Spain (Andalusia)

Critical analysis of the immigration policy within the comprehensive plans of the autonomous government of Andalusia

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Introduction

We focus this paper on a critical analysis of the discourse in the Comprehensive Plans for Immigration in Andalusia, PIPIA (*Planes Integrales para la Inmigración en Andalusia*), taking into account its transversal articulation within two institutional contexts of influence comprised by state endorsed immigration plans and by the recommendations and directives of the EU. This transversal articulation with external institutional frameworks (national and supranational) enables us to explore the assimilation of hegemonic ideas and discourses by local policies. Such assimilation is in close connection with the transnationalisation of migration policies in the EU, as an example of the hegemonic framework of global policies that affect third countries and groups of people who are categorized, a priori, by the political and legal framework[1] as specific populations. The social effects of this prospect will be subject to successive phases of research within the TOLERACE project.

This paper consists of five parts:

1. Contextualizing the Comprehensive Policy for Immigration in Andalusia.
2. Discourse analysis in the successive PIPIA.

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[1] The legal frameworks which have been taken into account are within the political sphere of influences in the field of European law: the Schengen Agreement, the Maastricht Treaty, the Amsterdam Treaty, the Nice Treaty, and also the public documents derived from the Lisbon Summit and the Seville Summit. On the other hand, the Spanish law frameworks which have been taken into account are: LO 7/1985, LO 4/2000, LO 8/2000, LO 11/2003, LO 14/2003, LO 2/2009. The directives which have been studied through the Spanish law are listed in the I preamble of the LO 2/2009.

3. Plans initiatives to be highlighted.
4. The immigration and policy discourse among hegemonic elites.
5. Conclusions.

Our approach is based on Van Dijk's discourse critical analysis, who considers discourse studies as an interdisciplinary field of analysis to explain the relationship between cognition, society and discourse. In this line, discourse constitutes the main practice by which ideology is reproduced, where discourse is both controlled and shaped by ideology (Van Dijk, 1999). One of the most significant applications of his critical study is the core role played by discourse as a vehicle for **power reproduction**. Thus the language is an instrument that goes beyond the communication on its common sense, becoming an instrument of action and social transformation once the message is imbued with symbolic content and ideological representations. From a Nietzschean understanding of language, the relationship of discourse with respect to ideology is the one of "being", i.e., the ideology is materialized in the discourse as a construct of reality flowing through society.

We also hold a broad conception of politics based on the contributions of Simons (1997) to political anthropology studies, considering legal systems, power, authority and conflict as subjects for the study of politics. We agree to consider politics as something embedded in social organisation (Fried, 1967), and though politics includes the political-institutional framework, it goes beyond this framework (Rich, 1991). Our intention is to consider these texts as political discourses related to the exercise of power seeking **to impose/establish/reproduce a hegemonic ideology**. So for analytical purposes, in line with the methodological reflection of Eugenio del Rio (2003), we will establish some separation between this activity, as a political communicative act and as an action from the political institutions towards intervention, and its social response and impacts. The relationship of society in dialogue with the organizational structures and mechanisms for participation is a fact that is increasingly possible to be inserted in the political discourses of power, thus, these discourses are supposed to emerge from acts and attitudes of consensus legitimizing their interventions.[2] Therefore, although we assume a politics related concept to the exercise of power, we also assume politics in relation with the attempts to influence

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[2] For illustrative purposes look up at the report for the press February 16, 2007, made by the Office of Communication of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, which communicated that the Council of Ministers approved the Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration 2007-2010. This Plan asserts "The Government has placed special emphasis for this plan to have the highest participation and social and institutional consensus..."

those who exercise the power (Molina, 2004), as this analysis of the semantics and the discourse focuses on political texts of the Plans for Immigration of the Andalusian Government, we will explore their role of ideological influence in society, considering the penetrations and superposition of other external institutional discourses, as ideological frameworks that shape local policies.

From other authors contributions to the analysis of policy discourses, we borrow from Apaolaza (1996:169) his notion of "political space", that he defined this concept as a space comprised by groups among which the discourse is expected to take effect, groups accepting the ideology and the political definitions offered by the discourse maker and which are influenced by this latter. But in a wider dimension, in the sense of social context for critical analysis of the discourse according to Van Dijk, i.e., the "political space" in our analysis has to be understood as a broad social spectrum of ideological influence, beyond the institutional machinery, to which the discourse of power aims through the controlling the Media and mass communication. The power of this kind of discourse is due to its implementation aimed to "construct" reality and not to "explain reality in order to discover it". Hence, the discourse is instrumental in moments of crisis in community life, and has a symbolic capacity as global representation within a social context and as collective referent.[3]

The critical analysis of the discourse on the Comprehensive Plans for Immigration in Andalusia (hereinafter PIPIA)[4] may not lose sight of the juxtaposed frames of action or the global political context in which they are generated. The inclusive structure of the EU establishes requirements for the recognition of the state's membership based on legal and economic aspects, which are above other considerations related to tradition, cultural heritage, geopolitics or history. The establishment of a common economic policy was an initial goal of the current EU, thus, single currency has also become a cohesive symbol ratifying the reason for its existence, despite socio-political, economic and cultural disparities between/among the territories of EU member states. The common economic policy has had as one of its pillars the action on human resources and markets, establishing different rights between nationals from EU member states and immigrant residents. This is reflected in a policy of free circulation of people for national citizens in parallel to the policy of free circulation of goods, capitals and services. In addition to this situation, the influence of **European directives** in the

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[3] This can be demonstrated through the instrumental use of discourses on migration in the political practice as a representation of different types of risk in situations of economic and political instability.

[4] To ease reading we will use, hereafter, the acronym with which the Immigration Plan is known (PIPIA) or we will call it/them Plan or Plans, indicating whether it is the I or the II Plan or both of them.

various immigration laws of the member states, have left their mark in the way migration has been managed during the last two decades. Thus, the influence of the discourse of "zero immigration", an expression used to call the Central European aspirations expressed in **the Schengen Agreement**, has given rise to a "**Mediterranean model**"[5] of immigration management focused on **policies for the control of immigration fluxes, rather than in an integration policy for immigration**. Despite the immigration restrictive policy, immigrants have accessed the labour market. Spanish legislation on migration has contributed to **the construction of various categories of people with unequal rights in relation with people's nationality and country of origin.** The functionality of this construction for political action is evident in the relationship that the control policies can establish with economic needs and local labour markets.

In this global political context, the generated institutional discourses play different roles in the communication and implicitly reflect, in its semantics and representations, a hierarchical stratification of structures in the implementation of social policies at local level. In this sense, we could not correctly interpret the PIPIA without considering that its discourse, apart from being an intent of building and enforcing the reality that refers, "sometimes they assert from other discourses", they issued discourses "fro which they ultimately are recipients rather than issuers" (Garcia, 1996).

1. Contextualising the Comprehensive Policy for Immigration in Andalusia

It is necessary to frame the political actions of immigration of the *Junta de Andalucía* (the Government of Andalusia, hereafter The Junta) from its location within the constitutive structure of the Spanish state, in order to understand the juxtaposition of political plans of action, arising from the relationship between the autonomous communities and the state. The socio-political context in which the successive PIPIA have emerged was/is characterized by the separation between I Plan (2001-2004) and II Plan (2005-2009), in the relational framework of interaction with the state government. The "I Plan" was conceived as a groundbreaking political initiative at state

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[5] Urteaga (2009) called with this expression the policies for the control of fluxes in the Mediterranean countries, whem5ranalyzing the Spanish case. Citing Heran (2007) shows the contradiction between the restrictive policies of quotas and the steady increase of undocumented immigrants, resulting in a bureaucratic weight and the need for periodic mass regularization that show the ineffectiveness of this policy.

level, in a context of political confrontation with the central/state government.[6] Within this context, the Plan was renamed "for immigration in Andalusia". The "I Plan" was also defined as "comprehensive" because it was supposed to join areas of competence and involvement of various ministries (*consejerías*) of the Junta with services and actions that had been affected by immigration, when it should be said that had been affecting immigrant population. We must take into account as well, that this "I Plan" emerged in a context of **political alarm** following the racist incidents that occurred in El Ejido between the 6th and the 11th of January, 2000. This political alarm was more important at regional level than at state level because of the effects that the national and international public opinion might have on the agricultural economy of the region, affected by the racist incidents and on the image of Andalusia as a racist and backward society.[7] The context of the "II Plan" is part of a shift in the relations with the central government after the change of the political wing in the 2004 elections. This "II PLAN" has also introduced changes in the light of an external evaluation hired by the administration, as the II PIPIA document reads.

The framework for action of **the autonomous policy aims for the "integration policies" aspects, while the "control policies" are produced by the central government** and implemented in the autonomous territories by the Central Government Offices (*Delegaciones del Gobierno Central*). In this sense, the control levels and the integration that Arango distinguishes within the European immigration policies (Arango, 2005), are further segregated into different levels of competence within the Spanish State, in a complex administrative structure that operates at different levels of territorial expression.

Opposite to the "laisser faire" immigration policy of the Partido Popular[8] governance, the new socialist government has intervened on immigration matters, giving a boost to the autonomous communities through new dynamics. Over the last two legislatures, the commitment of the government to "immigration issues" seems to emphasize the promotion of a more active role of the state in the planning,

[6]The Andalusian government's political discourse veers between consensus and confrontation depending on its role with respect to the central government. The political party in the Andalusian government since 1982 is the PSOE, this is a fundamental matter that has a strong weighed in the relations with the state government, this was especially significant during the PP governance between 1996 and 2004.
[7]On this subject see: (Martin, Castaño and Rodriguez, 1999); (Martínez Veiga, 2001) (Castaño, 2001), among others.
[8]The immigration policy before 2005 was focused on fluxes control by setting annual contingents, and by producing the PLAN GRECO 2000-2004, that has between its main axes of action the bilateral agreements between states and the co-development policy. The co-development proposal was subject of a covert confrontation depending on the political sign of each autonomous region, as it is possible to see in the very different implementations of the regional administrations with respect to development cooperation policies.

management and coordination of actions, in the various fields of Public Administration related to immigration issues.[9] While the development and implementation of the Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration PECI 2007-2010 (*Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración*), and the creation of the Fund for Welcoming and Social Integration, represent a significant effort for the state administration to increase its active role on immigration issues, we must highlight that in terms of integration policies the state's role continues to be conspicuous by its absence. Some authors consider it a "non-model" of diversity's management because of its efforts aimed primarily to the policing of borders and migration fluxes control, whilst leaving the funding and service provision for the immigrant population in the hands of the autonomous regions and municipalities. According to these critical positions, **it does not seem to be a paradigm for the management of the diversity emerging from immigration in Spain, but rather "the coexistence of different regional and local models** with their own assumptions, expectations and institutional balance resulting from the interaction of historical, political, social, economic and cultural specific factors" (González de Durana, A. (coord.), 2007: 27).

Andalusia is a region traditionally ruled by PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español [Socialist Party]) and the laboratory of new political practices. In this context, the measures and targets referred in both PIPIA (I and II) prepared by the Junta followed the guidelines of PECI at the national level. Therefore, in this case, the regional framework reflects the state's principles and action lines, and at the same time, defines and frames the policies designed and implemented at local level;[10] nevertheless, each municipality sets the actions and initiatives according to its local context. The authority regarding the policies management for the integration of immigrants in Andalusia is the **General Office for Coordination of Migratory Policies** (*Dirección General de Coordinación de Políticas Migratorias*). This public body was previously under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Home Affairs (*Consejería de Gobernación*) of the Junta until 2009, while currently, it is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Employment (Consejería de Empleo). This transfer of powers must be interpreted in relation to the creation of the new Ministry of Labour and Immigration at

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[9] In Spain, an important part of the services offered to citizens, whether native or foreigner, are responsibility of the local governments and the Autonomous Communities, and the Public State Administration establishes the regulatory frameworks to coordinate and enhance these services.

[10] The administrative management of immigration at the state level is under the authority of the Ministry of Labour and Immigration, and in particular, under the Secretary of State and Immigration. The Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration (PECI) 2007-2010 is currently the sate endorsed reference plan promoted. All the autonomous plans are based on PECI, including the II Comprehensive Plan for Immigration in Andalusia.

the state level, and ultimately, to the return to the 90's perspective about the management of migration in relation to the labour market needs.

The I PIPIA meant the design and implementation of a new policy at regional level with regards to what was being developed in other autonomous territories, so far. The II PIPIA established that its changes have been based in the evaluation of the actions implemented in the various areas of intervention within the period 2001-2004, trying to improve and expand both the methodological and funding levels. The total budget in 2001 for the I Comprehensive Plan was 306,315,493 Euros, and in 2006, when the II Comprehensive Plan was already in force, rose up to 1,177,014,989 Euros, this amount was progressively distributed over the subsequent three years. The main areas where this budget was allocated were: the Socio-Educative Area, the Public Health-Care Area, the Welfare and Inclusion Area, the Social and Work Area, and the Housing Area.

2. Discourse analysis in the successive PIPIA

One of the main objectives of our approach to this study is to show **the close relationship between local political discourses and those issued in the EU's institutional framework.** In the line of Batjin's contributions (1991), we consider the Andalusian political discourse on immigration as embedded in other discursive frames. This Andalusian political discourse is related to a variety of communicative acts, in this case, the discourses emerging from different (supra-)state institutions, and at the same time, these communicative acts are framed by discursive actions that are accumulated to the specific context contended in the PIPIA's political discourse itself. By this latter case we refer to the communicative actions developed by the political elites, which as we shall explore later, work as "true discourses" (Apaolaza, 1996) in the space-time coordinates of the exercise of legal and political power, legitimating them.

For a clearer explanation, we will see in this section the semantics in the PIPIA and we will analyze its discourse by tracking, from its institutional nature, the discursive sources feeding these Plans. Thus, the relationship between the discourse of PIPIA and those emanating from other institutions may cover clearly all its complexity. Subsequently, we will address how political practice, in the communicative dimension that the elites develop in the political space, plays a hinge role between the intervention actions arising from the exercise of power and the social groups influenced and/or affected by power, creating shared public opinion and ideologies.

We have grouped for the analysis the terms used and their interpretations within three axes:

1. Terms building **ontological differences between social collectives**.
2. Expressions that define **the underlying political ideology**.
3. Recurrent **ambiguous terms**.

However, we may clarify, beforehand, a number of recurrent terms that might fit transversely in several of these axes. It is necessary to do so, due to the nature of language in these texts. As Apaolaza (1996) and Garcia (1996) indicated the significance of the ambiguity of the language used in political discourse, so that the difficulty of precision in the meanings of what is said, enables for an extension of the political space of ideological influence, because it can withstand various readings and interpretations, whether the receiver is focused on one aspect of the Plan, or the receiver is focused on its overall.

The concepts that need to be previously discussed and that appear repeatedly throughout both PIPIA documents are: **immigrant, tolerance, host society and normalisation.**

Immigrant

This term is recurrent within the language used in the I PIPIA, however we detected a significant change in the II PIPIA, in which the immigrant term is repeatedly replace by the term migrant. This is a solution to comply the semantics developed in the Plans with those derived from the texts arising from European agencies such as the FRA[11] where always the term "migrant" is used.

Tolerance

The way this term is used effectively creates **an image of inferiority of/the collective/individual tolerated**, as appear/s as a passive part in relation with the capacity of choice and is not in a position to exercise the same attitude. It is not just a matter of difference of position, but the way the word is used leaves it without a defined meaning. Nowhere in the text is the term tolerance defined, but it is stated that people must "acquire a tolerant attitude", but also these attitudes are not defined. This is not a question of entering into the fields of philosophy of anthropology and philosophy of law; it is about the implications for social interaction in public contexts that the practice of

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[11] Fundamental Rights Agency.

tolerance marks public life. However, the use of the term in the PIPIA just reproduces the asymmetry in respect to immigrants.

Host society

Regarding the term "host society" we found that **it reproduces the same asymmetrical relationship as the previous term**. The one *hosting* always *welcomes* from a superior position to that one who is hosted. While the term does not entail a neoliberal economic mentality, as we shall see regarding other expressions, it emerged from the term "hosting capability", that appears in the legislation,[12]([13]) this latter term is specifically related to the control of migration focused on **the interests of the labour market.** Thus, although the term does not seem at first glance to have any economic nature, this nature is clear through its genealogy. We also detected how it is repeatedly remarked that "the Andalusian society" is the one hosting, also emphasizing a supposed "open" nature of the Andalusian society.

Normalisation

Both Plans, in their Guiding Principles section, pointed out that the "normalization" means the non-specialization of services or institutions for immigration.[14] [(15)] The definitions are similar in both the Plans, though with some differences in the II PIPIA. But none of the Plans dealt with the valuation or assessment of the implications of this approach for the integration expected by the Junta, although in the introduction we find a clarification to this matter:

> Integration is possible if is based on the principle of normalisation. It is not a matter of establishing special means for the reception of immigrants, whatever their administrative status will be. It consist, in opposition, in the use of education, health or social ordinary services, if necessary reinforced, in order to promote a gradual integration from the very moment of the immigrants arrival. [16] [(17)]

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[12] Statement of Reasons V.2, Law 2/2009: "Improving the legal and organized system of conducting the labour migratory fluxes, strengthening the link between the hosting capabilities of migrant workers and the needs of the labour market".

[13] Exposición de Motivos, V.2, Ley 2/2.009: "Perfeccionar el sistema de canalización legal y ordenada de los flujos migratorios laborales, reforzando la vinculación de la capacidad de acogida de trabajadores inmigrantes a las necesidades del mercado de trabajo."

[14] "Normalisation: the actions and measures that the Plan will establish can not be exceptional and/or different from those which are usually develop by public authorities: it is not a question of creating a parallel network for the provision of services or the provision of equipment, rather it is a question of providing to these networks with the adequate means and strategies to respond to the phenomenon of migration " (I PIPIA, p.66).

[15] "Normalización: las actuaciones y medidas que el Plan contemple no pueden ser excepcionales y/o distintas a las que desarrollan los poderes públicos ordinariamente: no se trata de crear una red paralela para la prestación de los servicios o la dotación de equipamientos, sino de dotar a esas redes de medios y estrategias adecuadas para responder al fenómeno de la inmigración" (I PIPIA, p.66).

[16] II PIPIA, p. 5.

[17] "La integración es posible si se sustenta en el principio de normalización. No se trata de establecer dispositivos especiales para la acogida de los inmigrantes, cualquiera que sea su situación administrativa.

The fact of normalizing, or better, of applying normalization to certain people, presupposes a strange, rare or alien nature of such people. This guiding principle seems to reject the need to carry out positive discrimination for migrants in relation with the local population to develop the integration, and "gradual integration" is assumed as quasi naturalized. But on the other hand, this principle contradicts itself, stating the need to strengthen the system, through measures to fit or assume the different into society. To all of this we may add that the term normalization is linked to technical efficiency, i.e., once again **the approach to the immigration issue is anchored in the economy.**

2.1. Terms building ontological differences between social collectives

In this section we explore how the language deployed in these documents, issued by government institutions and developed by political elites, **build social categorisations and enables to transmit and disseminate an interpretation of differences as constitutive of social inequality.** At the same time **it disseminates a "natural" perception of inequality as intrinsic to the system;** and it also naturalises the intervention to "alleviate" the problems arising from such inequality. This means that something needs to be done by the government as the guarantor of the social welfare, revealing a paternalistic sense of power and a touch of *positivism* anchored in the use of scientific terms, which are empty of their fundamental content. The expressions and uses of language that we have assembled, build an 'otherness' that is situated, even by the 'other', at an inferior level, but this situation is continuosly assumed without any explicit specification/definition that is, it is something supposedly of *common sense*, in the Weberian terminology.

Foreigners

Undoubtedly, one of the most important aspects of the terms that we have discussed is the construction of an asymmetrical relationship based on **an ontological difference**, on the unquestionable legal difference and on the inequality between immigrant and national. These Plans also establish a new construction of difference and inequality by **making distinctions between foreign communities**. As it was shown in the "I PIPIA",

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Se trata, por el contrario, de utilizar los servicios ordinarios –educativos, sanitarios o sociales– reforzándolos si es preciso, con el fin de favorecer la integración gradual desde el momento de la propia llegada."

they distinguished and characterized differently the foreigners from EU member states and the foreigners from states **outside the EU**:

> Foreigners from EU countries are residents attracted by the leisure opportunities offered by the weather, though they also conduct business. In the case of non-EU national foreigners, their activity is focused on services, particularly in the hotel industry and domestic service, but also in construction.[18] [(19)]

This extract highlights a sort of **immigrant-worker** characterized by his/her insertion in the most **precarious sectors of the economy**. When it comes to communitarian foreigners it uses the expression "are attracted to", having an entirely different connotation to the term "its activity is focused", it seems that some are *tourists* who are subject of intensive recruitment campaigns, i.e., those who are "attracted" intentionally. Meanwhile, the other foreigners are treated as **unintended consequences of the Andalusian economic development experience**, being treated more like instrumental parts of the labour market, the extract also pinpoints the precarious employment sectors in which they are allocated. We see then in this excerpt that the general category around the foreigner builds another two subsets, where some are foreigners *de facto*, but this status does not affect their rights in a substantial manner – these ones are also desirable –, and others who are also foreigners de facto but with restricted rights – they have to be handled carefully in order to avoid destabilizing the precarious balance of the labour market.

The Plan's imaginary deals also with the geographical position of the territory, addressing that its role as a (European) border under the Schengen area establishes the situation and the context of migration in Andalusia, affecting, on the one hand, to the uncomfortable perception of these foreigners in Andalusia and, on the other hand, to the perception of the Andalusian territory in relation to the state and the EU: "… In general, the Europe's border role is conditioning the immigration reality alongside the Autonomous Community of Andalusia".[20] [(21)]

Race / Ethnicity
We now explore in detail the intentional use of the binary race/ethnic group and the semantic field arising from its intentional use, as these concepts have an outstanding

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[18] I PIPIA, p. 21.
[19] "Los extranjeros y extranjeras de países comunitarios son residentes atraídos por las posibilidades de descanso que ofrece el clima, aunque también realizan actividades empresariales. En el caso de los extranjeros y extranjeras de nacionalidades no comunitarias, su actividad se centra en el sector servicios, en concreto hostelería y servicio doméstico, aunque también en la construcción"
[20] I PIPIA, p. 21.
[21] "…en general, el papel de frontera de Europa está condicionando la realidad de la inmigración en toda la Comunidad Autónoma de Andalusia."

relevance for our study. We have detected a difference in the use of both terms depending on the area of intervention contemplated within the Plan. The use of ethnicity is more common in state administrative laws and documents, including the plans or annual reports on racism and xenophobia carried out by the OBERAXE.[22(23)] In fact, **the term racism only appears regarding the achievement of objectives and always followed by the term xenophobia.** It is well known, as it was shown in the historiographic analysis,[24] that the notion of race has been considered as irrelevant to political and scientific discourses in Andalusia, this term is more characteristic in the Anglo-Saxon context. However, currently it is of common use within the European sphere, an example of this would be the FRA's Annual Report, where we find chapters that are related to both, to racism and discrimination or to racist violence and crime,[25] and to victimization and ethnic discrimination.[26]

It is clear in both the PIPIA their tendency to adapt to the European discursive lines. Thus, it is important to note that ethnicity establishes cultural differences, while "race" bases the difference on biological aspects. When we explore the use that these Plans have made of both concepts, the concept of race appears only in reference to European directives, as the Plans integrate state law and the European Council Directives and recommendations. We can read in the II PIPIA:

> The European Union has rejected, and continues rejecting the theories attempting to determine the existence of human races. The use of the term 'racial origin' in this document or in other documents to be produced in the field of migration policies, does not imply an acceptance of such theories, in accordance with the position of the European Union. The discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin produces differences that jeopardize the social, political, cultural objectives ... that any government has with its fellow citizens, limiting the development of future generations.[27 (28)]

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[22] The most significant example can be found in the following document of the Observatory: "Guide to design and develop local plans of awareness" 2009, on page 179 reads "This document will use the term racial instead of the term race, as there is only one race, the human race. We have quoted the term "race" only in the legal annex when cited literally some law that use this term"

[23] "Guía para el diseño y la elaboración de planes locales de sensibilización" de 2009 en la pág. 179, se lee "En el presente documento emplearemos el término origen racial en lugar de raza, puesto que hay una sola raza, la humana. Se ha citado el término "raza" únicamente en el anexo jurídico cuando se cita literalmente alguna Ley que lo emplea."

[24] Castaño and Manjavacas: "Historicity of the semantics and the discourse on ethnicity, nation-state and racism." TOLERACE Internal document 0.1, 2010.

[25] See: FRA, Annual Report 2009, pp. 24-57.

[26] (ibidem, pp. 86-96).

[27] II PIPIA, p. 173.

[28] "La Unión Europea ha rechazado, y continúa rechazando, las teorías que tratan de establecer la existencia de las razas humanas. El uso en el presente documento u otros que se realicen en el ámbito de las políticas migratorias del término «origen racial» no implica el reconocimiento de dichas teorías, coincidiendo por tanto en este aspecto con la posición de la Unión Europea. La discriminación basada en el origen racial o étnico provoca diferencias que ponen en peligro la consecución de los objetivos sociales, políticos, culturales... que cualquier gobierno tiene con sus conciudadanos y conciudadanas, limitando el desarrollo de las generaciones futuras."

While the use of ethnicity seems, *a priori*, to stamp a less discriminatory nuance, once we study in detail how this term is used in the Plans, we cannot assert the very same thing. In the two PIPIA analysed, the systematic use of the term ethnicity is always linked to the idea of **minority**.[29] It looks like ethnicity splits up from Us and remains as a category encompassing difference. This is very evident in the following two extracts from both Plans:

> schools that enrolled students belonging to ethnic minorities establish within their educational projects the necessary actions to facilitate the treatment of different cultures on equal bases...[30] [31]

> The measures included in this area seek to achieve objectives such as providing and ensuring the access of immigrants and ethnic and linguistic minorities to a library service, this will be a meeting and cultural exchange place for them, on equal terms than the rest of citizens, and where the knowledge of their culture will be promote among the other users.[32] [33]

Therefore, ethnicity is not only related to **difference**, but also to minorities, understanding the term minority not in its quantitative aspect, but in its qualitative one. Thus, a minority is not only a group that understands the world differently, but it is also a **minimized** unit. **The term ethnic comes to define, once again, situations that have to be integrated, standardized, tolerated...**

Second Generation

At this stage of the analysis of the use of terms involving a different ontological characterization, "imported" from the European sphere, it is essential to examine an expression that, although only appears once in the "II Plan", it has a deep ideological character and needs to be addressed. It is the use of the expression "second generation" of migrants as shown in the following paragraph:

> Although the phenomenon that concerns us now is relatively close in time, we must begin to produce analysis and approaches in relation to what it is often called second generation, since the different countries around us, that have gone through a similar situation, are having serious problems of inequality and uprooting among this group of citizens and the rest of society.[34] [35]

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[29] I PIPIA: pp. 62, 72, 73; II PIPIA: pp. 323, 336.

[30] (ibidem: p. 73)

[31] "...los centros docentes que escolaricen alumnado perteneciente a minorías étnicas establezcan en sus proyectos de centro las actuaciones necesarias para facilitar el tratamiento de las diferentes culturas en un plano de igualdad…"

[32] II PIPIA, p. 323.

[33] "Las medidas incluidas en esta área persiguen la consecución de objetivos, tales como ofrecer y asegurar el acceso de la población inmigrante y de las minorías étnicas y lingüísticas a un servicio bibliotecario, como lugar de encuentro e intercambio cultural en iguales condiciones al resto de los ciudadanos y ciudadanas, favoreciendo el conocimiento de su cultura por parte del resto de usuarios y usuarias"

[34] II PIPIA, p. 163.

[35] "...aunque el fenómeno que nos atañe en estos momentos, es relativamente cercano, hemos de empezar a realizar análisis y enfoques hacia lo que se suele denominar segunda generación, ya que los distintos países de nuestro entorno que han pasado por una situación similar se encuentran con graves

The term "second generation" implies two fundamental consequences: the first one is that of a situation taking place in a spatial and temporal context of individuals' life experience,[36] such as moving from one residence to another, **is becoming a hereditary imprint, an ascribed status that acquieres a biological character**, functioning as a *stigma* that passes from parents to children, therefore, it continues to affect the **descendant's inability to reach full integration** in society, as the "migrated character" remain intergenerational. Without any doubt, the construction of the migrant as an alien through this use of language, goes **beyond the legal category national/foreigner acquiring essentialist connotations**; actually this suggests that the nationality as an administrative status does not matter, but rather, **nationality is an inherent value of the person that is passed from parents to children**. Taking into account the use made of the term ethnicity, the use of the expression "second generation" works shaping a representation of the non-integrable that consist in the biologization of culture. This is a clear example of how the use of language in an intended anti-racist discourse reproduces the consolidation of key categories that establish differences.

Least developed countries/developing countries
We will address in this item, the use referred to a representation that, although it could had been analysed from the neoliberalism ideological dimension underlying the Plans, we have preferred to emphasize its role in the construction of 'otherness'. On the one hand, we find the expression "less developed countries" in the Introduction to the I PIPIA's *Area of Development Cooperation*:

> The development cooperation of *the Junta de Andalucía* is based on the need to help people from less advanced countries to carry out their lives in decent conditions, and its ultimate objective is the eradication of human poverty by promoting socio-economic and socio-cultural development.[37] [(38)]

The construction of the migrant from the autochtonous' status of superiority is evident throughout the extract, to the point that reaches some evolutionary characteristics in

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problemas de desigualdad y desarraigo entre este grupo de ciudadanos y ciudadanas y el resto de la sociedad"
[36] For discursive purposes we highlight the basic aspect of the meaning of the verb to migrate, but analytically we consider migration as a total social fact, in both, the individual and the social dimensions of the process.
[37] I PIPIA, p.164
[38] "La cooperación para el desarrollo de la Junta de Andalusia se fundamenta en la necesidad de contribuir a que la vida de las personas de los países menos avanzados se desenvuelva en condiciones dignas, y cuyo objetivo último es la erradicación de la pobreza humana mediante la promoción de un desarrollo socio-económico y socio-cultural sostenible."

the representation of development and in the self-assigned role of intervention of the Andalusian administration. The idea that permeates the notion "less advanced" means to see the 'other' as backward, and as we detected in the use of this other common euphemism, "developing countries", also used in the I PIPIA within its Area of Cooperation, reaches a significant symbolic character in **the representation of the 'other', minoritised because of his/her *origin*.** These euphemisms avoid drawing attention to the historical reasons of global inequality, reproducing the perception of global imbalances as something inherent to the affected countries themselves:

> The objectives and measures defined below are only in relation to the activities of the policy that directly affect or contribute to the improvement of living conditions of the immigrant coming from developing countries to the Autonomous Community of Andalusia [39] [(40)]

Moreover, these representations navigate between two stools, while they printed their mark in the construction of the 'other', it is also important their nature related to the economicist mentality. Of course, the angle chosen to describe a society as "less developed" or "developing", refers to such society as economically advanced within the capitalist societies scale, where freedom of market means the highest development. Using the proposal of Edward Said, we can see how **European ethnocentrism** moves through these two notions, it is just a matter of adapting to the **Western neoliberal canons** in order to be an advanced or developed society.

2.2. Expressions defining the underlying political ideology

These Plans contain a whole range of expressions and representations emerging from other institutional spheres, with the intention of conducting the discourse to the ideological coordinates that underpin the economic system producing and structuring global migrations. The language is permeated with intended economicist, this is possible to be identify also in the analysis of legal texts regarding migration control[41]. The economic issue could be considered a meeting place between the two political texts. We divide our analysis of this section into three points, while the representations are inside an economicist logic they also belong to different spheres of this proposed imaginary. The first point explores the Western economicist imaginary as represented under a high level of abstraction in relation to the theories of their own vision of the

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[39] II PIPIA, p. 162.

[40] "...los objetivos y medidas que a continuación se definen lo son únicamente en relación con las actividades de dicha política que directamente afectarán o contribuirán a la mejora de las condiciones de vida del inmigrante que llegue a la Comunidad Autónoma de Andalusia procedente de países en desarrollo…"

[41] Martinez, F.: "Analysis of the categories involved in the construction of racism and xenophobia within the legal system", sections 1:1 and 1:2 of GEISA internal document, 0.01, prepared within the TOLERACE framework, 2010.

economy. The second is based on the Plans' insights from the legal sphere in relation to economy, as well as from Business Law or Labour Law issues. Finally, the last point concerns the imaginary of the economic globalization.

2.2.1. Economicist imaginary

While all the terms set out in the three points involve abstractions and underlying economic theories, we highlight now clearly significant concepts within the theoretical basis of "Western economic science." The first expression is "objective information" as it is used within the "II PIPIA" – Area of Social Awareness Intervention:

> The perception of migration influences directly in its treatment, so it has to be ensured that every citizen has the access to objective information that can be assessed according to his/her beliefs and values. [42] [43]

The "objective information" referred in the extract is deduced from statistical studies that the agencies in charge of migration policies have as their main source of information.[44] In the reports of OBERAXE on racism and xenophobia, we note the same intention, so that an important part of the report is dedicated to explain the correctness and adequacy of constant statistics, proposing a mathematical logic in issues such as the one of dealing with the perceptions of immigration.[45] The Western **myth of objectivity** that is used in economics to predict the equilibrium of prices, the quantities needed to supply an specific demand, or the adjustments that must be made in fiscal policy to tackle whichever problem, is the same objectivity underlying these intentions of producing an "objective information." This reveals that the imaginary underlying the Plans is crossed by the economicist logic, this latter aspect is relevant for a social fact such as migration, with many dimensions. The **reductionism** implied by this logic, that oversized the quantitative aspects of migration, generates the stark images made of migrants in the Plans of the Junta, reducing them to a statistical skeleton.

We now focus on the use of a quite surprising notion: "voluntary and rational immigration."[46] The term "voluntary" does not refer to the reasons of migrants to migrate. If so, one might question whether the maintenance of the family or making a life plan that can not be materialized in the home country for whichever reason can be

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[42] (ibidem: p. 411)
[43] "La percepción del hecho migratorio influye directamente en el tratamiento del mismo, por lo que se ha de garantizar que cualquier ciudadano o ciudadana tenga acceso a una información objetiva que pueda valorar según sus creencias y valores"
[44] (ibidem: p. 15)
[45] See: OBERAXE, Annual Report on Racism and Tolerance, 2008, p. 301.
[46] I PIPIA, p. 3.

considered as a willing reasons for migration. It is possible to understand in two ways this expression from a legal perspective: the first one understands that when immigration is not voluntary, then it consists in a situation of trafficking and/or slavery of persons. Secondly, the labour law states that the work must be voluntary, so there cannot be forced labour. Hence, if we consider that the main reason for the Plans in regards to migration is the economy, this explicative line achieves all its meaning. The other adjective that is used in the expression is "rational". This term points in the same sense that we saw above regarding the "objective information." **The texts seem to mean by "rational", that migration needs to be handled in accordance with objective and internally coherent criteria,** i.e., if the central idea is the migration as an economic resource, therefore migration must be administrated in relation to the hosting capability and the specific needs of the labour market in order to be "rational". Finally, we can see how an expression, that does not seem to have any relation to economic criteria, is designing the way to understand migration as labour fluxes. What would be "rational" with respect to migration will be that nations react in solidarity and not by economic criteria. On the other hand, the Enlightenment myth of a free and rational man is at the core of the neoliberal thesis regarding the free choice in markets and/or in the rational actor, strengthening the imaginary of neoliberalism itself.

There is a sentence, within the Specific Objective 6.9 of the Area of Culture, Leisure and Participation Intervention of the II PIPIA that is particularly striking:

> Encourage and enhance the participation in the Information Society of the existing immigrants in Andalusia. [47] [48]

The inclusion of the term "information society" reveals a deep neoliberal inspiration in the configuration of both PIPIA. The ideas about the information society are disseminated from elitist sectors, and it is in such collectives where the theories of Manuel Castells about the Network Society are more depth and have more sense. Deepening into the genesis of the scientific discourse used by the Plan, the term Information Society comes from the Austrian economist Fritz Machlup theories regarding the industry of knowledge.[49] According to his theories, the inclusion of the

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[47] II PIPIA, p. 346.
[48] "Favorecer y potenciar la participación en la Sociedad de la Información de las personas inmigrantes existentes en Andalusia."
[49] In his book "The production and distribution of knowledge in the United States", Machlup analyzes the collapse of the Fordist production model, concluding that the industrial capital is not longer valid to increase profits because it generates a constant high volume of indirect costs that increase faster than the profits of the sales. In the sixties, emerged an industry in the U.S. that because of its intangible object did not generate the same costs, and it is the base of the cybernetic and the information technologies. This sector is called the knowledge industry, and it is based on human ingenuity, that generates benefits of patents, copyrights, telematics trade business... The objects of the industry refer to parts of knowledge as

expression Information Society reveals a culture marked by an economic orientation, as it encourages the participation in a concept of society marked by the commercial use of the products of ingenuity. As far as the ideological interpenetration of political discourses can get, it is possible to notice that the above paragraph underlies a discourse arising from the EU policy on immigration which borrows North American lines and practices in the management of migration, such as that practice carried out for decades in the U.S. and Canada concerning the selection of highly skilled immigrant, who obtain a differential treatment through the figure of the "green card." Already in the Lisbon Agenda50, held in 2000, the EU established a similar strategy named the "blue card"51. The tendency to step up control over immigration, the segmentation of immigrant groups in terms of the benefit that they can give to the production system and the tendency to relate migration to crime and insecurity, has been ratified at the Seville summit on the 15th and 16th of January, 2010. In this line, the knowledge as a productive value implies the possibility of new forms of social inequality, to be managed by the political power. According to Wallenstein's world-systems theory (1991), the know-how productive value will enable to establish new privileges for a new kind of emerging worldwide social elites, thus, this will help to the reproduction of the system. [52]

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raw material, substantially different from the raw material related to the earlier industrial process. We say this in a relative sense because we echo the implications of the Karl Marx's theories of the general intellect in the manufacturing process. (Machlup, Fritz. The production and distribution of Knowledge in the United States. Press, Princeton, NJ 1972)

[50] The Lisbon Strategy, also known as the Lisbon Agenda or Lisbon Process, is a development plan of the EU. It was approved by the European Council in Lisbon on the 23rd and 24th of March, 2000. It set, on the agenda, the strategic objective of making the economy of the EU "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge economy in the world", before 2010. The Seville Summit hold during the 15th and 16th of January, 2010, has ratified these objectives as well as the line of "control" in the management of immigration.

[51] A draft directive was presented in October 2007 ("Proposal for a Directive on the conditions of entry and residence of third country nationals for highly qualified employment purposes"). This Directive called "blue card" to the document offered to immigrants, by reference to the U.S. green card that allowed the foreigners to stay and to work in the U.S. In principle, its scope seems more limited, since the green card is a permanent residence permit, while the "blue card" is provided for five years, but after these five years the foreigner can request the status of long-term resident, which is permanent. The Directive of the "blue card" was finally approved in May 2009 establishing common rules for all Member States in order to facilitate the entry and residence of highly skilled immigrants and their families, it also enables to transfer them to another EU country after a period of residence and work in the first country of residence. The condition of entry for the immigrant is to receive a high qualificated job offer of at least one year and for which he/she has to be paid a salary equivalent to at least 1.5 times the average gross wage of the hosting country.

[52] The reform of the Immigration Law in Spain already includes this specific interest. In Law 2/2009 the Article 38.3 says: "The granting of permits for highly qualified professionals may take into account the national employment situation and the need to protect the adequacy of human resources within the foreigner home country." The inclusion of the conditional verb form in the phrase also implies the opposite, so that the important matter does not emerge from the national situation but from the marginal utility of the worker to the economic system. Thus, the highly qualified workforce is separated from the general group of migrants. This enables to build a different status for highly educated elites who move to the Spanish labour market.

Finally, regarding this core of the Economicist imaginary, we focus on the specific objective 10.1 of the Area of Intervention for Development Cooperation of the I PIPIA:

> To contribute, as far as possible, to eradicate poverty and to the consolidation of processes to ensure sustainable human development.[53] [54]

We are interested in the expression "sustainable human development" from the quote above. Here we find an application of the term development, focused on the individuals, although is accompanied by the adjective "sustainable" inspired by the theories on ecosystems. Taking into account the contextual location of this expression in the global document (Development Cooperation), it can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, the cooperation model underlying in the Plans design is the co-development model proposed by Sami Nair,[55] and therefore, it could be interpreted as "sustainable" from the perspective of controlling migration fluxes, where such fluxes are understood as labour fluxes. Sustainable can be also understood in the sense that we sated above, in relation to the capacity of assimilation depending on the needs of different labour market sectors. However, bearing in mind that the PACODE[56] does not introduce neither special consideration about the role of migrants in development cooperation, neither the co-development concept itself, the orientations of the II PIPIA meant the penetration of the French line in the policy of cooperation established by the Andalusian Ministry of the Presidency (Consejería de Presidencia). On the other hand, and also taking into account the context, the orientations of the II PIPIA can imply the penetration of a core idea, derived from worldwide entities such as the reports on the MDGs within the context of the UNDP's recommendations. In any case, the notion "sustainable human development" is undefined, consisting in a pure meaningless euphemism.

2.2.2. Penetrations from the legal sphere

In this section we will explore the relations established with the legal sphere. We focus on one example that seems potentially illustrative for our analysis. This issue will help to understand the parallelism that we establish in relation with the discourse of the

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[53] I PIPIA, p. 164.
[54] "Contribuir, en la medida de lo posible, a la erradicación de la pobreza y a la consolidación de los procesos encaminados a asegurar un desarrollo humano sostenible."
[55] (Ibidem, pp. 162-166); II PIPIA, pp. 427-434.
[56] Andalusian Plan for Development Cooperation 2008-2011, issued by the Ministry of the Presidency (Consejería de Presidencia) in November 2007. For more information, see: Castaño, A: "Co-development as a strategy to take control of silenced societies: a case study of the potentialities in the transnational networks of Jbala (Morocco)" in REMHU, year XVI n1 33 jul / dez 2009. Edit. CSEM, Brazil, pp: 101-128.

state endorsed law and the European directives;[57] this relationship sheds some light on the origin of certain imaginaries about immigrants and on institutional racism. We make in this section a selection of expressions that are much extended among the political discourses on social intervention, illustrating the interpenetrations, referred above, between political power discourses.

Let's start by tracing **the genealogy of the expression "good practices"** arising from institutional political discourses and, therefore, we will trace the derived interpretation. This expression is found relatively often in different extracts of the II PIPIA text, but each and every time it appears, we can make an unambiguous tracing of the legal origin of this expression, in order to see its relationship with the economicist logics. For space reasons, we have selected an excerpt from the II PIPIA for illustrative purposes, while other similar uses are referenced in the footnote58. The specific objective 2.6 of the Socio-labour Area of the II PIPIA reads:

> Identifying good practices for an equal access of immigrant population to the labour market, developed under the programmes of the European Initiative EQUAL in Andalusia (...) Detection of good practices and strategies, to transfer them to public policies in relation to equal access to the labour market of women and men immigrant.[59] [60]

The notion of "good practice" remains undetermined in all the quotes that we have pinpointed, **not specifying who is/are the person/s that has/have the power to decide what is, or not, a "good practice"**; similarly, nowhere in the text the characteristics that would identify good practices are defined. But if we trace the legislation to find out the genealogy of the term and its interpretive shift, we find, again, a markedly **economic root** in the language used in these policy documents regarding social intervention. Indeed, looking at the Commercial Law, in particular with regard to "commercial practices"[61] on the Banking Law, we see that the Claims Service of the Bank of Spain, for example, when dealing with complaints against credit entities, usually addresses to "good practice" i when referring to the customary practices that have acquired a degree of **regulatory power by repetition**. The insertion between the original meaning and the diffusion into policy documents is produced as follows: as the

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[57] Martínez, F. "Analysis of the categories involved in the construction of racism and xenophobia within the legal system," internal document 0.01 of GEISA, developed within the framework of TOLERACE, 2010.
[58] II PIPIA, p. 186, Area of Socio-Educative Intervention, p. 254, Social Health-Care Area, p.279, Area of Inclusion and Social Welfare, p.367, Area of Training.
[59] (ibidem: p. 226)
[60] "Detectar buenas prácticas para la incorporación en igualdad al mercado laboral de la población inmigrante desarrolladas en los programas de la Iniciativa Comunitaria EQUAL de Andalusia (...) Detección de buenas prácticas y estrategias para su transferencia a políticas públicas en relación con la incorporación en igualdad al mercado laboral de mujeres y hombres inmigrantes."
[61] The commercial practices are those practices non-defined by law but which are use systematically with the conviction that it is acting according to law. These ways of action emerge from the repetition of the conduct with this particular belief, becoming finally in tacit adjustments, by the habit.

concept is not defined in the text of the Plans, it is necessary to appeal to the specific use of the term in official publications, i.e., it has a state institutional nature, as we are analysing a document from the Public Administration. Thus, the term refers to banking law, in which those practices called "good practices" have their origin in the adhesion contracts[62], this kind of contract has some typical clauses (in the sense that they are always repeated) used by banking operators. Thus when we speak about "good practices" in the II PIPIA, the logic seems to be the same, the economicist one.

Therefore, it seems that regarding to immigration, "good practices" are those arising from the Plans and legislation at the light of the discourses of power, so that in the social practice these good practices operate as the adhesion contracts used by bank operators. This integration model is proposed in order to exclude the participation of migrated populations in the decision-making level, as the Plans emerged from factual powers. These migrated populations are minoritized in a "natural" way, as we have seen in the previous analysis, by constructing them as people who can only accept what has been offered to them. Like the Bank of Spain Claims Service serves as institutional authority that decides unilaterally which are the recognized practices;[63] we can see throughout the Plans that this area of "good practices" is also subordinated to an institutional authority with supervision functions. To further illustrate our assertion, we will rely on the analysis of an example from the specific *objective 3.2* of the II PIPIA in the Area of Public Health Intervention, which states: "Improving the assistance quality of the immigrants and their families' health problems."[64] We pointed earlier that the measure adopted to try to achieve this objective consists in: "The exchange of experiences and good practices in primary and hospital care."[65] The qualitative assessment indicator used to monitor this objective is the following: "Conclusions of the encounter and good practice guidance. Number of good practices identified. Work areas of good practice identified."66 We have two things to say about this indicator: on the one hand, it is a qualitative indicator but included a quantitative reference regarding the number of practices carried out; and on the other, this mechanism underlies the **unilateral control of "good practices"** that we saw in the banking sector. The

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[62] Adhesion contracts are those in which only one of the parties in the contract proposes the conditions. In the case of banks it is usually a standard contract, and the other party within the contract will only accept the contract as a whole or not, i.e., there is no possibility of negotiation. Such is the case of contracts for opening current accounts or deposits. Therefore, the main thing is that one party is in a position of superiority over the other, who is deprived of any possibility of negotiation.

[63] For more information see: Farrando, I. "Criteria from the Complaints Service of the Bank of Spain in relation to banking practice." Studies on consumption No. 56, 2001, pages 99-164.

[64] II PIPIA, p. 254.

[65] Ibid.

[66] II PIPIA, p. 255.

regulatory institution responsible for this measure is the Andalusian Health Service, SAS (Servicio Andaluz de Salud)67, and this is the only institution detecting and counting good practices, drawing conclusions and setting out areas where such good practices are detected.

Therefore, we can say that while at first sight there seems to be little relation between the legal, economic and social intervention spheres, if we trace the genealogy of the expressions in the very nature of the institutional discursive, we can see the connection with the economicist imaginary and the interpenetration of core ideas between the spheres of power.

2.2.3. Imaginaries of the economic globalization

Finally, we will address the practices referring to the process of globalization as the mundialization of markets and industrial process through relocation techniques; i.e., we will refer to the processes by which Western economic structures acquire a worldwide dimension. Throughout our analysis we discussed migration as a flux of workers in relation to the needs of the labour markets, this implies an international character of markets. When dealing with migration in this way, we are doing it within a paradigm that already implies this idea, but we will highlight the use of some terms that demonstrate this imaginary more clearly. To do so, we extract a paragraph from the introduction of the II PIPIA that fits very well into this matter, however, we'll see how one of the expressions that appears in the paragraph has other connotations in relation with the global context:

> We live in a globalized, interdependent world, where information and knowledge are more extensive and interactive than ever, in this word is taking place a new definition of the international division of labour and the worldwide reallocation of production specialization. The liberalization of markets and trade increases the volume of population fluxes. The necessity that drives millions of people to look outside their home country for a better future, it is now unstoppable.68 (69)

Although the latter paragraph powerfully illustrates the imaginary to which we referred right from the beginning of this paper, we highlight some expressions that powerfully show their ideological link with the imaginary of the neoliberal globalization. For the expression "globalised world" to be a coherent, it has to be interpreted from the

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67 Ibid.
68 II PIPIA, p. 3.
69 "Vivimos en un mundo globalizado, interdependiente, en el que la información y el conocimiento son más extensos e interactivos que nunca y en el que se está produciendo una nueva definición de la división internacional del trabajo y una reasignación de la especialización de las producciones a escala mundial. La liberalización de los mercados y de las transacciones comerciales incrementa el volumen de los flujos poblacionales. La necesidad que empuja a millones de seres humanos a buscar fuera de su país de origen un destino mejor, resulta ya imparable."

imaginary of economic globalization, if not, it becomes a redundant expression. Actually, the world has always been global in its geometrical aspect and it was always an interrelated or interdependent ecosystem in its natural and social dimension affecting human species. The expression "globalized world" in the extract, refers to the way of understanding the world within the rationality of neoliberalism, i.e., it emphasizes that we live in a world system with a globalized economy, so it does not simply refer to the current world's interrelationship. Moreover, the extract does not only refer to the latter imaginary, but also implies to the thesis previously commented on the Information Society, when it mentions the information and knowledge importance, at the beginning of the paragraph.

Afterwards, we find in the extract an explicit expression that seems to show the rationality that is under the Plans design: "international division of labour and the worldwide reallocation of production specialization." We could have explore this extract on the 1st thematic axis, but in terms of "international division of labour", we prefer to bring it up here, because it explains very well the rationality with which migration is interpreted within the Comprehensive Policy of the Junta. Although the impact of legislation is a key factor to understand the substrate of the Plans logic70, undoubtedly, the ideals on which the Plans lay down are those of economic globalization. Once we notice the treatment of the expression "rational immigration" in these texts that we are discussing, the importance given to the international division of labour becomes evident. Though, not only matters the new global distribution of labour, as the text also points to the relocation of production as the new definition to be taken into account. The text ends up naturalizing a production system that condemns most of the world's population to tremendously unfair working conditions, hiding that is the production system itself the one determining, nowadays, many of the worldwide demographic movements. The picture drawn is that of a world divided by the forms and stages of production and operating conditions. Within this situation, the movements of migrants are dramatic; migrants are taken out from their biographical contexts to become instruments of production. **The 'other' is blurred, transformed into an object to be manipulated, thus, migrants are reified.**

The expression "population flows" is a key reference in the text. This expression is worthy of a detailed analysis because of its legal and political implications. The use of this term has several effects on the attitudes and praxis developed, and it also has a kind of ideographic effect on the overall text of both PIPIA. By this way of defining the

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70 See section "1:2 Control of migration: equal to control of economic fluxes" from the report about Immigration Law.

expression, we mean to the effect that this expression causes in the affected individuals, the same as the ideographic language; therefore, it leaves an emotive trace that produces in the receptor the discharge of a number of interpretive related contents. The fact that some of the terms used in the discourse on migration are deployed consistently and repeatedly building imaginary concepts, it makes of such terms **concept-symbols** that produce affection because of their ideological character and sets in motion their symbolic significance at mental level. The ability of the ideologised concepts to become symbols, once they are included in the discourse, enables us to make a series of **relationships of continuity**. Thus, as we shall see with other symbol-concepts of the Plan, it is established a nexus of relations between the general text (i.e., PIPIA) and "population fluxes" (the "object" of the document); the relationship of continuity is completed with other symbol-concept that appears in other parts of the discourse, **"interculturalism"** (the Plans "target"). The final effect is that the recipient perceives the intervention Plans as a political action of "common interest", as a positive and necessary political action. We find this explicit and repeatedly in various parts of the II PIPIA text. In terms of mentalities, we are interested in the evocative capacity of representation within the collective imaginary that this capacity (of interculturality) enables to establish that is, an analogy between the common expression of "migratory fluxes", commonly used to define population movements, and the currents of non solid elements flowing from one place to another. The fluid has some risk: it is difficult to contain without developing techniques and methods applied to physics.

We will see now other contextual uses from the II Plan that we consider very illustrative:

> it is a question of establishing policies and strategies, in a coordinated manner, between the various administrations, to ensure a proper management of fluxes, to adequate them to the labour market [71] [(72)]

The Subsection III (Legal and Jurisdictional Framework) of the Section B.1 of the "II PIPIA" is entitled *"Agreements on migration fluxes"*[73], in its 12 measure within the socio-labour Area we can read: "This situation is more significant in the case of unaccompanied immigrant children, who are only one link in the family chain that is

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[71] II PIPIA, p. 3.
[72] "…de lo que se trata es de establecer políticas y estrategias que, de forma coordinada entre las distintas administraciones, garanticen una correcta gestión de los flujos, una adecuación de los mismos al mercado de trabajo"
[73] (Ibidem: pp. 110 – 114)

inserted into global migration fluxes". [74] [75] In the Area of Development Cooperation of the "II PIPIA" it is asserted:

> These programs are implemented with special emphasis on those countries whose migration fluxes are among the ones contributing with a greater number of immigrants to the autonomous community of Andalusia.[76] [77]

And finally, we select the description of the first specific objective of this same area, where it is stated:

> "The welfare difference that occurs between societies is causing the major migration fluxes of the 21st century". 78(79)

We can find the representations of the imaginary regarding migration in these policy documents, by analyzing the use of such imaginary in the context of the extracts. It is possible to identify at least three aspects in the representation: i) they are migration fluxes, uncontrollable movements of people, ii) these movements cross borders, travel the world, i.e., they are transnational iii) they need to be manage for various reasons: for international cooperation, for social and labour needs, for the defence of human rights, or for any other reason. But the definition has other ideological implications, enabling to locate the places for intervention: At the level of mentalities, migration is explained in a specific historical context as an outcome of the effects derived from economic globalization; At the legal level, migration is explained as subject to international treaties regulating bilateral agreements that modify the necessary conditions to migrate, to live in another country, to institutionally establish contingent agreements, etc.; At political level, migration is understand for the implications that it has on administrative and labour market management within the state territory, and for the development of transnational penetration policies. This imaginary and its representations of migration in the sphere of economical globality ignore the individual particularity, the specificity of life experience and the reasons unrelated to economy. It reifies the individual migrant, anchoring him/her in the economic dimension, inserting them into the fabric of the global economy, where the internationalization of markets moves large amounts of population. This internationalisation seeks the best performance of the migrant's activity as if they were merchandise.

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[74] (Ibidem: p. 242)
[75] "Esta circunstancia se acentúa en el caso de los menores inmigrantes no acompañados, los cuales son sólo un eslabón más de la cadena familiar que se inserta en los flujos migratorios mundiales."
[76] (Ibidem: p. 428)
[77] "Estos programas se ejecutan con especial incidencia en los países aquellos cuyos flujos migratorios se encuentran entre los que mayor número de emigrantes aportan a la Comunidad Autónoma de Andalusia"
[78] (Ibidem: p. 429)
[79] "La diferencia de Bienestar que se produce entre las sociedades, está provocando los principales flujos migratorios del siglo XXI"

2.2.4. Recurrent ambiguous terms

The discourse of power is characterized by the formalisation of the language used. As noted above, the profusion of metaphors and euphemisms imprint ambiguity along the text, enabling for multiple interpretations and giving to the text a greater capacity of political space, i.e., a greater influence over a wider diversity within the social spectrum to which the discourse is addressed. This particular use of language has also a certain capacity to encrypt some specific content. The discourse makes possible to keep outsiders at a distance, protecting itself from the trivialization and establishing from the power of the discourse maker a gap between the sacred knowledge, which belongs to the initiated (the political, academic specialists, as appropriate) and the profane knowledge, this fact ensures the monopoly of power and its reproduction.

This kind of language permeates many of the contents in both PIPIA, it is spread over the global texts and it is, finally, what gives to the Plans a character of specialized social policy. Much of the semantics affected by this ambiguity emerge from the social sciences. However, with rare exceptions that we have already discussed, the sense with which terms are used is not clearly defined, so the interpretation is subject to **the expert's understanding**; nevertheless, in most of the cases it is not possible to carry out a proper definition of their meaning, not even from the spheres generating the very concept. Taking into account this latter fact, looks like we are dealing with meaningless terms, but that may satisfy some definitive function as: to protect the text from the autopsy of the experts and to create a vision of complacency in relation to the technical efficiency of the measures and targets for intervention developed. Both documents are pervaded by a sense of disconnection with real praxis.

For space reasons, we will develop briefly this section. Let's see the ambiguous use of a selection of terms that are located in the semantic field of culture. This is of interest, as we pointed in the historiography of the analysis of the semantics of ethnicity and racism[80], because it has underlying implications that emerge from the distorting use of these terms in the discourses of power of the political class from the Government of Andalusia, and in the policies that have been developed in other areas of social intervention, especially within the Educative, Heritage Protection or the Collective Identification discourses.

We need to highlight that there is an only definition of what is meant by culture in the I PIPIA. It is based on Tylor's classic definition, and it is located at the end of the

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[80] Castaño y Manjavacas, *op.cit.*

Plan within the introduction to the Sixth Area of Intervention, the Socio-Cultural one. The II PIPIA avoided a definition even when the culture issue appears referred through a series of euphemisms alongside the document. Therefore, we have to rely on the definition of culture referred in the I PIPIA. It is common in both documents the use of the term cultural as a qualifier for a series of nouns, that the most of the times consist in euphemistic expressions, thus, the meanings of such expressions are difficult to be specified within the context in which they are applied: "cultural expression",[81] "cultural identity",[82] "cultural schemes",[83] "cultural diversity",[84] "cultural plurality",[85] "cultural referent/s",[86] "cultural differences",[87] "cultural perspective",[88] "cultural models",[89] "cultural values"[90]... These expressions, because of their location in the discourse and the context of reference, reach no sense, they are redundant, or suffer from an ambiguous sense, as the contents defining them are not specified in the documents. We have selected an excerpt located in the specific objective 9.6, which belongs to the Research Area of the II PIPIA, in order to illustrate what we are asserting:

> To analyze and study the situation of foreign people in relation to drug use and addiction in Andalusia, considering the cultural perspective. (...) The confluence of cultural and institutional models between the home countries of foreign persons and the Andalusian society, in relation to drug use and drug addiction, determine complex situations[91] [(92)]

We can make serious comments to this Plan's paragraph guiding the research on the topic of migration. But in order to save space for less obvious explanations, we just highlight the emptiness of content of the term culture, as the institutions are extracted from the "cultural models", therefore, we can seriously question what has to be understood by such expression.

It is possible to say the same about other concepts that we can include or find related to the semantic field of culture. Because of the relationship that some terms have with mediation, they deserve our attention, due to the quasi- institutional relevance that mediation and its agents acquired regarding the measures stipulated in

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[81] I PIPIA, p.48.
[82] (ibidem, p.77) y II PIPIA, p.177.
[83] (ibidem, p.77)
[84] (ibidem, p.164) y II PIPIA, p.186.
[85] II PIPIA, p.146.
[86] I PIPIA, p.77.
[87] (ibídem, p.97)
[88] II PIPIA, p.406.
[89] (ibídem)
[90] (ibídem, p.411)
[91] (ibídem, p. 406).
[92] "Analizar y estudiar la situación de las personas de origen extranjero, en relación con el consumo de drogas y las adicciones en Andalusia, contemplando la perspectiva cultural. (...) La confluencia de los modelos culturales e institucionales de los países de origen de las personas extranjeras y los de la sociedad andaluza, con relación al consumo de drogas y las drogodependencias, determinan unas situaciones complejas"

the Plans.[93] The relevance of mediation agents is also strengthen through the practices and activities arising outside the Plans: several courses of/about mediation, university studies,[94] even reports and studies with the support of European projects, serving as case study or theoretical proposition.[95] These practices and activities have been strengthening an image of a model of intervention that is outside the occupational tradition, and its professional identity is diluted in multiple interpretations within the building juncture of their theoretical and methodological content. Prominent among these concepts is **the notion of "interculturality",** as it is another term with symbolic connotations in respect with the Plans global discourse. **This term has the evocative capacity to become a representative ideograph sign of this comprehensive policy.** We do reproduce the two definitions used in the "I Plan" and in the "II Plan" in order to see the different approaches:

> Interculturality: the cultural diversity that the immigration phenomenon entails can only contribute to a real and dynamic process of integration taking into account the interaction between the host society and the immigrant population, and taking also into account the ecological contexts and social spaces where this interaction takes place, respecting the different cultures and their own peculiarities, all within the framework of Human Rights.[96] [(97)]
> Interculturality: the cultural plurality is considered one of the advantages offered by the model of integration developed by the *Junta de Andalucía*. The respect for diversity will enrich the dialogue of the institutions and agents of Andalusia, facilitating the integration into the Andalusian society.[98] [(99)]

While in the "I PIPIA" **interculturalism** means an unavoidable process of integration that takes place as a result of the mere presence of migration, in the "II PIPIA" it is presented as one of **the positive consequences of the Plans implementation**. In both cases we do not know neither, how is that unavoidable process, neither what comprises the supposed advantage of interculturalism. On the other hand, this term has been often used as a term overcoming multiculturalism, in order to avoid the

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[93] For example, in the I PIPIA, page 126, Socio-Cultural Area, the first measure sets Cultural Mediators as a resource. More explicitly in the II PIPIA, page 360, it is said: "In the same way as in the proffesional sector, it will be developed continum and specialized training activities around the figure of the intercultural mediator."

[94] See the master in intercultural mediation at the University of Granada, as an example, information available at: http://www.ugr.es/~equallab/Documentos/PublicidadArena1.pdf

[95] As an example of these two uses may serve the document that has been included in the analysis: "Local Mediation, Ethno-racial Conflicts and Discrimination: state of the art and experiences in Spain," OBERAXE. (This document has received support from the European Programme for Employment and Solidarity, PROGRESS (2007-2013).

[96] I PIPIA, p. 65.

[97] "Interculturalidad: la pluralidad cultural que el fenómeno de la inmigración conlleva sólo puede contribuir a un proceso real y dinámico de integración, si se tiene en cuenta la interacción entre la sociedad de acogida y la población inmigrante, así como los contextos ecológicos y espacios sociales donde ésta se produce, desde el respeto a las respectivas culturas propias y sus peculiaridades, todo ello en el marco de los Derechos Humanos."

[98] II PIPIA, p. 146.

[99] "Interculturalidad: la pluralidad cultural será considerada como una de las ventajas que ofrece el modelo de integración por el que apuesta la Junta de Andalusia. El respeto a la diversidad enriquecerá el dialogo de las Instituciones y los agentes de Andalusia, facilitando la integración dentro de la sociedad andaluza."

institutions obligation to guarantee the reproduction of cultural diversity. In fact, the rejection of positive discrimination, as we saw earlier, specifically involves the same idea.

Regarding the use of **the term "cultural mediator"** in the Plans, it is no clear, neither the level of training they have to have as mediators, neither how they are going to be recognized by the Junta. It would be too extensive to mention all the times in which this expression is used, but it is interesting to note the high concentration of its use within specific areas of intervention: in the I PIPIA it is mainly use in the Areas of Social Resources and Socio-Cultural Intervention; in the II PIPIA this term appears within the Socio-Educative Area. In these cases "cultural mediators" are considered, in their role of social agents for social intervention, as human resources who solve integration problems in a pseudo-magical way, not in a pseudo-scientific/-technique way, since the content or the competences to be developed by these mediators are not included in the discourse. We can interpret that in the place where a mediator appears, his/her mere presence alters just by contact the nature of interethnic relations, in the same way as Frazer sympathetic magic.[100] We give the details of its use in both the Plans: in the first measure of the Socio-Educative Area within the I PIPIA, which is about the access to library service[101] of migrant population, the mediators are considered as resource facilitators; in the II PIPIA this expression is used in the Socio-Educative Area, and here mediators are consider as a kind of firewall in the school:

> Agreements on cooperation for the introduction of intercultural mediators to attend the collective of immigrants in their relationship with the school environment[102] [103]

It looks like this type of specialist is just invoked by the Plans in situations where the migrant population turn to public services and problems emerge in their management by the administrative services, and/or by the confluence of the migrant population with national population in such services. Despite the importance that intercultural mediators seem to have, paradoxically there is not an exhaustive definition of the roles this figure play within these areas. Thus, they can be understood as **translators of symbolic contents between languages in a multicultural context**, or as a kind of facilitator of the necessary contents for the individual-minority "normalisation",

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[100] Frazer, JG: "The Golden Bough." Fondo de Cultura Economica, Mexico, 2006, pp. 33-35.
[101] I PIPIA, p. 126.
[102] II PIPIA, p. 184.
[103] "Convenios de colaboración para la introducción de la figura del mediador o mediadora intercultural para atender al colectivo de inmigrantes en su relación con el medio escolar"

according to uses and standard practices in the social field. Instead of mediators, they should be called "means" through which the minority is adapted/subjugated to the hegemonic contents. Everything fits into the possible conception of the intercultural mediator figure, as indeed happens in the practice that these specialists are developing so far.

3. Initiatives to be highlighted in the Plans

Nevertheless, it is possible to assess positively some initiatives developed in this political framework. We highlight the effort made, though still being not enough, to train professionals and technicians to develop their work in multicultural contexts. In this respect, the following two initiatives have been very necessary in an environment that by the year 2000 was barren in this type of knowledge, these initiatives are: the public servants training that, through the framework of FORINTER training, has been carried out during the last few years, and the incentive of Intercultural Mediation courses designed to train specialized technicians in order to have specialized workers in social conflict solution and in social mediation.

The objectives established for the Socio-Educative, Healthcare and Social Welfare Intervention Areas, aimed to expand the presence of mediators in order to promote the integration of immigrants, from our point of view this can be considered as a remarkable intervention. But it is too early to assess the impact of such an initiative due to the limited presence of this kind of specialists so far.

Another initiative that seems worthy to be mentioned, at least for its novelty, is the submission to external evaluation of the I PIPIA, published in 2005. Although these sorts of assessments have been only relevant, in respect to their practical effects, for their proposals regarding objectives to improve the administrative management, and not regarding the social effects emerging from the policy of intervention; from our view, this latter issue is more important to be assessed.

A significant difference takes place in the use and in the way in which the insertion of immigrant population is understand in Andalusia, we identified such difference when analyzing the evolution of the sense of "awareness" between the I Plan and II Plan. Within the I Plan, awareness measures were developed for immigrant groups that had to adapt, learn, know, etc. In the II Plan the measures seek to influence different social groups. For example, there are measures proposed, addressing for the education system to foster a social climate of coexistence in schools (e.g., Purpose 1.6, II PIPIA

p. 193), specific measures are also proposed intending to prevent racism, xenophobia and negative attitudes from the Andalusian population towards immigration, (e.g. Purpose 10.1, PEE II, p. 413), and there are specific measures for immigrant groups which aim to promote the Spanish language learning and the access to education (i.e., 1.7 objective, II PIPIA, p. 195).

Finally, but not less important, the access to the public health system is remarkable. This aspect is reflected in the Plans and also appears in the various laws until Law 2/2009, stating the universal access to health care, regardless of the legal situation of the immigrant population, that is, without making any difference between those immigrants with work and residence permit, and those undocumented ones. The "health card" establishment for immigrants by the Andalusian Health-Care System ensures the access to health-care services through an application process.

4. The discourse on immigration and policy in respect with the hegemonic elites

Within the our analytical perspective, the elites discourse in the political arena is an activity of power to be contemplated from the juxtaposed levels of the accumulated discursive action aiming to social intervention. The following analysis starts from the relationship between legal power discourses and discourses arising from supranational institutions. The discourses that gain a core role are those ones issued by the political elite who is actively in the exercise of power. This fact has led us to explore the discourses issued by **leaders with parliamentarian representation**, gaining importance the discourse of the leaders from the ruling party and the ones from the opposition with a greater social representation. Unfortunately, this leaves us a discursive horizon dominated by **conservatism**. We have chosen this methodology because it is not our purpose to show in this paper the whole picture with a profusion of discourses about immigration from the positions of tolerance and (anti-)racism in the political panorama, in line with the analysis of "pro-active" and "re-active" political discourses, that Zapata carries out from the press (2008).[104] Our objective is to show how the political discourse works from different levels of action to legitimize power and

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[104] Based on an analysis of political discourses in the press, Zapata establishes two types of discourses: the "pro-active" discourses are those who accept immigration as a situation de facto that must be managed, while the "re-active" discourses, issue some value judgments against immigration, with xenophobic characteristics.

to build/impose not only an imaginary, but also to shape society according to prevailing guidelines, in our case, those ones affecting immigration.

Looking at the space-time level of the discourses we have found some key junctures that interlink the discourses of power:

1990-2000: Within this period the discourse of the elites was based recurrently around the image of irregular immigration. These were the years when the emphasis was put on the image of immigration in small boats through the Estrecho de Gibraltar, was focused on the human drama and on people smuggling through clandestine networks. The representations of "avalanche", the Estrecho's "wetbacks" and the "mafias" of immigration were the prevalent representations. The migration experience in Spain was still a new process. As opposed, the control of fluxes was based on the establishment, in harmony with the employers, of annual contingents of work permit, determined according to the needs of certain sectors of employment: agriculture, services, construction and domestic service. In parallel to these discourses, the development and amendment of laws on immigration and the development of port security measures along the Mediterranean coast took place: Andalusia passed to strengthen its status of southern border of Europe and as the watchtower of the Mediterranean Sea.

In view of the pernicious effects of undocumented immigrants, the Organic Law on the Rights and Freedoms of Foreigners in Spain 7/1985[105,] was replaced by the Organic Law 4/2000 on the Rights and Freedoms of Foreigners in Spain and their social integration[106.] This law was approved by all parliamentary parties except from the Partido Popular, party in government, which withdrew its support during the legislative process, arguing that this Organic Law bore no relation to the Schengen and Tampere agreements and could produce a "call effect" and a mass entry of immigrants, for which there was no sufficient budget assigned.

But the last step for a repressive policy towards immigrants will appear after the Partido Popular electoral victory by an absolute majority. One of the immediate tasks of this government was to replace the Organic Law 4/2000 by the Organic Law 8/2000

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[105] This Organic Law was drafted months before Spain joined the EU. In Spain, the Supreme Court, the Constitutional Court and the European Court of Human Rights, expanded the rights of immigrants beyond those recognized by this Organic Law, because the mass deportations carried out did not have the desired outcomes, as it increased the number of immigrants. The solution carried out by the Government to this situation were extraordinary regularizations, this is an evidence of this regulation's failure.

[106] About fifty NGOs are grouped on the platform Papers for everyone. Any human being is illegal. Theses platform criticized that, although there were tepid improvements, the overall situation of immigrants got worse, especially for undocumented immigrants.

that represents a radical change in the immigration policy.[107] This Organic Law clearly shows that although there was the will of the social organizations and the public opinion, there was the policy guideline. According to the explanatory memorandum of this law, the reform sought to adapt the law to the changes taking place in the migration phenomenon, incorporating instruments that allow a better and simpler regulation on migration fluxes, and implementing the decisions on immigration, adopted by the Heads of State and Governments of EU member states in the Tampere summit in 1999, in order to "create an area of freedom, security and justice."

In a report of the General Council of the Judicial Power of Spain (Consejo General del Poder Judicial) regarding the draft of this Organic Law 8/2000, fourteen of its twenty members considered it a "backward step." Interior Minister Jaime Mayor Oreja defended the reform by saying that it guaranteed the rights and freedoms of immigrants and was adapted to the policy and practice within the EU.

2000-2005: During this stage, on the one hand, the most conservative policy was developed coinciding with the government of the Partido Popular holding an absolute majority, and on the other hand, the first term of office of the Socialist Party government had begun. These were years of strong economic growth, especially in the exorbitant profits of the construction sector, in one of the most informal and most absorbing sectors for immigrant workers. With the government led by Jose María Aznar, successive measures of control and repression of illegal immigration took place, in some cases, by expeditious methods such as unlawful deportation or police interventions in municipal census offices.

In Andalusia broke out a racist and Islamophobic persecution in El Ejido, known by the euphemism "incidents in El Ejido", it took place between the 6th and 11th of January, 2000. At the Andalusian level, this was a milestone breaking the political dynamics of "laisser faire" that had characterized the immigration policy of the Junta so far, so afterwards the Andalusian Government developed the I PIPIA 2001-2004. The "incidents in El Ejido" were described as "an isolated incident" by the regional and state governments, despite the serious consequences that it caused, thousands of immigrants left to other communities and thousands of reports were presented in the

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[107] It makes a clear distinctions between regular and irregular migrants, and between the regime of rights that are recognized for each group (of association, strike, meeting, joining a Union...), breaking the absolute equality of rights between Spanish and immigrants which was recognized by the former Law, that made no distinction between immigrants "with" or "without papers." It also establishes different requirements for the nationalization of children of immigrants and those from countries linked by historical roots to Spain.

magistrate court. The unconditional support from the state government to the municipal immigration policies of the El Ejido's municipal group, which was from the same political party, caused a rupture that triggered the resignation of the former Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, Manuel Pimentel and the resignation from the electoral lists of the General Secretary of Social Affairs, Amalia Gomez (both were Andalusian politicians in the central government).

The dominant discourse insisted on three key ideas that were evenly shared by the opposition sectors: one idea defended restrictions under the imaginary of the "avalanche", because "in Spain there is not space enough for everybody", other idea insisted that the admission of the immigrants should be temporal, in relation with the needs of certain productive sectors, resembling such fluxes to an idealized Spanish emigration of the middle decades of the twentieth century - "legal and with a work contract" - which does not withstand historical analysis. The third idea, linked "illegal" immigration to crime and insecurity... The situation after the 9/11, 2001 left its mark on the common policies of international security, and thus, under the discourse of international terrorism, Islamophobia pervades the imaginary that links immigration with insecurity.

There were two reforms to the latter Organic Law. The first one was made by the Organic Law 11/2003 and mainly affected the expulsion of immigrants and established the commutation of imprisonment sentences of up to six years for the expulsion from Spain. From the second reform emerged the Organic Law 14/2003, this one incorporated many of the legal provisions of a Regulation annulled by the Supreme Court with the rank of Organic Law. To the Law 14/2003 was added the Organic Law on Public Safety Measures, Domestic Violence and Integration of Foreigners of March 2003[108.] This reform was carried out with the purpose of controlling fluxes of immigrants and their integration. According to the critics this integration existed only as a word. This Organic Law meant a turn on the screw in the direction laid out by the Nice Treaty of 2003 and the guidelines regarding documents relating to the situation of foreigners in the European Union. The Amsterdam Summit of 1999 and the Lisbon Summit in 2000,

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[108] It reinforces the sanction means to combat illegal migration and human trafficking. It also reinforces the access to the information of the Public Administrations by the Security Forces, and enables the General Directorate of Police to have access to the information of the Municipal Census Office. It modifies the conditions of the right to family reunification and the possibilities for individual regularization because of roots reasons. This Law further addresses the control of the influxes of immigrants into Spain, and the restrictions for such influxes. It further restricts the rights of the immigrants illegally established in Spain, and it almost completely prevents the access to the legal documents to all immigrants coming out of the legal channels.

in respect with security policy and common employment, also left their print in this new reform.

Since 2005: we frame this last juncture from the massive regularization process carried out by the Socialist government in the first year of its term, this process lasted until the economic recession following the western financial crisis, which effects have been felt since 2008.

Despite the strong political and ideological pressure on irregular immigration, it only increased progressively. It must be stressed, that such an increase took place in a period of fast economic growth, in which a significant portion of business activity was related to informal economy109. Before the regularization, undocumented migrant workers or migrants in an illegal situation in Spain amounted to one million people, "the largest in Europe", according to the Special Reporter of the Commission on Human Rights for Migrant Workers. Concerning the reform of the Law on Immigration announced by the Government, the trade unions CC.OO. (*Comisiones Obreras*) and the UGT (*Unión General de Trabajadores)* reported the proliferation of "underground situations, marginalisation and vulnerability to exploitative practices."[110] In this context, the special regularisation of the government of Rodríguez Zapatero in 2005, has been justified through humanitarian discourses and stressing the effects on public finances by the formalization of underground economic activities, or by increasing Social Security contributions and tax returns.[111]

The Partido Popular from its opposition role accused the government of provoking "a knock-on effect that is heard all around the world."[112] Since then, its strategy of opposition to the government makes the "immigration problem" and "unemployment problem" in the context of crisis, the core of its political discourse. As the financial crisis and its effects begin to be perceived more intensely by the Spanish society, the most conservative discourses became more radical, despite being produced by political forces inspired in different ideological orientation than the conservative one. In the context of labour market instability, the policy of immigration has been ascribed to the

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[109] More recently, in March 2010, the organization ATTAC-Spain, has estimated this volume of informal economic activity, in a 23% of the GDP, referring to sources within the Ministry of Economy and Finance.

[110] "Declaration for the Dignity of Workers." Confederated Unions of Comisiones Obreras y Unión General de Trabajadores. Madrid, 2004.

[111] García, Martín y Zarapuz in their "Report on the Spanish economy and the State Budget", Madrid, 2005, pointed literally that "the use of regularization (i.e., the importation of cheap workers) had significant macroeconomic profits since 2000, when the economic cycle started to show signs of weakness."

[112] Mariano Rajoy's speech to the president of the Spanish Government in the electoral debate broadcast by TVE in February 2008.

Ministry of Labour,[113] thereafter, Ministry of Labour and Immigration, which develop incentive return policies for immigrants. At a press conference held in Évora (Portugal) on the 27th of May, 2008, which was released by EFE following the Conference on Migration in the Western Mediterranean, the Spanish Minister of Labour and Immigration insisted in the relevance of including control borders among the issues to strengthen the bilateral relationship with Morocco, warning that "the incentive programme for migrants return could generate concern in countries of origin because it can be interpreted that Spain wants to expel all immigrants who are unemployed ".

The Partido Popular discourse during the election campaign proposed to adapt "integration contract" into the Spanish case, in its most extreme assumptions, the executive secretary of Economy and Employment of Partido Popular, Miguel Arias Cañete, supporting the proposal of "contract" made by Mariano Rajoy, who asserted that the "effort of hospitality" in Spain is related to a "low-quality growth" and blamed the decline in the services sector and the "collapse" of the health system to the foreign workers.[114]

The worsening of the economic crisis and its social effects, took place in the winter and spring 2010, at the very same time took place the Media projection of Islamophobic discourses and practices in different regions: there was a case regarding the banning of a girl with hijab in a public school of the Comunidad of Madrid, this case had a significant relevance in Spain. Other similar cases were the banning of the burqa and the niqab in public spaces in several municipalities in Catalonia and in one municipality of Andalusia, in Malaga. In this context, discourses entrenched in xenophobia, rampant radical expressions of symbolic figures such as the former Prime Minister José María Aznar, current honorary president of the Partido Popular. In recent years, several of his statements have been widely disseminated by the Media, such as his claim regarding that each "new immigrants coming to Europe [should] share our values and principles of Judeo-Christian roots."[115]

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[113] In the previous period it was located, as a security issue, within the Ministry of Interior.

[114] These declarations were made by M. Arias Cañete in a working breakfast held at the Cinco Días Forum in Madrid on February 7, 2008. These declarations were released by several agencies, and among other textual declarations, the newspaper El Pais referred as the reason for the "collapse in hospital emergencies" the conservative leader's opinion who asserted, "immigrants have discovered the greatness of the Spanish Health System. Someone to get a mammogram in Ecuador have to pay the salary of nine months, comes here to the emergency room and takes her just a quarter of an hour."

[115] This is a textual sentence pronounced by the former president of the Spanish Government José María Aznar, in a lecture held at the Catholic University of Sacro Cuore in Milan. He said this after being awarded an honorary doctorate, and it had a great significance in many different Media. (Distributed by agencies on the 20th of January, 2007)

Conclusions

By developing a critical analysis of the political discourse arising from various levels of power, we have shown the relationship between macroeconomic guidelines established by (supra-)national institutions and policies implemented at state and local level. We have worked, because our objective was to show how policy documents, in our case study, the Comprehensive Plan of Andalusia, cannot be understood in all its complexity without having taken into account different policy frameworks and discourses.

Thus, we explored the representations, imaginaries, meanings and origins of the semantics of the discourse in these Andalusian Plans, to show the ideological interpenetrations of cumulative discourses that tend to be installed on the political agenda for intervention. Political intervention is intended to direct action on society, and although this is only one dimension of politics, it is very relevant when discussing the techniques and procedures developed to expand the capacity of influence. In this sense, it does not seem to inject significant ideological differences in the influence of discourses aimed at the political space. Rather the ability of social impact has to do with the capacity and control of the mechanisms to disseminate a particular representation of reality in a certain space-time of action. The discourse of the elites is related to these capabilities, in the clear intention to create public opinion at key moments of the exercise of power. It seems obvious that the exercise of power as such, in its capacity of building or transforming the discourses, is within the sphere of legal and policy planning.

The analysis of the different levels of discourse on immigration shows the constant aspects of power that reinforce the status quo of the hegemonic majority, reproduce and safeguard the interests of social elites and reinforces the dominant imaginaries, even within the delineation of policies for the integration of minorities.

A question emerged from the discourse analysis of the Comprehensive Immigration Policies of the Junta: What type or model of integration policy are we dealing with? Between discourse and praxis is a range of social actors intervening directly or indirectly on immigrants: the Administration itself from its services, NGOs, trade unions, researchers from academia, and even the immigrants themselves from their organizations. The practices are addressed and promoted, among other dissemination tools, from public calls to the budgets of funding and awards for research and/or for awareness activities. As seen before, politics favours different interpretations within the most sensitive contents, using ambiguous language; and on the other hand,

uses a univocal narrative in issues orientating macroeconomic perspective. In this discursive tendency there is little room for multiculturalism, and nothing guarantees the cultural reproduction of minorities. In fact, one could even fear for the continuity of Andalusian culture itself, as several authors discuss in their work (Moreno, 1993, 1997, 2000 and 2008, Ruíz, 2008, among others). The rejection of a policy of positive discrimination as discourse overcoming multiculturalism, in fact does nothing but ensuring the assimilationism trend, that in regards to culture, dominates in Andalusia. The same assimilationism trend that has guided the educational and cultural policy for the Andalusians, is the one that looks after the interests of immigrant minority cultures.

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