labour market for ethnic minority youth: lack of language skills; lack of knowledge about the labour market; lack of guidance; professionals' clientelisation focusing on problems rather than on skills, etc. Some studies show that employers discriminate against ethnic minority youth in job-seeking processes, while other studies also show that ethnic minority youth often, expecting discrimination, perceive their ethnicity as a hindrance for getting a job.
- In 2010, the Ministry of Integration launched a new 'Action plan on ethnic equal treatment and respect for the individual'. The main activities in this Actionplan2010 are information disseminating campaigns and the development of methods to monitor discrimination in the population. The main target group is individual ethnic minorities from third world countries. At local level, the administration of integration at the municipality of Copenhagen has aimed to counteract discrimination and improve equal opportunities among citizens since 2006. These efforts on discrimination comprise three focus areas: documentation, information and handling of cases of discrimination. The municipality has inaugurated a series of initiatives targeting several groups according to age, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity and religion; e.g. a Discrimination hotline from 2009 that provides telephone access to counselling.
- The Ministry of Integration and the Municipality of Copenhagen both distinguish between objective/factual and subjective/experienced discrimination. However, the Ministry is more reluctant to acknowledge subjective discrimination, referring to it as a *matter of feelings*. Although the perception and approach to subjective discrimination differ, the Ministry and the Municipality agree that it may affect people's integration/participation in society and that measuring and documenting subjective discrimination represents a great challenge. This challenge of documentation indicates an overall problem of legitimising discrimination.

- The Ministry of Integration as well as the Municipality of Copenhagen avoid using the term 'racism', which illustrates the highly contested nature of racism in Denmark. According to the interviewed official authorities, one of the main challenges with working professionally with discrimination is the overall societal consensus about the inexistence of discrimination in Denmark. This consensus tends to pull NGOs in the opposite direction, making them use a very strong rhetoric on the existence of racism. The strong contrasts in the different statements about the in/existence of discrimination reflect the highly contested nature of and the overall struggles with legitimising racism.
- The field study among ethnic minority youth takes place at an employment-creating project *Young Workers*, and in the free sports and leisure club called *Stedet* ('The Place') funded by the municipality. *Young Workers* and *Stedet* are part of a joint effort by local authorities supporting vulnerable youth in the area. In addition to the general unemployment situation and criminal records as barriers to employment the young ethnic minority men tell how they have been confronted, in job-seeking, with stereotypes of young ethnic minority men as violent, criminal and dangerous. The young men thus indicate experiences of what can be labelled 'everyday racism' that connects structural forces of racism with routine situations in everyday life. The interviewed young men experience a need to perform better than everybody else in order to get a job or get accepted. This is confirmed by the social street workers, who believe that ethnic minorities and especially ethnic minority men have to be exemplary in order to get a job. This general underestimation of ethnic minorities' abilities is a particular form of everyday racism, since it impedes their efforts to succeed when it comes to finding a job.
- Both the young ethnic minority men and the professional agents point to discrimination and racism as barriers to employment. However, the social street workers view the young men's social marginalisation and their lack of knowledge about cultural and social codes on the labour market as a main barrier. Not knowing the basic written and unwritten rules at the workplace is mentioned as a common cause of conflicts and misunderstandings, and according to the social street workers the youth can be 'over sensitive.' The professionals thus recognise that structural discrimination exists, but they seem to perceive discrimination as potentially self-inflicted. This ambiguity reflects the general caution with defining and recognising problems as related to discrimination.
- The young men act and react in a social world where they expect discrimination and interpret their experiences with reference to these expectations; many have grown up with socially marginalised parents, have personal experiences of being discriminated or marginalised and are constantly reminded (through Media as well as the abundant social initiatives targeting marginalised ethnic minority youth) that they are positioned at the outskirts of society. Thus the young men's accounts of discrimination and racism are to a high degree contextualised and an expression of hegemonic discourses.
- When the young men publicly react to an (experienced) discriminative act the account is typically excusive, because fighting back in public only reproduces and

confirms the hegemonic discourse of a non-discriminative society. At the same time, the young men refuse to being less valued due to their skin colour or ethnic background, and manifest their resistance through subtle revolts. However, regardless of how they react they are caught in the exact position as was designed for them at the outset. In other words, they are positioned in a double bind situation.

PART II Employment conditions for Eastern European migrant workers in Denmark

- Migration patterns in Denmark have changed significantly during the past two decades, not least due to the increased migrant movements from Eastern Europe after the EU enlargement in 2004. The arrival of the so-called 'new migrant workers' from Eastern Europe has resulted in new challenges for Danish society and for the Danish labour market in particular.
- Between 2004 and 2009 more than 63.000 Eastern European workers were registered in Denmark, while an unknown number have been working without registration. Polish workers compose the largest groups of migrant workers from the new EU8 member states, followed by Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians. Most migrant workers are employed within the construction industry, service industry, agriculture, horticulture and in cleaning. Besides, a relatively large number of Ukrainians have come to work as trainees on Danish farms.
- As EU citizens, the Eastern European migrant workers are entitled free movement in member states, and may stay freely in Denmark for up to six month if seeking employment. Longer stays require a registration certificate under the EU rules. The EU migrant workers submit to different labour market rules depending on their conditions of employment, and how they are employed seems to affect their working conditions. According to the labour unions, migrant workers posted in Denmark by foreign employer/company or employed according to the foreign company's terms of employment are the most vulnerable to exploitation.
- Since July 2010 EU citizens have been included by the Act of Integration, which means that all newly-arrived EU citizens with legal stay in Denmark must – by the municipality – be offered an 'Introduction Course' including Danish language teaching and a course on Danish society, history and culture. However, they have no obligation to participate. The Ministry of Integration offers no efforts of integration targeted for this group of immigrants. Similar circumstances apply to efforts against marginalisation and discrimination of EU migrant workers; because they are EU citizens they are not categorised as target group.
- The Eastern European migrant workers are a diverse group, and their working and living conditions vary depending on migration status, sector and conditions of employment, length of stay, etc. However, what the Eastern European migrant workers seem to share across differences is their marginalised position in Danish society and the Danish labour market. Thus, they tend to be segregated in unskilled, low-paid jobs; they are often paid less than their Danish colleagues, they have more

physical demanding work, less influence on their own work and limited possibilities of advancement. This has led some to talk about the migrant workers as a new outsider group on the Danish labor market; both in regard to marginalisation and as positioned in a grey zone in terms of irregular migration.

- The analysis is based on interviews with representatives of labour unions, members of Danish and Polish Ngo's, civil servants, trade representatives and a representative of The Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs. The interviewees have somewhat different understandings of the Eastern European migrant workers' position on the Danish labour market, and a rhetorical battle goes on about whether the migrants are objectively discriminated against or whether their poor wage and working conditions primarily rest on self-inflicted reasons like their lack of knowledge about norms and rules on the Danish labour market or seemingly neutral factors like lower qualifications and seniority. Thus, it becomes a question of who has the authority to define what really goes on in terms of discrimination and racism at the labour market.
- While the representatives of Polish NGOs speak about repetitive experiences of being discriminated against, the interviewed official authorities hesitate acknowledging any form of structural discrimination. Instead they refer to discrimination as individual events and actions done by individual people, and in this way, discrimination is explained as isolated incidents rather than as repetitive, structurally embedded patterns. Furthermore, most of the interviewed focus on the victim's knowledge about their rights as the primary way to fight discrimination, which means that the problem becomes a matter of the migrant workers' lack of knowledge about their rights, more than a matter of discriminatory acts committed against them.
- The union representatives do recognise that structural discrimination exists, and point to the migrant workers' potential vulnerability in terms of linguistic problems, job uncertainty, lack of knowledge about their rights and being taken advantage of by employers and agencies. However, they hesitate with defining racism and discrimination as the only reasons why migrant workers are paid less and get the worst jobs, and point to seniority and lack of qualifications as equally important explanations. In this way, they express some ambiguity in regard to defining the problems and conditions of migrant workers as related to unequal treatment and discrimination.
- The negative public image of Eastern European migrant workers contributes to retain them in a marginalised position. Often they are depicted as victims of ruthless employers or as disloyal, criminal and undermining the collective agreements. Such stereotypes are also reflected in the interviewees' description of the migrant workers as 'gregarious animals' that are difficult to include in the workplace community and as nomads that travel from one place to another without really belonging anywhere. In this way, a distinction is made between 'us' and 'them', the national and the non-national workers, the loyal and the disloyal. A distinction that might contribute to reinforcing their vulnerability to exploitation and discrimination and to legitimising acts of discrimination committed against them.

France

The mobilisation of undocumented workers in France: discrimination and social invisibility

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- The history of immigration in France is characterised by restrictions and hardening of migration policies. In this context, immigration and racism are constructed through the prism of social invisibility: it is assumed that one needs to become *visible* in the *public sphere* in order to acquire rights. However, this idea of the 'public sphere' seems to be defined as *related to the political field* where full-fledged citizens interact; accordingly, undocumented workers – despite their participation in the French economy and thus assumed as an economic 'need' – are rendered political invisible due to their illegal and precarious status.
- Within the myriad of representations of 'illegal' workers, the 'sans-papiers' are defined in terms of their deficits, embedded in the wider racism against 'foreigners' who are constructed in terms of their *disturbance* of 'national identity'.
- The 'dissimulated employment' is read as an infringement on the part of workers. The mobilisations show Unions' and associations' attempts to pressure the government, as well as the ways in which Media coverage constructed this issue as related to the need for a sort of awareness campaign.
- The research shows the arbitrariness and discrimination of prefectures throughout the process of obtaining a residence permit.

Italy

Racist discrimination in the employment sector against the Roma: a study in 'nomad camps' in Rome

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- Racism against Roma is present in contemporary Italian society and it generates both measures which are intended for the benefit of Roma and also numerous effects which have been criticised by various institutions as discriminatory. The 'Nomad Emergency Decree', issued in 2008 by Italy's Prime Minister, and the

'Nomad Plan', established in 2009 by the City Council of Rome, are two emblematic measures.

- The 'Nomad Plan' was established as a plan to initiate the Roma's 'integration' into 'mainstream' society. However, *de facto* the provisions segregate the Roma even further, and contribute to the configuration of the figure of 'the gypsies' as estranged from the 'majority' society. Roma living in camps are discriminated against in schools and at the workplace.
- The measures taken by the City Council follow a logic of *control* – educating and civilising the Roma community has been a central determinant of historical relations between Roma and non-Roma. The City Council of Rome pursues, on the one side, a racist discriminatory and segregating policy, and, on the other side, has launched an innovative and successful municipal job integration programme that has helped some Roma to integrate into the job market.
- Racism was considered by the interviewees as a problem of individual attitudes and convictions, a problem caused by intolerance and ignorance. At the same time, the Roma were blamed for their reluctance to 'integrate' into and participate in the mainstream society.
- The anti-racist activist scene seeks to oppose the institutional measures, but has proven unable to fully disentangle itself, in their proposals for solutions, from the fundamental categories underlying the imaginary of Roma 'nomads' in Italy as 'unable'/'reluctant' to integrate.
- The institutions, the activists, and the mediation agents are sensitive to Roma experience. However, effective empowering and emancipatory projects are futile and soon reach their limits if racism is not acknowledged as a structural phenomenon that permeates society, a kind of 'cultural' setting for European societies that is far from being a problem of 'wrong' attitudes and convictions.

Germany

Discrimination of Muslims in employment in Germany

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- Although in the past few years, political and academic debates on racism and discrimination have been developed – to a certain extent due to EU directives on anti-discrimination –, dealing with discrimination and racism still proves to be difficult in Germany, especially in the employment sector. The issue of discrimination against Muslims in employment is neglected in the public perception as well as in academia.

- Business representatives either deny or downplay the existence and practices of discrimination against Muslims in the employment sector. By pointing to Muslims' poor educational and linguistic qualifications as the main reason for their problematic situation in employment, business representatives do not feel the need to take action in the job sector. They externalise the issue by demanding political reforms and more investment in the educational sector.
- Among opinion and decision makers there is no self-critical assessment of the existing structures and institutions, which might cause discrimination, but rather an approach that blames the 'other' for his/her 'unfortunate'/'unsatisfactory' situation. It is considered that it is Muslims' cultural and religious 'otherness' that hinders successful integration into German society in general and employment in particular.
- Among policy makers knowledge and awareness concerning discrimination of Muslims in employment is mainly limited to one single issue: women wearing the 'headscarf'. Discrimination of Muslim men in the employment sector is not problematised.
- The *Neutralitätsgesetz* ('Law of Neutrality') of 2005, which prohibits the display of all religious symbols and signs for teachers in public schools and employees of the judiciary and the police, constitutes a major source of discrimination of headscarf wearing Muslim women in employment, as the law also negatively affects the treatment of Muslim women in the private sector. Assuming that they are correctly following the example of the public administration, a growing number of employers in the private sector are rejecting headscarf wearing Muslim women.

Spain (Basque Country)

Immigration, work and coexistence: 'seasonal workers' and 'settled immigrants' in the *Rioja Alavesa*

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- Immigration has been historically constituted as that 'other' that makes it possible to construct the communitarian We in the Basque Country. In spite of presenting its own local identity features, the *Rioja Alavesa*, a rural area in the South of the Basque Country, does not differ much from this tradition. Both due to the concern shown by the administrative authorities and the local agents, the problem of coexistence in the region is centred on immigration. This is a concern that became apparent with the economic boom generated by the vine-growing economy and the world of the vine in the region, and it has increased with the consolidation of the

economic crisis that has been placing that 'immigrant other' in a situation of competition with the 'autochthonous' population over labour and social resources.

- Immigration is an issue of governmental concern at the different institutional levels within the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country (ACBC), both with respect to its conditions of social welfare and to the processes of integration into local society. Plans are the tangible form of public policies for the local administration. With respect to our subject two types of plans can be emphasised: the Plans of Attention to Seasonal Work (the I, from 2004-2007 and the II, from 2008-2012), and the Immigration Plans, both at the level of the autonomous community (the I, from 2003-2005 and the II, from 2006-2009) and at the provincial level (I Foral Immigration Plan of Álava, 2009-2012).
- The diagnosis that has been put forward is that there is a problem with immigration that is specific to the rural zones, which requires concrete actions by the agents that work with immigrants in such zones. Hence the insistence on creating government and planning structures in the rural zone itself, far from the normal nucleus – Vitoria, the provincial capital – from where different programs and actions have been carried out traditionally. Immigration thus becomes an issue of the autonomous government, in spite of the declared lack of jurisdiction on the regulation of the status of immigration affairs of the ACBC. And it is precisely this vacuum that leads to the inscription of the migratory question in the administrative field of social policies.
- The *Rioja Alavesa* shows the confluence of two phenomena: immigration related to seasonal work [*temporerismo*] and settled immigration. The coming together of these two situations gives a special significance to work as a social value and as an agency of socialisation, showing both the channel it provides to relations with alterity and the obstacles to integration that arise in its absence.
- Vine-growing production in the *Rioja Alavesa* is sustained to a significant degree by immigrant seasonal labour power that is bringing about the intervention of the institutions given the lack of specific regulation for this sector of activity. This is an undertaking that brings together institutions from various levels of government administrations, which base their intervention on a work of 'cultural mediation' between autochthonous employers and foreign employees. The presence of seasonal workers in the region transcends in collective representations of cultural differentiation that go beyond mere labour relations, generating imaginaries of alterity in the population of the zone.
- Seasonal workers are a type of other that activate stereotypes and suffer from stigmas in an intermittent way, associated with the productive cycles of the vine. They are not exempt from suffering discrimination, exploitation and from being, in general, figures who especially personify vulnerability, but their seasonal presence situates them in a place of *assured alterity*. They are excluded without a promise of inclusion. Their work is not guaranteed beyond their momentary presence, and their status as workers seems to be based on older forms, distant from the modern constitution of the labour law and that guarantee of neutralising origins, and hence

of equality, on whose basis belonging to a community is understood normatively in modern societies. Seasonal workers will never be citizens. Their order of recognition is that of the human, of the personal order.

- Skills, abilities, aptitudes or willingness of character are qualities that appear explicitly racialised in the narrative of experiences of contracting seasonal workers. In agricultural work, it is common to associate different activities with places of origin, ethnic origins or different cultures.
- Between the economic take-off and the emergence of the crisis, the appearance of a significant distinction between two types of immigration became evident: seasonal workers and settled immigration. The former fits into the order of a sector of activity, vine-producing; it has a function assigned to it and is framed within a relative institutionalisation in terms of labour relations. The latter, on the other hand, lacks the guarantee of functionality and the position provided by work as an agency of socialisation and value judgment in the local society; it is relegated in the collective imaginary and in the influence that the latter produces in the institutions, to that world of compensatory social aid that tries to avoid or reduce social disaffiliation.
- In one case, work regulates, positioning subjects from both sides in a relatively specific field of relations; in the other, its absence intensifies the vulnerability of subjects, constituting them as such, and their relations with the community thus take place through institutions that specialise in dealing with disaffiliation. Both situations therefore give rise to different representations and treatments of the 'other', involving a differentiated panorama of mediators who, at different and complex levels of institutionalisation, intervene and endeavour to bring about solutions for a situation that they evaluate as problematic.
- Roma and Muslims are the extremes of a segment of vulnerability that corresponds to the most severe stigmatisations in the local society. Vulnerability and stigma are directionally proportional. For the mediating agents, vulnerability is the form of identifying and apprehending the subjects of their interventions. This correspondence might encourage strategies by the stigmatised subjects in order to gain access to the social services (assistance), bringing about competition with the autochthonous population over priorities of rights, but the fact is it strengthens negative stereotypes on alterity of the 'they've come to take what is ours' type. *Besides*, although the subjects are mentioned in collective terms in the narrative on the stratification of stigma, vulnerability, inasmuch as it is a position in relation to social rights, converts subjects into individuals, ignoring the possibility of their collective constitution.
- Two dimensions of work should be stressed in relation to immigration, both seasonal and settled, and to the local population's perception of this, above all its effects: on one side, work arranges, channels and stabilises the representations of the 'other', placing the immigrants in a place that, due to its being habitual or common, is acceptable to the 'local we'. This is an instance of relationship that places the 'we' into communication with the 'other's', and significantly reduces the generation of stigmas. The other dimension of work is, paradoxically, where its absence leads: the

work that is produced by non-work, that is, the social work of the social workers. This is practical, everyday work that involves resolving problems, and it is elusive and sceptical of theorising and transcendental arguments.

- The semantics of tolerance reveals the difficulty of giving meanings to terms that circulate profusely like interculturality or multiculturalism and, in the face of that, normalising categories are opted for, like 'coexistence' and 'neighbourliness'. On the other hand, the normalising discourse channels the vulnerabilities associated with the 'other' along the institutional paths envisaged for treating exclusion or poverty.
- The complex articulation of 'good practices' becomes especially evident in the world of work, largely due to the absence of a central institution from which they could emanate. The institution of work is diluted amongst numerous public and private bodies, and within the public administration there is a great deal of lobbying amongst the different municipal, group, provincial, autonomous and state jurisdictions. On the one hand, this allows for the constitution of a dense network of mediators of every type involved in the question, and, on the other, it makes it difficult to determine the role of each body in relation to immigration and work.
- As can be seen thus far, these are actions that are not explicitly conceived as 'good practices'; they are as dispersed and varied as the actors that formulate or undertake them, and they only refer occasionally, and almost always collaterally, to the field of employment. In this sense, the work with seasonal labour has been clear, explicit and concrete. The programs and actions set up on the basis of the Ombudsman's Report have contributed to an institutionalisation of the sector that is evaluated satisfactorily by the different actors involved. But this is a phenomenon where relations between 'locals and foreigners' are marked and regulated by the labour relations themselves. The situation of so-called 'settled immigration' is different. As we have seen, this is a population that is characterised either by a lack of work, or by its realisation outside the legal framework that regulates it. It is, in this respect, a supernumerary population and, as such, its relationship with the society where it is settled is with the social services that are directed towards mitigating this shortcoming, this lack of connection. Its field is therefore that of the community, and its relation with the latter is neighbourliness. Its work is non-work and, perhaps, the work of the social workers.

Spain (Andalusia)

The insertion of immigrants in the Andalusian labour market: policies and intervention processes in Seville and El Ejido in comparative perspective

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- Labour markets both in Seville and El Ejido are limited by a territorial productive specialisation promoted in Andalusia along the last decades. We address on the one hand, the agrarian specialisation in the municipality of El Ejido, and on the other, the employment diversification around the services sector of the administrative capital of Seville. Both case studies illustrate the territorial productive polarisation of Andalusia. The masculinisation of immigration in El Ejido is marked by the role played by men in the agricultural production, while in Seville there is a feminisation of the immigration due to the demand of immigrant women to work in the domestic and care for dependent service sector. Thus, immigrant women replace the traditional gender works in an urban environment characterised in the last two decades by the steady increase in the rate of employment among autochthonous women.
- According to data from 2010, 4.2 per cent of Seville's population are foreigners: Romanians, Moroccans and Bolivians are among the largest groups. From 2008 to 2010, the employment rate among immigrant groups has fallen by almost seven points. In El Ejido the foreign population add up to 34.23 per cent of the total population: Moroccan, Saharan and Romanians are the most numerous groups. Between 2008 and 2011, there was a decrease in the affiliations to the Social Security which affects all its regimes but the Special Agricultural Regime; Specifically in El Ejido, the Special Agricultural Regime is the only one remaining steady or even increasing its affiliations to the Social Security, from 8.548 in 2008 to 9.211 in 2011.
- Over the past few years, the crisis has increased the insecurity and deregulation of the labour relations, contributing to the increase of an already extensive pocket of social exclusion, especially among immigrant groups from non-EU countries and among the latest groups of immigrants arriving.
- The labour insertion policy for non-EU foreigners in Andalusia aims at the adaptation of these fluxes to the most precarious and unregulated sectors: agriculture, construction, domestic service and hospitality.
- The designed policy has two elements, one is a technical-conceptual element and the other is an organic one, to/from which the intervention towards vulnerable collectives is conducted: The first element consists in the definition of the ZNTS or 'Zones with Needs of Social Transformation', and the second element is the

establishment of the Committee on Migration conceived as a collegial tripartite body inserted in the so-called Andalusian Council for Labour Relations (CARL). Both of these instruments have a direct role in the intervention policy for immigrant population in Andalusia. However, there is a lack of coordination between the two. Thus, the social programs aiming at social exclusion areas - these are the areas where migrants reside, often coexisting with other vulnerable autochthonous groups - do not get coordinated with the employers' interests, that actually guide the decisions and consultancy of the regional government in relation to labour market insertion, agricultural wages and to set the work-force contingents for the agricultural labour market. Recruitment in origin is revealed as a strategy to reduce the costs of labour and to weaken the power of negotiation of the organisations of/pro-immigrants.

- There is almost a consensus among the intermediation agents of specialised and immigrant organisations regarding the opinion that in certain marginalised environments with high concentrations of immigrants, the situation of social breakdown has not improved but rather has become chronic. This shows a prevailing perception among organisations and institutions that coincide when making critical assessments on the social impact of the Comprehensive Plans of the Junta (Andalusian Government). It is also a widespread idea that policies and resources have been diluted in practices of little positive impact.
- Considering the career promotion for immigrants, there seems to be no interest in making use of highly qualified or highly specialised human resources, in the sense of value given to knowledge by the EU since the Lisbon Summit. On the contrary, it seems an irrelevant consideration, or at least, it is considered as a possible matter for social confrontation because of the labour competition which could be produced with autochthonous workers and professionals. Accordingly, the protocol for the recognition of the immigrants' academic qualifications is a dead alley, a long-term journey.
- The social position of migrants in respect with their access to citizenship rights is primarily subject to both their status as non-EU foreigners with residence and work permit documents, or without them, according to the Aliens Law in force, and in relation to the existence of bilateral agreements between Spain and their countries of origin. The right to participate in the democratic process is not linked to the citizen's rooted situation, but to the State's transnational interests that have transformed the right of citizenship into an international negotiating tool.
- Within the context of crisis the negative perception of immigration is re-emerging among the autochthonous people, arising the subsequent political interests of invisibilising immigrants groups, therefore extraordinary regularisation processes are at a standstill, at a time when unemployment and new arrivals of immigrants have increased the numbers of undocumented immigrants to levels not reached since the early 90's.
- Cuts in the budgets of the social programs designed by the Comprehensive Plans of the Andalusian Government have influenced the entire third sector specialised in

intervention with immigrants, with the consequent loss of the social resources' quality and the immigrants' inaccessibility to such services. In unison the SAE's control protocol on the unemployment benefits of unemployed immigrants as a measure against fraud - such measure is not applied to unemployed autochthonous - falls into the social injustice, hinders the development of subsistence family strategies and projects the specter of social Darwinism into the social policies lying ahead.

- The current situation marks a tangible difference between the autochthonous and the immigrant, a difference between an alleged policy of immigrants' integration and a migration model of partial citizenship which has characterised the Mediterranean migration model so far; thus the immigration policy in the Spanish territories must be located and analysed from this model. The crisis highlights the lack of integration of immigrants in Spain, and in our case, in Andalusia.
- The technocratic discourse of multiculturalism promoted from the specialised spheres is regrettably depleted and dramatically reduced to just an 'innovative discourse' in the shadow of EU policies. The protection of multiculturalism and of the free cultural practice and expression of minorities in the work environment is relegated into oblivion, taking into account the employers' position and the Administrations' intercultural discourse inability to influence in this area. That is, *belonging* to a cultural minority and stating explicitly the differences in the labour ground, means entering into a power relationship pre-established within the work contexts.
- We are dealing with a non-negotiable situation since the main trade unions resigned to practice any kind of activism promoting labour rights for immigrant groups, not to mention the cultural rights. The main trade unions are a good example of the institutional 'intra-role clash' with respect to its action with immigrants. This schizophrenia also affects entities of other areas of the third sector.
- Since the onset of the financial crisis in 2008 and its effects on the productive economy, social tension and collective frustration have focused the expression of dissatisfaction which blames the immigrants as one of the factors that determine the state of the labour market. We should not forget racist events of the recent past that could re-emerge as an open spigot releasing a dissatisfaction and failure that affect a significant percentage of the population addressed in our research localities.

United Kingdom

Muslims in the labour market in the UK: Leeds and Leicester

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- In the United Kingdom, case studies examined Muslims in employment in two cities, Leeds and Leicester, drawing on interview data to illustrate the various barriers Muslims are facing in the job sphere. In particular, work examined how Muslims have been constructed in largely negative terms, and excluded and discriminated against in employment. Alongside this, the wider political context is also contributing to negate issues of institutional racism in favour of a language that takes racism as ignorance and/or misunderstanding.
- Muslims are at a clear disadvantage when accessing the employment market, as figures show that they are more likely to be unemployed and discriminated against than any other ethnic minority group in the UK. Muslims are facing more barriers when entering employment due to processes of 'othering' combined with the lack of access and training which we have identified as extremely weak. Once in the job market, however, the level of protection is inadequate, that is if Muslims are discriminated against their power and agency to exercise their rights remains limited.
- In both Leeds and Leicester findings identified that Muslims are 'othered' in the workplace. The discourse illustrated a particular construct of the Muslim 'other' as constitutive of 'strange' dresscodes (including beard/veil) and names, 'peculiar' practices, unsociable and difficult to integrate, moreover, there is a clear racialisation of the Muslim 'other' in which Muslims become marked through various nodes as 'different'. This reflects the wider political and social discourse on the Muslim 'problem'.
- The appearance of Muslims is constructed as problematic and unacceptable in the employment sphere, thus we are seeing a move towards many Muslim youth attempting to modify their behaviour and appearance to gain access to the job market.
- Settled Muslim communities who were born in Britain still face exclusion from the job market, which demonstrates the hegemony of racist configurations surrounding Muslims in the British context.
- There was anxiety amongst Muslims about entering the workforce: first of all will they even have access in the first place if they have a Muslim name, if they succeed through the application stage the anxieties turn to what they wear, how they look and how their practices will be seen to conflict with their employers. These anxieties are heightened with the hegemonic Islamophobic political and public discourses surrounding Muslims as unwilling to integrate, self-segregating and dangerous.

- Muslims are not legally protected under the Race Relations Act (1976). This points to one way in which it becomes more difficult for Muslims to exercise their rights against discrimination. Although we see the new category of 'religion' instituted as one of the key strands protected under the Single Equality Act, legal access remains limited.
- Muslims appear to be extremely limited in exercising their rights in cases of unfair treatment based on religious/racial grievances in the workplace. Policy in this area remains weak and fails to account for the specific needs of Muslims and practices of Islamophobia.
- The closure of BME organisations means access to help and advice is restricted for Muslims entering the job market.
- Discrimination and institutional racism is increasingly dismissed in the workplace as nothing other than ignorance. The language of anti-racism has clearly dissolved, thus the rights of Muslims at work is increasingly under threat.
- The prospects for Muslims in the workplace look rather bleak. However, examples of good practice in both Leicester and Leeds, such as schemes which aim to prepare, train and support young BMEs and Muslims and involve local authorities, BME organisations, job centres and businesses, illustrate that there are some strategies in place to try and provide better access for Muslims entering employment.