



Master of Arts Thesis

Euroculture

Palacky University (Home)

Deusto University (Host)

December 2009

The Circular Problem of Immigrant Integration

A Study on the Factors Contributing to the Problem of Unsuccessful Immigrant
Integration into Host Societies Based on Immigrant Experiences in Spain and the Czech
Republic

Submitted by:

Maria Beatrice Guidote
82551615C8
beatriceguidote@hotmail.com

Supervised by:

Lubor Kysucan
Aitor Ibarrola

Olomouc, 31 December 2009



MA Programme Euroculture Declaration

I, Maria Beatrice Guidote, hereby declare that this thesis, entitled “The Circular Problem of Immigrant Integration: A Study on the Factors Contributing to the Problem of Unsuccessful Immigrant Integration into Host Societies Based on Immigrant Experiences in Spain and the Czech Republic”, submitted as partial requirement for the MA Programme Euroculture, is my own original work and expressed in my own words. Any use made within it of works of other authors in any form (e.g. ideas, figures, texts, tables, etc.) are properly acknowledged in the text as well as in the List of References.

I hereby also acknowledge that I was informed about the regulations pertaining to the assessment of the MA thesis Euroculture and about the general completion rules for the Master of Arts Programme Euroculture.

Signed:

Date:

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	4
Acknowledgments.....	5
List of Abbreviations.....	6
List of Figures.....	7
1. Introduction.....	8
1.1. Statement of the Problem.....	14
1.2. Theoretical Framework of the Study.....	15
1.3. Methodology.....	18
1.4. Significance of the Study.....	19
1.5. Structure of the Paper.....	20
2. Immigration in Spain.....	21
2.1. El Ejido: From Miracle to Tragedy.....	24
2.2. An Analysis of El Ejido and Moroccans in Spain.....	26
2.2.1. Legal Conditions.....	27
2.2.2. Social Milieu.....	33
2.2.3. Immigrant Will.....	38
3. Immigration in the Czech Republic.....	41
3.1. The Vietnamese in the Czech Republic.....	45
3.2. An Analysis of Czech-Vietnamese Relations.....	46
3.2.1. Legal Conditions.....	47
3.2.2. Social Milieu.....	51
3.2.3. Immigrant Will.....	56
4. Comparing and Contrasting Immigration in Spain and the Czech Republic....	60
4.1. Different Stages in the Cycle of Race Relations.....	60
4.2. Distinct Development of Immigration Policies.....	62
4.3. Shared Pattern of Societal Prejudice against Immigrants.....	64
4.4. From Specific Cases to a Broader Picture of Immigration.....	66
5. Conclusion.....	67
6. References.....	71

Abstract

The Circular Problem of Immigrant Integration: A Study on the Factors Contributing to the Problem of Unsuccessful Immigrant Integration into Host Societies Based on Immigrant Experiences in Spain and the Czech Republic

Author: Maria Beatrice Guidote (Master of Euroculture 2008-2010)

The lack of integration is a problem for any receiving society because of the far-reaching consequences that this seemingly ordinary phenomenon has on the lives not only of immigrants but on the natives as well. Unsuccessful immigrant integration leads to social exclusion, discrimination, and the criminalization mentioned above. These issues, when not addressed, can lead to events that can destroy lives and shatter societies with little hope of healing. This paper thus aims to identify the factors that contribute to the perpetuation of the problem of unsuccessful immigrant integration into host societies. The main assumption of this paper is that the lack of immigrant integration is perpetuated by three main factors: the legal conditions in the country, social milieu, and immigrant will or initiative. The legal conditions (i.e. immigration policies and integration strategies) are seen as both a pre-condition as well as a perpetuating factor affecting immigrant integration. The social conditions of society are a second major factor that significantly shapes the integration process as society is both the setting for and conditioning factor of integration. The third factor, which can be determined by cultural or individual characteristics, is seen as an equally important factor that affects the process of integration because even if the most effective policies were in place, and if the host society was open in all aspects to immigration, it would still be up to the immigrant to make an effort to integrate into the host society. This paper uses particular examples from Spain and the Czech Republic to determine how these factors come together to shape and inform the integration process.

Acknowledgments

First of all, I would like to thank the European Commission for the generous scholarship they awarded me, without which I would not have been able to pursue my dream of living and studying in Europe.

Special thanks go to those who motivated me to continue to work hard in my moments of great doubt: my supervisors Lubor Kysučan and Aitor Ibarrola, my teacher Alexander, my Euroculture friends, Armin, Genevieve, Sarah and Olena, my Czech friends Helena and Petr, and my siblings (all 12 of them) and my parents. I especially thank my supervisors and my sister Maisie, who read my paper and gave me valuable advice and feedback, without which I would not have finished this paper. I also thank Astrid Boone for her friendship and assistance in conducting the interviews with immigrants in Olomouc.

Finally, I dedicate this work to my parents, who gave me the gift of compassion and love, and to all the Filipino immigrant workers everywhere in the world who have to work so hard away from their families and loved ones.

List of Abbreviations

CEC	Commission of the European Communities
CIREM	<i>Centre d'Iniciatives i Recerques Europees a la Mediterrania</i>
EESC	European Economic and Social Committee
EU	European Union
GRECO Plan	<i>Programa Global de Regulacion y Coordinacion de la Extranjeria y la Inmigracion</i>
PP	Partido Popular
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

List of Figures

Figure 1:	Model of the Theoretical Framework.....	15
Figure 2:	Foreign national residence permit holders in Spain.....	22
Figure 3:	Foreign Population in Spain by Country of Origin.....	23
Figure 4:	Number of Foreigners in the Czech Republic by Type of Residence....	43
Figure 5:	Foreigners in the Czech Republic by the Top 5 Citizenships.....	44
Figure 6:	Foreigners in Spain and the Czech Republic 2006-2008.....	63

Chapter One: An Introduction

If you do not find a remedy to these evils, it is a vain thing to boast of your severity in punishing theft, which though it may have the appearance of justice, yet in itself is neither just nor convenient. For if you suffer your people to be ill educated, and their manners to be corrupted from their infancy, and then punish them for those crimes to which their first education disposed them, what else is to be concluded from this, but that you first make thieves and then punish them?

--Thomas More, Utopia¹

In the minds of many Europeans today, the immigrant is little more than a criminal,² little more than the common thief that Thomas More in his now classic critique of medieval society, *Utopia*, reflected on in the light of the medieval state's idea of justice. What do medieval thieves and modern-day immigrants have in common? Following decades of increasing migration and the recent global economic meltdown, a good number of immigrants are increasingly treated as outcasts of society for engaging in 'criminal' activities to which they were led by conditions not entirely of their own liking or desire, just as the common peasants in medieval times. This criminalization of immigrants is but one of the issues arising from the debate on immigration that is the debate du jour in most if not all European states today.

Despite decades of immigration experience, European experts are still debating on whether immigration has positive or negative consequences on a country. Results differ in many ways, beginning from which part of society one would begin to analyse the impact of immigration: a country's culture, its economy, its welfare system, and so on. Christian Lumpe (2007) for example makes a comprehensive study of the impact of immigration on labour markets, examining various theories and models to investigate the question of whether immigration is harmful to natives or not. He claims that based on theory alone, immigration yields healthy results if its distributional effects are a given; however, the same theories are ambivalent when it comes to the impact of immigration on welfare (Lumpe, 2007). His analysis showed that while immigration is advantageous in closed, competitive labour markets, results could sharply differ in an

¹ Thomas More. "Utopia." In *Ideal Commonwealths* edited by Henry Morley (1890).

² For example, in poll carried out by the research firm Opina in May 2002, 60% of Spanish respondents said they believed immigrants were causing increases in the crime rate. A Gallup poll the previous month found that 77% of Spaniards thought immigrants were a public safety problem. (in Calavita, 2005, p.129)

open economy: “In rigid labour markets, the impact of immigration depends on the existing labour market institutions. An exogenous set minimum wage leads to a negative impact of immigration while unions may change their wage setting behaviour due to immigration and ask for lower wages. A further indirect but important impact of immigration might be on the educational attainment of natives,” (Lumpe, 2007, p. 45). Meanwhile, a report published by the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC), pointed out that politicians and researchers generally recognise the substantial contributions of labour immigration to European economy (EESC, 2002). The same report claims that the continuing outlook for economic development, as well as European population forecasts, indicate that the inward flow of workers will continue to be necessary (EESC, 2002). The British House of Lords, in a published report on the economic impact of immigration, are more cautious, saying that it all depends critically on the skills of immigrants, as different types of immigrant can have very different impacts on the economy so that the important issue in the discussion of immigration matters is “not whether immigration is needed but what level and type of immigration is desirable,” (House of Lords Committee on Economic Affairs, 2008, p. 5).

While some policy circles focus on the advantages and disadvantages of immigration, and the need for social integration of immigrants, increasingly public discourse is turning towards illegal immigration and, as mentioned above, the criminalization of immigrants. Even though such discussions are a vital part of the immigration debate, focusing on such issues will not contribute to finding solutions to the immigration problem faced by European society today. It is more important to focus on the real rather than imagined consequences of immigration, and the need for social integration of immigrants within the European community. For while the debate continues to go back and forth between immigration being a blessing and a curse, the actual process of immigration has not stopped moving forward. Immigrants, legal and illegal, wanted and unwanted, continue to arrive at Europe’s doorstep, each one seeking a chance at a better life for themselves and for their families, joining millions of others already in Europe working at keeping that dream alive. And all these immigrants, who arguably take on a specific role in society that has mostly been abandoned by the natives, and are thereby quite “useful” to society, make up a vulnerable group of people who are increasingly marginalized with limited rights and access to social services. This marginalization, which is the ultimate sign of the absence or weakness of social

integration, whether it be in ordinary, everyday discourse, or in civic or legal membership in society, or simply labour participation which is what they mainly immigrated for, leads to a breakdown of what may have been positive impacts of immigrants to society.

Discussions on immigration go deeper into discussions on European identity itself. Europe has always defined itself in terms of what it is not. The 'Other', or 'Them', has always been an important element in the discourse of European identity. In fact, it is only "in its relationship to non-Europe does Europe become visible," (Ambjörnsson, 1997, p. 79). Examples of this would be: "Europe is not Asia." Or "Europe is Christian, not Muslim." Orientals are Others. Muslims are Others. Through the years, such discourse has changed and the concept of the 'Other' has been applied to different groups so as to fit the current need of society to define itself. At different times in history for example, Jews have been considered a threat to national identity (as in the case of Germany under Hitler) and were therefore condemned as 'Others'. Today, the immigrant is the new 'Other', the new Them that is not Us. The immigrant is the 'Other' of whom there are always too many (Bauman, 2004) and the Other who embodies everything that is undesirable outside one's own culture (Ambjörnsson, 1997). But there is a problem with this new set of 'Others'. If before what was considered to be non-Europe could be distinguished by geographical criteria, along with religious and cultural considerations, and could be spatially differentiated as There (as opposed to the Us in the Here), this group of Others has crossed over from There and is now Here. With the increasing phenomenon of immigration, the line between There and Here has been blurred if not erased altogether. In most cases, this has triggered negative reactions from host or receiving societies. One can even say that immigrants "fit better into such a purpose than any other category of genuine or putative villains. There is a sort of 'elective affinity' between immigrants (that human waste of distant parts of the globe unloaded into 'our own backyard') and the least bearable of our own, home-grown fears," (Bauman, 2004, p. 56).

This paper works under the assumption that this 'Othering' of immigrants is a result as well as a factor of their unsuccessful integration into their host societies. This lack of integration is a problem for any receiving society because of the far-reaching consequences that this seemingly ordinary phenomenon has on the lives not only of

immigrants but on the natives as well. Unsuccessful immigrant integration leads to social exclusion, discrimination, and the criminalization mentioned above. These issues, when not addressed, can lead to events that can destroy lives and shatter societies with little hope of healing. This paper thus aims to identify the factors that contribute to the perpetuation of the problem of unsuccessful immigrant integration into host societies.

The main assumption of this paper is that the lack of immigrant integration is perpetuated by three main factors: the legal conditions in the country, social milieu, and immigrant will or initiative. The legal conditions (i.e. immigration policies and integration strategies) are seen as both a pre-condition as well as a perpetuating factor affecting immigrant integration. The social conditions of society are a second major factor that significantly shapes the integration process as society is both the setting for and conditioning factor of integration. The third factor, which can be determined by cultural or individual characteristics, is seen as an equally important factor that affects the process of integration because even if the most effective policies were in place, and if the host society was open in all aspects to immigration, it would still be up to the immigrant to make an effort to integrate into the host society. Dominant literature on immigrant integration today focuses on the responsibility of receiving societies to take measures to ease the process of integration of immigrants. It must not be forgotten that integration, to be successful, must be a two-way process. “Integration is a challenge for all groups in society and a touchstone of the ability to live in and maintain a peaceful co-existence in a diversified, open society based on the principle of equal opportunities for everyone,” (Caritas Europa, 2007, p. 6).

It is therefore important to define what immigrant integration is. The word integration has a multitude of meanings, some of which are even contradictory. Social integration is one name given to the process of adaptation between immigrants and the receiving society. Who does the adaptation and to what extent is the subject of the different discussions on and the consequent models of integration. There are two main approaches to integration: assimilation and multiculturalism. At different times in history one concept has been considered to be “better” than the other, but both of them equally have their advantages and disadvantages which continue to be debated on by experts in immigration circles.

When migration research emerged as a sociological discipline, the word initially used for this process was ‘assimilation’. Robert Park and Ernest Burgess (1969 in Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006) in their theory on the cycle of race relations asserted that “relations between migrants and non-migrants develop in a sequence of contact, competition, accommodation and assimilation,” (p. 4). It was assumed that the immigrant was responsible for adapting to the host environment. But the term was found to be rife with “intellectual limitations and self-contradictions,” particularly when faced with the issue of ethnocentricity and the questions on whether the host society was truly homogenous, a melting-pot that produced a monocultural purée (instead of a salad bowl of diverse ingredients) and if assimilation was a process or a product (Calavita, 2005, p. 76). As an attempt to create a culturally homogenous nation, this concept and the policies based on it eventually came under heavy criticism, especially after the Holocaust which was a result of extreme nationalism that took assimilation to irrational heights (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006).

‘Multiculturalism’ became the next politically correct and acceptable term. It seemed to be the most plausible solution for a peaceful European society which included and accepted diversity (Tetzlaff, 2002). However, this term, too, was found wanting and problematic. While this concept addressed the negative connotations of assimilation, the changing of the word did little to address the vagueness surrounding this process or its “inherent ambiguities” (Calavita, 2005, p. 76). Moreover, there was a “growing awareness that formation of ethnic minority identities among migrants is leading to and reinforcing ethnic stratification and ethnocultural conflict,” (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006, p. 5). In addition, critics described multiculturalism as unrealistic and utopian, leading to an even more segregated society (Green in Boyer, 2009). The United States of America is used as a primary example of this segregation in contemporary society, and there is wide literature available on specific examples such as educational segregation across the USA.³

Today, the word used in academic and policy circles is ‘integration’. Again, the term can be problematic in the sense that there are many disagreements, overlaps and inconsistencies in the various definitions attached to the term (Calavita, 2005).

³ See for example Kozol 1992, Massey and Denton 1993, and Singer 1999.

Nevertheless, integration is a term that manages to encompass both concepts of assimilation and multiculturalism while pointing to specific actions and values previously not addressed by the said terms. It addresses the same issue of the various forms of disconnect between immigrant and host societies (be it in the form of segregation, discrimination, exclusion or xenophobia) that the previous concepts of assimilation and multiculturalism were meant to address.

Wolfgang Bosswick and Friedrich Heckmann (2006) address these contentious issues and give a more objective definition of integration, which they see as “the inclusion and acceptance of immigrants into the core institutions, relationships and positions of host society,” (p. 11). They describe integration as an interactive process in which immigrants learn a new culture, acquire rights and obligations, gain access to positions and social status, build relationships with members of the host society and form feelings of belonging and identification with their host society, while the host society opens up its institutions to the immigrants and grants them equal opportunities (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006). This definition is similar to that employed by the EESC, which seeks to promote social integration as ‘bringing immigrants’ rights and duties, as well as access to goods, services and means of civic participation, progressively into line with those of the rest of the population, under conditions of equal opportunities and treatment,” while supporting “a positive appreciation of cultural diversity,” (EESC, 2002, p. 69).

Both these definitions are neatly summed up in the Commission of the European Communities’ (CEC) *Communication on Immigration, Integration and Employment* which reads:

Integration should be understood as a two-way process based on mutual rights and corresponding obligations of legally resident third country nationals and the host society which provides for full participation of the immigrant. This implies on the one hand that it is the responsibility of the host society to ensure that the formal rights of immigrants are in place in such a way that the individual has the possibility of participating in economic, social, cultural and civil life and on the other, that immigrants respect the fundamental norms and values of the host society and participate actively in the integration process,

without having to relinquish their own identity (CEC, 2003, p. 17-18).

Thus, it can be determined that three factors are needed for successful integration: affirmative legal conditions, a positive and receptive social milieu, and proactive immigrant will. As these are factors leading towards integration, the lack thereof would point to the reverse. Thus, these are the very same domains on which this paper's analysis of the factors perpetuating the problem of lack of societal integration of immigrants is based.

1.1 - Statement of the Problem

It is widely acknowledged that there is a lack of immigrant integration in certain parts of European society today. This problem is amplified by the increasing number of immigrants arriving in Europe, both legal and illegal. This lack of integration is a problem for receiving societies because of the deeper consequences that this often taken-for-granted phenomenon has on the lives of both immigrants and natives. Unsuccessful immigrant integration leads to serious human rights concerns such as social exclusion, discrimination, and criminalization, examples of which are discussed in this paper. As already mentioned earlier, when these issues are not addressed, they can lead to events that can destroy lives and shatter societies with little hope of healing. However, in order to address any given problem, it is necessary to understand the underlying aspects that lead to the problem. This is the primary aim of the paper: to identify the factors that contribute to the perpetuation of the problem of unsuccessful immigrant integration into host societies.

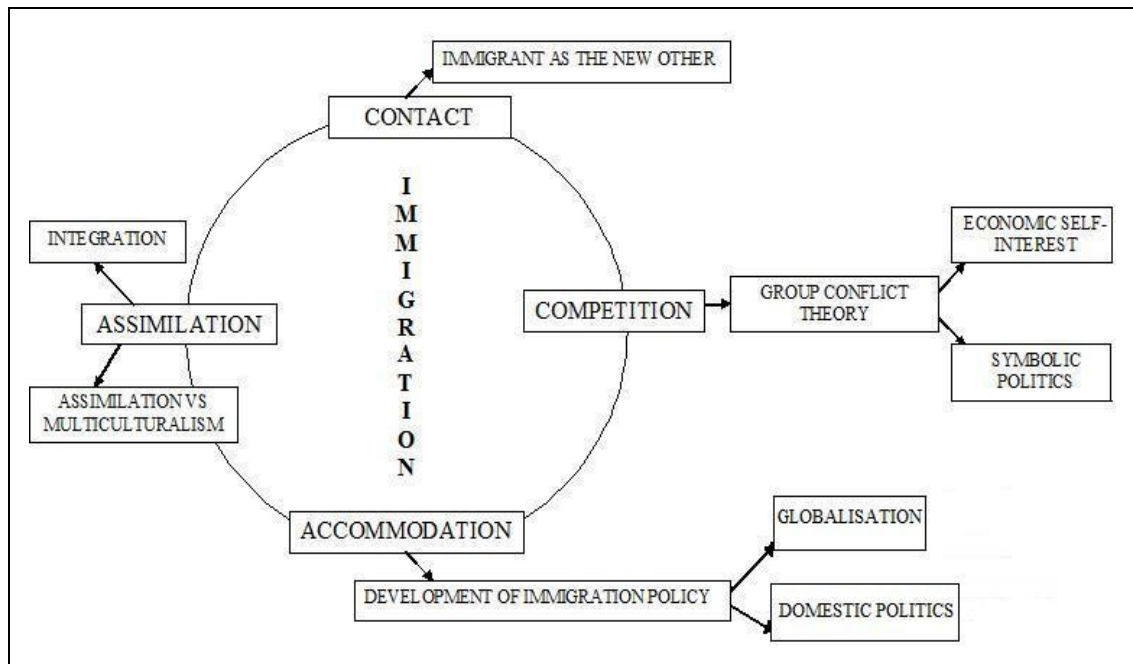
This paper uses particular examples from Spain and the Czech Republic to determine how these factors come together to shape and inform the integration process. There are always specificities and peculiarities affecting the process not only for different countries but within countries themselves, depending on the immigrant community in question. However, a comparative study of immigrant integration between two countries with seemingly different immigration experiences should show that there are common overarching factors that influence the integration process of immigrants into host societies. This follows what Robert Park (1950) suggested in his

theory on race relations, that the cycle of race relations is a universal experience, as events tend to repeat themselves everywhere.

1.2 - Theoretical Framework of the Study

Below is the theoretical model for this paper, which uses Park's now classic theory on the cycle of race relations as a base. Other theories are applied in relation to the different stages of the cycle in the process of investigating the factors affecting immigrant integration.

Figure 1: Model of the Theoretical Framework



Park's theory on the cycle of race relations informs the entire analysis of the development of immigration in Spanish and Czech societies and the native reaction to these developments. The theory suggests that there are four stages of race relations: contact, competition, accommodation, and assimilation (Park, 1950). Immigration is one of the multiple ways populations come into contact with each other. This contact leads to competition between these populations, a progression that Park saw as fundamental and universal. Competition becomes conflictual when it becomes

personal, meaning that members of both populations become more aware of each other. But because conflict is disruptive and costly, the populations will tend to seek a more stable relationship, which would be the stage of accommodation. This stage may last for a long period, and may be interrupted by pockets of conflict, or may evolve finally into the assimilation stage. Assimilation then would be “a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them into a common cultural life,” (Park and Burgess, 1969, p. 735).

Applying Park’s theory on the context of immigrant integration, the contact stage or the starting point for an immigrant is as an Other. Throughout history, society has appropriated Otherness to an out-group as a means of defining itself and expressing hidden fears and concerns (Ambjörnsson, 1997; Bauman, 2004). In modern-day society, the immigrant is the new Other. This Othering of the immigrant leads to competition between natives and immigrants, which, if left unchecked, can lead to conflict.

It is in this competition (or conflict) stage of the cycle that immigrant-native relations are put to the test. Theories abound on the development of these relations. This paper follows group conflict theories that have a critical approach towards immigration and its processes, as they primarily try to explain the tendency towards negative attitudes towards immigrants. Two particular theories are applied in the analysis of the social factors that condition immigrant integration. The first theory that will be used to analyse native-immigrant relations is the theory on symbolic politics. Proponents of this theory like Donald Kinder and David Sears (1981) point out that general values and identifications have a strong impact on the formation of public opinion. Adults’ political views are shaped by pre-dispositions such as racial prejudice or nationalism that they acquired early in life (Chong, 2000). Thus, negative attitudes towards immigration can be explained as a reflection of fears about the preservation of national identity, which are heightened by an ‘invasion’ of newcomers who not only look different, but speak and act differently (Citrin and Sides, 2006). Sears (1993) argued that such views are “generally unthinking, reflexive, affective responses to remote attitude objects rather than by calculations of probable costs and benefits (whether personal or not),” (p. 120).

While this theory on symbolic politics is a strong argument, it is incomplete because economics play an important role in public perception of immigration. Thus, in addition to the theory of symbolic politics, the theory on economic self-interest (Citrin *et al.*, 1997 and Lahav, 2004) will be applied. This theory proposes that the foremost considerations in the debate on immigration are its economic costs and gains versus the necessity of immigrants for jobs that are “dirty and dangerous” and thereby shunned by natives (Citrin and Sides, 2006, p. 329-330). Thus, anti-immigrant sentiment increases or decreases along with the corresponding decrease or increase of native economic prosperity (Semyonov *et al.*, 2006).

While immigration policies may already be put in place at the first stage of the cycle, and further polished within the second and perhaps tumultuous stage of competition, the third stage of accommodation would find more stable and defined immigration policies in place and therefore enable a clearer and deeper analysis of legal conditions in the country that impact on immigrant integration. It is understood that “immigration policy shapes immigration patterns, which in turn have a tremendous impact on the demography, culture, economy and politics of a state,” (Meyers, 2000, p. 1245). Hammar (1985) explains that immigration policy can be divided in two: 1) immigration control policy, which basically outlines the rules and procedures governing the entry of foreigners into the country; and 2) immigrant policy, which concerns such conditions as work and housing regulations, welfare provisions and educational opportunities for immigrants. This means that national policies have a direct impact on the integration process despite the fact that this process must take place at the local level. There is much literature on immigration policies and various theories explaining how and why countries choose (consciously or reactively) a particular path. There are particularly vibrant debates on how immigrants must be treated under state laws, ranging from views that immigrants are not entitled to the same rights as citizens, to the belief that immigrants, despite their relative newness in society, must be seen as “citizens who form part of the cultural and identity mosaic that is already part of the country,” (Ruiz Vieyetz, 2007, p. 21).

The particular stance of a country towards its immigrants can be explained by the globalisation theory, as well as the domestic politics approach to immigration.

Globalisation scholars like Sassen (1996) believe that the concept of sovereignty has been transformed and undermined by economic globalisation: the circulation of capital, ethnic lobbies, human rights regimes, as well as the unintended consequences of immigration form a restrictive force that constrains a state's autonomy over immigration policy. Castles (in Meyers, 2000) points out that "if governments welcome the mobility of capital, commodities and ideas, they are unlikely to succeed in halting the mobility of people," (p. 1267). On the other hand, proponents of the domestic politics approach to immigration see economic and social interests within a country as primary factors that shape immigration policies, such that "policymaking is the result of bargaining as well as of compromises between these interests," (Meyers, 2000, p. 1247; 1257).

There are more debates on Park's fourth and final stage of the race relations cycle which he called assimilation. As mentioned, the term assimilation became contentious as it became associated with extreme nationalism. Multiculturalism became the more acceptable term until it became subject to debate as well. But while the advantages and disadvantages of both concepts are still disputed, most countries have taken one or the other as guiding principle for their immigration policies.⁴ Integration is a concept that encompasses both assimilation and multiculturalism to mean the process by which different populations adapt to each other and achieve the most mutually beneficial form of co-existence. The goal of integration policies of a country could be one or the other. What is important is that it focuses on the "positive perception and appreciation of diversity," (Süssmuth and Weidenfeld, 2005, p. xiv). The successful integration of immigrants would entail immigrant participation in economic, social, cultural, religious, political and civic activities within the host society as well as immigrant respect for the fundamental values and customs of the host society (Süssmuth and Weidenfeld, 2005).

1.3 - Methodology

The author conducted historical qualitative research in investigating the factors that cause and perpetuate the problem of lack of immigrant integration into host societies and used a critical approach to the problem in seeking to contribute to an

⁴ France and the United Kingdom, for example, are seen as classic examples of multiculturalist societies, while Germany is seen as following the assimilation model.

understanding of immigrant integration into society and how challenges to this process can be addressed. Investigation into these factors revolves around specific examples of immigrant experiences from Spain and the Czech Republic, particularly the case of El Ejido and that of the Vietnamese community, respectively. Taking a *reduction ad absurdum* approach, these specific cases are used as (1) illustration of the existence of the problem, and (2) basis for identifying the elements of the problem. The data and literature collected and studied in the course of the research are evaluated and analysed in order to test the hypothesis that the lack of immigrant integration is perpetuated by three main factors: the legal conditions in the country, the social milieu, and immigrant will or initiative. The analysis of these events are based on media immigrant reports and published academic discourse along with immigrant statistics, first-hand experiences of the author, and interviews with natives and foreigners (in the case of the Czech Republic) in order to gain a holistic understanding of the problem.

1.4 - Significance of the Study

As a student of European Culture, the author believes that this paper makes an important contribution towards immigration policy making which is a vital issue today for the European Union. The goal of this paper is to provide a clear, accurate and holistic understanding of the problem of immigrant integration within Europe. A lack of immigrant integration has wide and serious consequences not only for immigrants but for the receiving society as well. These consequences have a major impact on human rights: exclusion, discrimination, and criminalization. “The European Union cannot claim to be a political bulwark of shared democratic values and non-discrimination if it leaves the status of thousands of residents in the European territory unregulated,” (Vitorino, 2005, p. viii-ix).

Indeed, as a self-declared defender of human rights, fairness and equality, the EU and all its member states must address this problem to ensure that no such extremely divisive and disruptive occurrences such as the El Ejido riots, which will be discussed in this paper, take place within its borders again. While this moral argument may not be enough reason to take measures to find solutions to this problem, it is still in a society’s self interest to address this problem. Unsuccessful immigrant integration would mean losing the net positive gains that immigration could bring to the society, both on

economic and cultural grounds. It would be in every individual's best interests then to work towards a more integrated and inclusive European society. While only select examples from Czech Republic and Spain are used, the issue of immigrant integration (or the lack thereof) is a pervasive question. The examples from these two countries which have followed extremely divergent paths of immigration only serve to show how common the problem is along with the underlying factors affecting and perpetuating the problem.

1.5 - Structure of the Paper

This chapter gave a brief background of the study and presented the problem and hypothesis. A theoretical model was also provided as guide for the analysis of data gathered from the research. Chapter Two traces the history and development of Spanish immigration and uses the experience of the town of El Ejido to analyse factors within Spanish society that affect the integration process of its immigrants. The question of legality and illegality is vital to the discussion on the legal conditions of the country. Economic considerations and certain cultural peculiarities play a significant role in the social conditions informing the integration process in Spain. The particular setting for immigrant initiative and native reaction to it is the main concern in the discussion of immigrant will. Chapter Three follows the same format as chapter two in discussing immigration in the Czech Republic. But instead of a single event, it analyses the situation of the Vietnamese community in the country as a whole. Exploitative practices by both private and public institutions that are unchecked by law are a critical concern in the discussion on the legal conditions that impact on immigrants. The impact of the global economic crisis on the Czech economy and the changing profile of the Vietnamese community are important social factors that significantly affect the integration process in the country. The discussion on immigrant will is made interesting by the different attitudes taken by different sectors of the Vietnamese community vis-à-vis integration into the host society. Chapter Four is a further analysis of immigrant integration in Spain and the Czech Republic. It compares and contrasts the unrelated yet comparable experiences of the two countries based on Park's cycle of race relations, the development of national immigration policies, and the rise of anti-immigrant sentiment in the two societies. Chapter Five summarises and concludes the study.

Chapter Two: Immigration in Spain

“They want us working in the fields and houses. They don’t want to see us in the cafes, or in the streets, or anywhere. They just want to see us working.”

-- Brahim, Moroccan immigrant in Spain⁵

Immigration is relatively new to Spain: along with other Southern European countries, Spain was primarily a sender of immigrants to the Americas. The reasons for Spain’s transformation from emigration country to immigration country are diverse. Francisco Moreno Fuentes (2000) claims that “three somehow interconnected processes [affected] Spanish society in the last quarter of the century: an important transformation of the economic structure since the mid 1960’s; a model political transition from a right-wing dictatorship to a liberal parliamentary democracy; and the incorporation of Spain to the European Communities in 1986,” (p. 2). Indeed, the economic boom that took place in the country in the 1970s and socio-political changes after the death of General Franco, led to the initial influx of immigrants into the country. The country’s relatively continuous economic growth after the initial boom – which included the expansion of the informal sector and led to labour shortages in certain industries – contributed to the steady increase of immigration thereafter (Kreienberk, 2008). Moreover, Spain’s entry into the European Community made it an attractive country for immigrants, many of whom planned to move to EU member countries, but also with an increasing number who meant to stay (Kreienberk, 2008; Moreno Fuentes, 2000). Zapata Barrero and de Witte (2006) note that after its accession to the EC in 1985 the Spanish economy truly began to flourish. Also, as guest worker programs of North European countries ended, immigrants started to settle down in Spain (Zapata Barrero and de Witte, 2006).

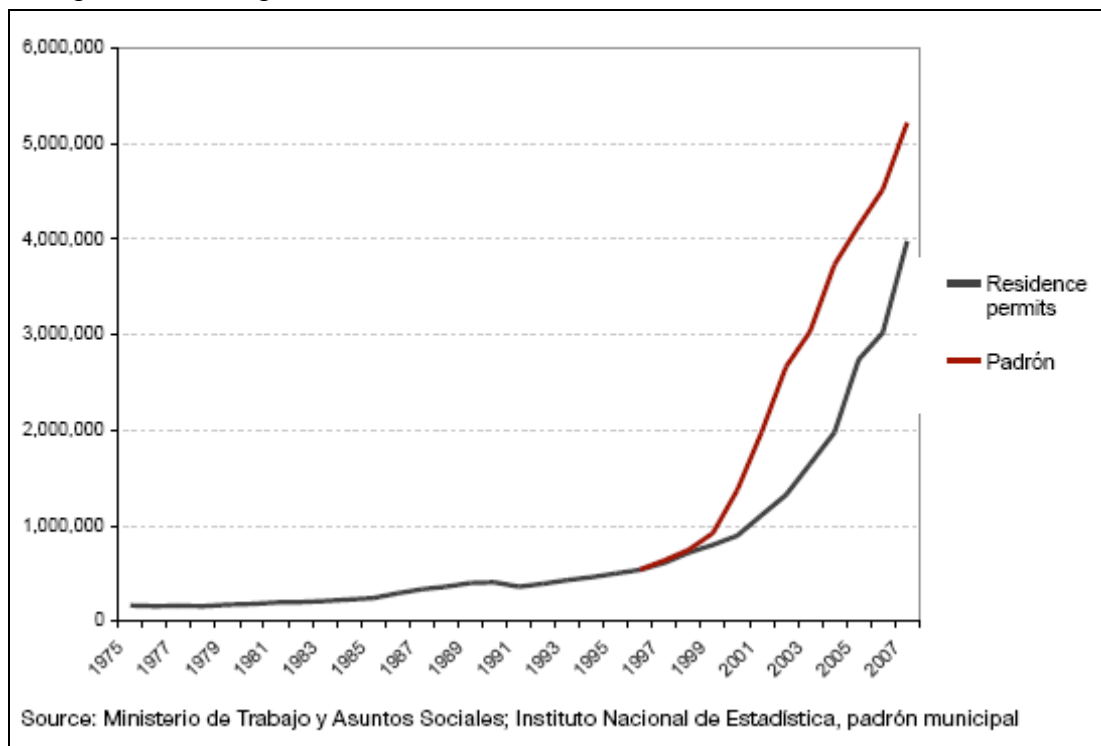
Figure 2 illustrates the steady increase of foreign nationals holding residence permits in Spain beginning in the middle of the 1970s, showing a sharp increase in numbers beginning in 2000 onwards.⁶ In 1975, an approximated 200,000 foreigners were living in Spain (Kreienberk, 2008). In 1980, more than 60 percent of the foreign residents in Spain were from Western Europe and North America, mostly retirees and pleasure-seekers; by the 1990s this percentage had fallen to slightly over 50 percent

⁵ See Lluch (2000).

⁶ Taken from Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales and Instituto Nacional de Estadística, padron municipal, in Kreienberk (2008).

(Calavita, 2005). By 2004, of the more than 1.6 million foreigners who held legal residence in Spain, approximately only one-third of these were EU nationals, and about two-thirds coming from outside the EU, mostly from third world countries (Calavita, 2005). By 2005, immigrants represented 10 percent of the population in Spain, with the mix still showing three quarters of immigrants coming from non-EU countries (Gonzalez Enriquez, 2007). At the end of 2007, almost four million foreigners held a residence permit, with an approximate growth rate of 20 percent per year since 2000 (Kreienberk, 2008).

Figure 2: Foreign national residence permit holders in Spain 1975-2007 and according to the padrón municipal 1996-2008⁷

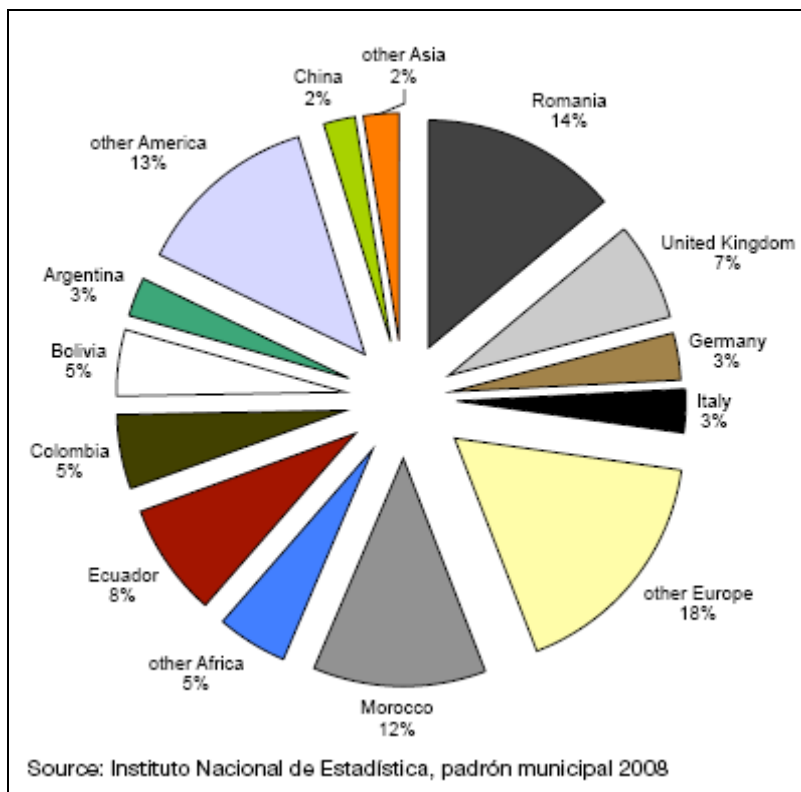


Today, a large portion of these immigrants are from third-world countries who work mostly in the agricultural, construction and services industries, in jobs that have mostly been abandoned or rejected by Spanish workers (Calavita, 2005; Caro, 2002; Arango, 2000). While Europe represents a large portion of immigration to Spain, economic and historical connections with Northern Africa and South America have

⁷ One interesting thing about Figure 1 is the difference in numbers based on two different sources: the Ministry of Work and Social Welfare, and the Padrón Municipal. An explanation of Spanish immigration law later in this chapter will shed light on this discrepancy.

been the main trigger of immigration flows (Zapata Barrero and de Witte, 2006). Figure 3 shows the foreign population in Spain according to the countries of origin. Immigration from Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia and Argentina already represent 21 percent of the total mix. Morocco alone makes up 12 percent of immigrants in Spain. This number is only surpassed by the number of Romanians who make up 14 percent, following less stringent rules on their entry to Spain leading up to Romania's accession to the EU.

Figure 3: Foreign Population in the Czech Republic by Country of Origin 2008⁸



Immigrants are distributed across a range of industries. According to the Ministry of Interior, 33 percent of immigrants are concentrated in agriculture, 15 percent in construction, another 15 percent in domestic service, and 11 percent in the tourism industry (Calavita, 2005). Immigrants are scattered across Spain by geography along with this distribution across sectors. Agricultural workers are found in smaller towns and cities in the sunny, southern parts of Spain such as Andalusia while

⁸ Taken from Instituto Nacional de Estadística padrón municipal, in Kreienberk, 2008.

immigrants flock to bigger cities like Madrid and Barcelona for work in the construction, tourism and services industry (Calavita, 2005; Kreienberk, 2008).

As Figure 3 shows, Moroccans make up a huge portion of foreigners in the country. They also make up a good part of the agricultural workers in Spain, who constitute the primary group of immigrants in the country (look for source for specific numbers). As mentioned earlier, they are located mostly in southern Spain where agriculture is the main industry. One of the provinces that make its livelihood from agriculture is Almeria. One of the towns in this province is El Ejido, the setting of the significant events that are central to this study on social integration. The town of El Ejido exemplifies the shifting flow of Spain's migratory patterns. The succeeding discussion and analysis will show the development of immigration through the years and how the local society struggled and actually continues to struggle with this phenomenon. The riots that took place in this town in 2000 are a classic example of how mismanagement of immigration leads to frighteningly negative consequences. The events portray how country policies, directly and indirectly, failed to take advantage, or perhaps, took too much advantage, of immigration such that whatever economic benefits gained from it have been reversed by the social, cultural and political losses that came out of the said mismanagement.

2.1 - El Ejido: From Miracle to Tragedy

In the 1970s, Almeria was one of the poorest provinces in Spain. But with the discovery of new farming techniques based on artificial irrigation that combined the 3,000 hours of annual sunshine and the use of greenhouses, intensive vegetable cultivation, Almeria has become one of the richest areas in Spain today. With one of the largest cultivated and productive surface areas in Almeria (Zapata Barrero, 2003), El Ejido was one of the market-gardening towns in the province renowned for the so-called Almeria Miracle before it became synonymous to xenophobia as the scene of the worst case of racial violence in the recent history of Spain, El Ejido. As Manuel Caro (2002) points out, "this miracle is also due to the availability of cheap labor that is willing to work long hours under extreme conditions of heat and humidity - the temperature inside the greenhouses can surpass 113°F on a sunny summer afternoon. Without such human labor, technological advances would have amounted to nothing," (p. 1). Peter Biles

(2000) is more specific in saying that it was “the Moroccans [that] have brought prosperity to a corner of Spain that was once little more than a desert.”

However, farming in Almeria did not begin with the Moroccans. The first workers in the newly agricultural area were mostly family members, up until the 1980s when the small family farm model was replaced with a more industrial mode of production (Potot, 2009). Economic difficulties encountered by farmers in contrast to the overall economic growth in Spain and the reduced number of Spanish workers willing to work in poor conditions led to a wave of migration which was dominated by foreign, low-skilled workers who could be paid low wages and managed in a very flexible way (Potot, 2009). These conditions led to increasing immigration characterized by a rapidly growing number of underground or undocumented workers. By the year 2000, it was estimated that there were 5,000 immigrants with work permits in El Ejido, comprised mainly of Moroccans (Torns, 2000; Caro, 2002). An overwhelming 10,000 more were estimated to be working illegally (Torns, 2000). This meant that the percentage of foreigners in El Ejido was much higher than that in the rest of Spain or in any other European country (Caro, 2002).

This was the backdrop of the fiery riots that shook Spain to its core and “put aside forever the myth that Spanish people are not racist and that racism was a disease of other countries but not of Spain,” (Zapata Barrero, 2003, p. 245). The riots began on the 5th of February 2000, a few days after a young Spanish woman was killed by a mentally-ill Moroccan. After the funeral of Encarnacion Lopez, “all hell broke loose and the ‘*caza del moro*’⁹ was declared,” (Caro, 2002, p. 1). Men and women took to the street and attacked Moroccan workers, in addition to wrecking, looting and burning shops, homes and even the make-shift mosque of the immigrants.¹⁰ These attacks, which went on for two days and two nights, were “met with the passivity or connivance of most inhabitants of the town, the police and the municipal government,” (Torns, 2000). Even non-government organizations working with these immigrants were not spared from the violence. Claiming that it was “teaching the immigrants what their rights were so they could claim them,” farmers destroyed the premises of Andalucia

⁹ Moor hunt.

¹⁰ See various news reports such as BBC, 7 February 2000, at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/633907.stm> and *El Pais*, 18 February 2000, at <http://www.elpais.es/p/d/20000218/espana/almeria.htm>.

Acoge, a local immigration-aid association (Lluch, 2000). In the aftermath of the riots, when the police were criticized for turning a blind eye to the criminal attacks, the town mayor, Juan Enciso, “openly sided with the xenophobic prejudice against North Africans which gave rise to the violence in the first place,” and “called for the reform of the foreigners law and the repatriation of undocumented workers who were held responsible for delinquency in the community,” (Fekete, 2000). In fact, when arrests were made, 92 out of the 158 rounded up were actually immigrants, while eight of the Spaniards arrested were suspected of beating a regional politician and not immigrants (Caro, 2002).

2.2 - An Analysis of El Ejido and Moroccans in Spain

While this study has taken a solitary event to be investigated and analysed, any discussion on the case of Moroccans in the town of El Ejido will inevitably lead to a discussion of the situation of Moroccans, and immigrants in general, in Spain. State-level policies and country-wide conditions had allowed for the situation in El Ejido to develop. It is important to take a look at these policies and conditions in order to see where and how changes can be made, in order to find solutions for problems that could arise from such lack of social integration as in the small town of El Ejido. The search for solutions is vital to any discussion on immigration because it is necessary to take measures so that such events do not happen again. While the case of El Ejido may be extreme and isolated, it shows how devastating the results of a lack of integration are.

The paradox in Spain, as shown by the story of El Ejido, is that even though these immigrants are needed by society, society does not want them to be around. El Ejido is not an attractive place to work in, at least not for Spaniards. With the harsh working conditions, almost inhuman housing and extremely low pay, this is not surprising. In the documentary *La Loi du Profit* by Jawad Rhalib (2007), the workers are seen to be living in tiny make-shift shacks beside the greenhouses, with no electricity, adequate running water, or proper sanitation. One wonders how they can choose to stay in such conditions in addition to very low wages. But while a day's wage for a Moroccan in Spain is dreadful by European standards, it is as much as four times what a Moroccan can make at home (White, 2001. p. 27). Thus, the place attracts immigrants from less developed countries seeking to make a better life for themselves

and their families even though they have to achieve this by working extremely hard and under almost intolerable conditions. They are welcome in this place to do jobs under conditions that natives have spurned. But they are only welcome under those conditions and for as long as they remain in those conditions and roles assigned to them. In fact, Swanie Potot (2009) claims, “during the last twenty years, undocumented migrants have been tolerated in the province--because they were playing a crucial role in its economic development--on the condition of discretion and social invisibility,” (p. 116). This assertion by Potot leads to the discussion of social integration in El Ejido. Aside from the breaking of this tacit agreement of discretion and social invisibility, what were the factors that led to such violent events? What conditions in society allowed them to take place at all?

There are many different small factors that come to light upon analysing the situation in El Ejido beyond the riots alone. These would fall into three general categories: legal conditions, social milieu, and immigrant will.

2.2.1 - Legal Conditions

Before 1985, with no specific legislation regarding the treatment of foreign residents, immigrants in Spain were able to carry on with their work and social lives “without any great anxiety and without consciousness of being illegal,” (Izquierdo in Calavita, 2005, p. 27). At this time, however, Spain was set to enter the European Community, and as previously pointed out, an immigration law was a pre-requisite “due to the worries of northern and central European countries about uncontrolled immigration,” (Caro, 2002, p. 4). This was particularly important because Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands had just signed the Schengen Agreement, which would dismantle internal borders, thereby freeing up movement not only of European citizens but of immigrants as well. The 1985 Law was thus restrictive, focusing on facilitating the expulsion of irregular immigrants. It made sharp distinctions between different types of foreigners, particularly between EC and non-EC citizens: EC members were granted all the rights of free circulation, residence, and work in Spain, while non-EC members were required to have visas and residence and work permits (Calavita, 2005). The resulting ‘legal’ residents were granted rights of assembly, public education, and unionization, while those without permits – which

subsequent to the law comprised the most of non-EC foreigners – were excluded from these rights (Calavita, 2005). The government must have noted the consequences of such restrictive and ambiguous policy that it introduced the first of what would become several (and not as extraordinary as originally asserted) legalization or normalization programs through which those ‘without papers’ could apply for regularization.¹¹

Two new laws on immigration were passed in 2000. The first one, known as Law 4/2000 was passed despite the fierce disapproval of the ruling *Partido Popular* (PP). A coalition between the leftist, socialist and nationalist parties led to the creation of this law that was in opposition to the 1985 Law in that it pursued the integration (as opposed to control) of immigrants, providing them with a set of social rights and guarantees, whether or not they were legal (Gonzalez Enriquez, 2007). “The key to accessing these rights was not legal status, but registration in the local municipality as a *de facto* resident,” (Calavita, 2005, p. 30). Once again, this included a legalization program, specifically for immigrants who had been living in Spain continuously since 1999, and who could show that they had a work or residence permit at some point in the preceding three years (Calavita, 2005). This law was seen as “modern, flexible migration legislation, designed to facilitate legal immigration and social integration while retaining all existing control mechanisms,” (Kreienbrink, 2008, p. 3). But the PP was to have its way, after being handed the necessary majority in the general elections of March 2000. The new law, introduced in December 2000, called Law 8/2000 returned to the restrictive leanings of the 1985 Law. Claiming that the change was necessary in order to adapt Spanish standards to those of the EU, the PP ardently defended the new law, which included many small but significant changes such as eliminating most rights to social services for illegal immigrants, denying them the rights of assembly, collective bargaining, striking, and even joining labour unions and allowing police to hold undocumented immigrants for up to forty days in detention centres, and to deport them within seventy-two hours (Calavita, 2005; Gonzalez Enriquez, 2007). Legal immigrants were affected as well, as the law restricted family unification rights to immediate family members, and cut off access to most legal aid and public aid for housing even to legal immigrants (Calavita, 2005). Nevertheless, although Law 8/2000 was much more restrictive than 4/2000, it was considerably less

¹¹ These normalization programs have always been announced as extraordinary. But since 1985, six legalizations have taken place, with the latest program (2005) attracting over 690,000 applicants resulting in 578,375 immigrants being granted legal status (Kraler 2009: 37).

so compared with the 1985 Law or with most European provisions (Gonzalez Enriquez, 2007).

Axel Kreienbrink (2008) describes a new phase of legal stability following the 2004 elections which saw the new socialist government taking a “liberal, consensus-oriented approach to the issue of immigration,” (p. 3-4). Despite leaving the law (8/2000) basically unchanged, the government issued new regulations on implementation that were significantly more liberal in nature, and which placed greater emphasis on the legal and employment-oriented entry of immigrants (Kreienbrink, 2008). It also launched another normalization process which allowed illegal immigrants who had work contracts for at least six months (three months in the agricultural sector) and no criminal record in their home country or in Spain and proof that they had been living in the country prior to August 2004: this resulted in 691,655 people asking for regularization, 573,270 of whom were granted residence and labour permits in 2005, which in turn resulted into 550,000 new contributors to the Social Security fund (Gonzalez Enriquez, 2007). With this latest regularization process, European leaders joined the PP in calls for an end to what they saw as a ‘call effect’ for illegal immigration, but most trade unions, business associations and civil society organisations supported this measure domestically (Moreno Fuentes, 2005; Gonzalez Enriquez, 2007).

With a history of less than 25 years, Spanish immigration law is relatively young. Its development has seen it undergo radical amendments that reflected changing political regimes and public opinion. While such changes have caused Spanish immigration law to be described as contradictory and ambiguous (Areste in Calavita, 1998), it shows the effort Spanish government has made to adapt to the changing landscape of immigration in the country. This is particularly true with the gradual introduction of integration measures to the overall immigration policy. However, whether those efforts have been productive or beneficial (and for whom) is subject to discussion.

Moreno Fuentes (2000) notes that upon its entry into the European Community, Spain was assigned the role of gatekeeper of the Community’s southern borders, and this is what the first immigration law responded to, without resolving “the issues arising

from the presence of a growing immigrant population living and working in Spain.” The Preamble of the 1985 Law declared that its aim included the integration of immigrants into Spanish society but provided no details. A Congressional resolution had to be made in 1991 to call for the social integration of immigrants in addition to fighting illegal immigration. But Ricard Moren Alegret (2002) notes that the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, responsible for social integration of immigrants since 1990, had, within three years, opened up avenues for social integration such as programmes that would disseminate Spanish language and culture among immigrants and offer them professional orientation and training. In 1994, the “Plan for the Social Integration of Immigrants” was created by the Council of Ministers with the goals of eliminating all types of unjustified discrimination, promoting peaceful coexistence and tolerant attitudes, combating barriers to integration, eradicating all signs of exploitation, and mobilizing the whole society to fight racism and xenophobia (Calavita, 2005). Rosa Aparicio and Andres Tornos (2003) note however that this plan only included access to basic civil and social rights, and did not contemplate granting political rights to foreigners from non-EU countries.

Francisco Duran Ruiz (2003) claims that by 2000, immigrant integration finally became an integral part of Spanish immigration policy. This was immediately apparent from the official title of Law 4/2000: “Law on the Rights and Liberties of Foreigners in Spain and their Social Integration”. This law was short-lived however, as the PP introduced a new version of this law that focused on border control rather than the improvement of integration policies (Moren Alegret, 2002). Still, it may be argued that the ‘counter-reformation’ did not veer away from the integration-oriented approach of the first version. Duran Ruiz (2003) points to the creation of two bodies that support immigrant integration under Law 8/2000: 1) the High Council for Immigration Policy, which is in charge of co-ordinating the authorities of the different public administrations that deal with policy for the integration of immigrants, and 2) the Forum for Social Integration of Immigrants, which controls the participation of agencies and organizations concerned with the issue and facilitates consultation, information and assessment towards the integration of immigrants. Calavita (2005) thus claims that Law 8/2000 retained immigrant integration as a central concern, pointing to the *Programa Global de Regulacion y Coordinacion de la Extranjeria y la Inmigracion* (GRECO

Plan) introduced in 2001 which declared immigrant integration as a fundamental element of any immigration policy.

It is easy to see the good intentions that the Spanish government has vis-à-vis the integration of immigrants into mainstream society. However, two factors clearly impinged on the effectiveness of these efforts, making them nothing more than a “catalogue of good intentions,” (Gonzalez Enriquez, 2007, p. 324). These are the lack of financial resources provided to carry out programs and the lack of comprehensive and cohesive implementing rules and regulations (Laparra and Martinez in Gonzalez Enriquez, 2007; Calavita, 2005). Both these deficiencies have led to a lack of concerted action that would reach the immigrant community across the country equally and effectively. Details on implementing integration policies were implicitly left in the hands of Autonomous Communities and local councils. This practice, which further complicates the allocation of resources, has resulted in varied treatment and disparate circumstances of immigrants, depending on their place of residence.

One of the basic ways of differentiating one immigrant from another is by an immigrant’s legal status in the country. This issue of legality and illegality is important to this discussion. To be or not to be illegal? -- this is the question many immigrants have asked, when faced with the famous catch 22 of immigration. This situation is one that sees the worker caught between the demands of both employers and the government: the employers demand that an individual already have a work permit/visa before applying for the position, but then, the government demands that the individual have a job offer before applying for the work permit/visa. The solution for many would-be immigrants is to go underground or stay illegally, with the hope of legalization in the future, even though they will have to acquiesce to working under exploitative conditions while waiting for this legalization.

As previously mentioned, the government on occasion passes asylum laws granting residency permits to illegals. There is much controversy over this issue. Opponents of this mechanism ascribe to it a call effect that leads to increased illegal immigration. Some EU Member States, like France and Germany, who feel they would be on the receiving end of this increased illegal immigration, have been quite vocal in condemning Spain’s regularization programs (Pinyol, 2008). Most NGOs, trade unions,

religious groups, and other parts of civil society welcome these legalization programs because of their immediate effects (i.e. providing more social rights to the formerly illegal and thus marginalized immigrant) (Gonzalez Enriquez, 2007). Some quarters, while recognizing these positive contributions, claim that the programs are not adequate because it is just as easy for immigrants to fall back into illegality given the stringent nature of the renewal process (Calavita, 2005; Moreno Fuentes, 2000).

But the so-called catch 22 is not the only problem immigrants face. First, even if an immigrant is fortunate enough to find an employer who will draw up a pre-employment contract that will allow him to apply for a regular entry visa, the decision to let the worker into the country legally is up to the government, which has already put a restrictive quotas policy in place. Second, according to accounts from illegals, most employers do not actually bother themselves with the legal problems of their workers -- they already have a steady supply of workers, who do not need to be paid extra benefits, and who cannot complain about being exploited for fear of being deported (Calavita, 2005; Lluch, 2000). Third, having legal papers does not even actually help alleviate a worker's situation. Some employers do not want to hire legal immigrants unless they accept to work under the same conditions as the illegals (Lluch, 2000). And thus we see here a cycle that leads nowhere else but to another cycle, one of abuse and exploitation. From illegality, the worker enters the world of exploitation, in a country once called by immigrants as "El Dorado".

The above-mentioned exploitation of workers takes place in a situation in which authorities enforce neither the letter nor spirit of the law. As Maria Caprile (in Torns, 2000) of the *Centre d'Iniciatives i Recerques Europees a la Mediterrania* (CIREM) Foundation put it, "these explosive situations are also created by the tolerance of the authorities, the labour inspectors and the employers' associations." This is true to a certain extent, in that effective implementation of the law can be a deterrent to abuses. Moreover, the situation is perpetuated by immigrants themselves: immigrants pass on the information about the "accommodating" situation in El Ejido to friends and families back home; more immigrants arrive, both legally and illegally; and employers continue to enjoy the wide availability of cheap labour without having to follow the rule of law, while authorities remain passive, if not actually actively conspiring with these employers. So has the cycle of exploitation and exclusion continued to this day. Such

legal conditions that make it difficult for immigrants to both acquire and retain legal status in the country but are lenient towards employers or agents who break law inhibit the process of social integration. An immigrant's stable legal status is intertwined with his access to rights and services, which are necessary for successful integration into society. Exploitative activities of unscrupulous agents force immigrants to "work hard and scared"¹² and apart from mainstream society thus blocking any chance at social integration.

The way that Spanish immigration policy has developed shows how the government was caught unawares by the rapidly shifting pattern of immigration. However, "not only politicians, but also Spanish society has been unprepared for immigration," (Zapata Barrero and de Witte, 2006). It is therefore important to analyse societal factors in relation to how they impact on immigrant integration.

2.2.2 - Social Milieu

The analysis on social factors is divided into two parts: a discussion of socio-economic factors, and a discussion on socio-cultural factors. The distinction between the two is necessary because of the economic importance of immigrants to society, especially in places such as El Ejido, where 75 percent of the local economy is based on agriculture and thus on immigrant workers.¹³

Socio-Economic Conditions

The theory of economic self-interest helps explain the pattern of native attitudes towards immigrants in Spain in general, and particularly in agricultural towns like El Ejido. This theory assumes that antagonism towards immigrants is based on the threat they pose to one's economic situation, that people's attitudes are framed by their desire to protect and improve their material circumstances (Citrin and Sides, 2006). Following this framework, two factors that affected relations between natives and immigrants in El Ejido can be identified: the particular use of racialisation as economic

¹² Term used by Ray Marshall in Ross (1978).

¹³ According to an El Ejido native, in *La Loi du Profit*.

strategy by Spanish farmers, and heightened animosity due to the bigger economic quarrel between Spanish and Moroccan farmers.

Immigrants in El Ejido were tolerated because of their economic function. They provided the necessary labour force that allowed farmers to accumulate wealth. The main condition for this wealth gain was the maintenance of a cheap labour force. It was vital for farmers to keep wages down in order to keep their profits at their preferred levels. Potot (2009) has pointed to racialisation or division based on origin as a strategy that Spanish farmers have employed to reinforce the atmosphere of competition between workers and pre-empt any general collective action. By attributing specific qualities to each group and ranking these qualities, farmers promote the retention of strong ethnic identities, knowing full well that “solidarity or even identification along class lines, common to all farm workers, cannot emerge as long as these ethnic identities remain stronger,” (Potot, 2009, p. 125). This economic strategy of racialisation not only served to protect the material circumstances of the Spanish but perpetuated negative relations between immigrants and natives. It also indicates that racism, for as long as employers find it useful, will be utilized to perpetuate economic gains from cheap immigrant labour.

Potot (2009) further suggests that the bigger economic quarrel between Spanish and Moroccan farmers aggravated the already tense relations between Spanish bosses and Moroccan workers. Spanish farmers have maintained low and profitable production costs by capitalising on lowly paid undocumented immigrants. This has allowed them to remain competitive in the European markets, in comparison with imports from other countries, particularly Morocco, where the same products are grown at much lower costs (Moreno Fuentes, 2000). Spanish farmers, particularly from Almeria, regularly complain that Moroccan import quotas on fruits and vegetables are illegally exceeded, as they see this as a decrease in their own opportunities to export to the rest of the European Union, and this fear of ‘unfair’ competition has led to heightened feelings against Moroccans (Potot, 2009). Potot (2009) also connects the political developments taking place at that time to the ill will felt by the local farmers against Moroccan labourers. This was the year 2000, when lawmakers were debating on a proposed law that was seen as particularly progressive, as it aimed at giving some rights to illegal immigrants, planned to reduce the number of undocumented workers by

increasing the number of regularizations and sought to penalize employers that hired foreign workers illegally. This did not sit well with the farmers for these new measures would have meant condemning the whole economic life of the Almeria region (Potot, 2009).

The tense situation in El Ejido fueled from two sides by exploitative activities of farmers on the one hand, and national economic and political developments on the other did not create an environment that was susceptible to social integration. As mentioned in the previous section, exploitative activities of unscrupulous agents force immigrants into a vulnerable situation that blocks any chance at social integration. On the other hand, the perceived threat to the farmers' economic self-interests caused heightened antagonism towards immigrants that also served as an obstacle to social integration, which necessitates positive and open-minded attitudes of a receiving population toward its immigrants.

Socio-Cultural Conditions

The theory of symbolic politics is helpful to understanding the socio-cultural factors in play in the development of native attitudes toward immigrants in Spain in general and El Ejido in particular. This theory assumes that individuals' political views are shaped by pre-dispositions such as racial prejudice or nationalism that they acquired early in life (Chong, 2000). These general values and identifications have a strong impact on the formation of public opinion. Thus, negative attitudes towards immigration can be explained as a reflection of fears about the preservation of national identity, which are heightened by an 'invasion' of newcomers who are "visibly different in appearance, customs, and values," (Citrin and Sides, 2006, p. 330-331). Jack Citrin and John Sides (2006) suggest that a "testable implication [for this theory] is that because immigrants from EU countries are less likely to have prominent differences from the native population, they are less likely to be considered a cultural threat and evoke less antagonism than the generally darker and Muslim migrants from the "South";" (p. 331).

Indeed, there exists in Spain an interesting differentiation that locals make between different foreigners in the country. Some foreigners are classified as '*guiris*' or

'extranjeros', while some inevitably fall into the category of *'inmigrante'*, a vast number of whom are *'moros'* (Caro, 2002; Calavita, 2005). Those classified as *'inmigrante'* or non-*'guiri'* are “perceived as different and as a cause of trouble, perturbation, and disorder,” and thus “need to be restrained and controlled in order to maintain order in Spain and to ensure that jobs are not taken away from the locals,” (Caro, 2002, p. 3). The *'inmigrantes'* toil in the fields and factories, and are marked by poverty (Calavita, 2005). Because they want and need to remain permanently in Spain, these economic immigrants are a threat to society because their extended presence changes the character of Spanish life (Caro, 2002). It is at this point that a particular group of foreigners become viewed as marginal and criminals (Caro, 2002). This Othering is directed at foreign residents from third world countries who can only do jobs that locals shun – in direct contrast to the acceptance of those from the affluent first world (Calavita, 2005).

This almost instinctive classification of immigrants is a rather passive reaction of natives to immigrants. There are two more active or direct reactions to immigration that further fomented negative feelings between natives and immigrants thus preventing successful integration between these two groups. One is the policy of segregation that, while it may or may not have been official, was definitely promoted and practiced in the town of El Ejido. The second factor is the media portrayal of immigration that inevitably affects public opinion on the subject.

An increase in the size of a minority population is viewed as a major indicator of threat, and is thus a major determinant of prejudice (Semyonov et al., 2006). The huge presence of immigrants in El Ejido, particularly from Morocco, became a source of mistrust and discontent for many of the town locals (Torns, 2000). The town was that the town was absorbing more immigrants than it could handle. Instead of finding ways to integrate this huge number of newcomers, the town tried to avoid the problem altogether. Immigrants found themselves unable to find accommodations within town so that most of them were made instead to live on the outskirts of town, away from the townspeople.¹⁴ Thus, the immigrant community, “pushed out to the outskirts of towns, despised for the wretchedness in which they are forced to live,” (Lluch, 2000). This in

¹⁴ Lluch describes how immigrants are “banished to the outskirts of town,” and how North Africans in particular are “unwelcome in the bars and cafes and are routinely refused service.”

turn led some immigrants to react at times with anti-social behaviour, which only served to arouse more fear amongst the locals (Lluch, 2000).

Such exclusion and segregation, and the consequent lack of integration between the natives and immigrants stems from a lack of good (if any) social integration policies in place. By the huge numbers alone, local sentiment predictably became anti-foreigner and anti-Moroccan in particular. The additional unofficial policy of segregation must have further fomented these feelings of distrust and fear by preventing the creation of an environment of understanding and awareness of the Other. With such a situation of mutual distrust and suspicion, a spark such as a highly-publicised crime was enough to lead to an eruption as ugly and angry as the one in February 2000.

Speaking of publicity, Spanish media plays a big role in directing public opinion on immigration. Media is able to influence public perception in the sense that particular words and images are used in presenting “facts” to the public, thereby already creating a specific but not necessarily fair and full version of reality. The power of the media and the words they choose to put out to the public cannot be belittled. For example, one of the images that regularly bombard Spanish consciousness is that of the *pateras*, those rickety boats that illegal immigrants use to cross the seas to get to Spain from Africa. “The crossings, the captures by law enforcement, the militaristic fortifications of Ceuta and Melilla, and the deaths, make for high drama, and provide the most common images of immigrants and immigration in the Spanish media, despite the fact that far more immigrants – including illegal immigrants – arrive through Spain’s busy airports,” (Calavita, 2005, p. 138). Immigration itself is often referred to as a ‘problem’, no longer as a ‘phenomenon’. Spanish newspapers use words like “rising tide of immigration,” and other metaphors that social scientists claim suggest that immigration is irrational and uncontrollable and even dangerous (Calavita, 2005, p. 138). As a result of this selective and continual media coverage of the arrival of undocumented immigrants, xenophobic attitudes have been incited over the past few years (Nicolas and Ramirez Lafita in Calavita, 2005).

Miklos Kontra et al. (1999) say that “language can serve, in all spheres of social life, to bring people together or to divide them,” (p. 1). The language being applied in the discourse on immigration certainly divides people: those who are supportive or

sympathetic to immigrants from those who see them as a scourge of society; and the immigrants themselves from those who are unable to accept their presence. Calavita (2005) notes that while “official policies in Spain ... talk about the need to integrate, immigrants are marginalized in the national discourse through political rhetoric and a mass media that associate them with chaos, drama, and, above all, crime and illegality. Thus, not only are immigrants excluded from basic services ..., but their criminalization sets them apart symbolically, amplifies their Otherness, and invigorates the structural forces working against their integration,” (p. 138).

2.2.3 - Immigrant Will

A third issue that needs to be discussed is the immigrant factor. The host society does not bear full responsibility for the successful integration of its immigrants. Even if a society manages to provide full support in the form of political rights, social services and cultural programs, it is the immigrant who ultimately makes the decision that he or she wants to be integrated into the host society and who will act on this decision.

There have been arguments that certain cultures have a harder time adapting to host societies as culture may prevent an immigrant from seeking full participation in the new society. This is said especially of Muslims. Christopher Caldwell (2009) for example in his book *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe: Immigration, Islam and the West* basically insinuates that all Muslims are a destructive force, a natural enemy of the West, who unable to adapt their culture to that of their host society. There are others who claim that it is an individual's makeup that impacts on the decision to integrate into society. Individual choices are influenced by education, socio-economic background and even simply personality type. Results of a study on European opinion on immigration by Citrin and Sides (2007) showed that “individual differences in attitudes tend to derive instead from attitudinal and psychological factors: information about immigrants, cultural and national identities, economic anxiety, membership in social groups and networks that communicate a particular outlook about accepting immigrants and a generalized disposition to trust other people,” (p. 500).

In the case of El Ejido, immigrants, Moroccans in particular, were increasingly seeking respect, recognition and acceptance from society. This is seen in their

memberships in trade unions and immigrant associations. Trade unions began to participate in political debates on immigration and started to claim rights not only for legal but also illegal workers – a situation that further strained relations between the Spanish farmers and immigrants. Also, as the Spaniards try hard to contain the immigrants to areas outside town, the immigrants resisted by gathering in the streets after work and socialising in bars owned by compatriots in town (Potot, 2009). “In doing so, they [gave] their presence a certain public visibility. These everyday life practices may not [have been] considered by all of them to be acts of resistance, but in the context, they are a point of tension with many Spaniards, as these practices declare to all the presence in the region of a large contingent of people from the Maghreb,” (Potot, 2009, p. 119).

Following the riots, the Moroccan immigrants executed an indefinite general strike, demanding for new housing, damage compensation and worker legalization, particularly for those who directly suffered from the attacks (Torns, 2000). This strike, the first such action ever made by immigrants in Spain to defend themselves, was described as “a great leap forward in their organization in the area,” (Torns, 2000). However, this show of solidarity and force by the Moroccan immigrants instead had negative repercussions. Contractors all over Almeria started to hire workers from Romania and Lithuania instead, claiming that there were too many problems with the Moroccans (Luch, 2000). This in turn set immigrants in further wage competition with each other, aggravating tensions between immigrant communities (White, 2001). Thus, instead of being a stepping stone toward better conditions for migrant workers, the strike led indirectly to even worse conditions for the Moroccans.

Potot (2009) declares that “it was the presence of a population without any rights and totally ignored by the Spanish population that guaranteed the exploitation of these workers,” (p. 118) so much so that society reacted negatively and violently when immigrants started to claim rights for themselves. The problem here is that actions taken by immigrants to help themselves were not received well by the local community. Immigrant initiative in this case was arguably aggressive, especially with the strike they chose to hold following the riots. However, given the challenges they faced, aggressive or confrontational action may have been their only option. In a different environment,

where conditions are less harsh and natives more open or tolerant, immigrant action might have taken a different course.

Chapter Three: Immigration in the Czech Republic

“Living in this country, we should abide by its laws, but workers have to abide by the laws of intermediaries.”

-- Vietnamese factory worker¹⁵

Just like Spain, the Czech Republic has only recently become a country of immigration. Up until the 1990s, it remained a country of emigration. While immigration did occur as early as the 1970s, most of this took place under intergovernmental agreements between then Czechoslovakia¹⁶ and other communist or socialist countries such as Angola, Cuba, Korea, Mongolia and Vietnam (Černík, 2007; Drbohlav, 2004). These were temporary agreements which allowed foreigners to gain skills and work experience while filling gaps in certain sectors of the Czechoslovak market such as food-processing, textiles, shoe and glass industries, mining, machinery and agriculture (Drbohlav, 2004). The turning point in Czech immigration history was the fall of communism in 1989. The work agreements contracted prior to the so called Velvet Revolution were terminated and most of the workers had to leave the country. Only 1,330 of these workers were actually officially allowed to stay (Boušková in Drbohlav, 2004) but, as will be discussed in further detail in the succeeding section, thousands more had already settled in the country despite the temporary and eventually defunct nature of the agreements. After the fall of communism, a new set of immigrants began to arrive in the country. Czechoslovakia became a buffer zone for immigration from the East to the West. Many of these immigrants were illegals heading further west to the wealthier nations in the European Community (Calda, 2005).

After the peaceful split of Czechoslovakia in 1993, the Czech Republic began an aggressive campaign for economic development, choosing rapid and radical changes in the market structure to boost its growth (Drbohlav in Černík, 2007). The resulting economic growth of the country further made Czech Republic an attractive immigration country particularly for East Europeans and workers from third world countries (Calda, 2005). But a significant majority of new immigrants in the country was made up of Slovaks who took advantage of the agreement on free movement between the Czech and Slovak Republics after the split (Drbohlav in Černík, 2007). By the mid-1990s, other foreigners had been attracted to the country due to its liberal migration legislation

¹⁵ La Strada Report on Vietnamese workers in Czech Factories (2009).

¹⁶ It was only in 1993 that Czechoslovakia split into two republics, the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

and economic relations that favoured immigration (Černík, 2007). Jan Černík (2007) notes that, with a new political and economic regime in place, significant emigration was expected at this point but did not take place. It has only been over the last decade that the Czech Republic has increasingly become a destination country for immigrants (Černík, 2007).

The entry of the Czech Republic into the European Union in 2004 and its accession to the Schengen territories in 2007 impacted significantly on the country's shifting landscape of immigration as well as the development of its immigration policy. Černík (2007) claims that it was accession into the EU that gave rise to Czech migration policy. He describes immigration in the first part of the 1990s as *laissez-faire* and connects the tightening state control over migration to the harmonization of Czech laws to EU structures and requirements (Černík, 2007). Despite the marked change in policy due to this accession requirement, the Czech Republic today is no longer simply a temporary or half-way destination but is a final destination country for immigrants as well. It might be said that this is, as well, due to its accession into the EU. There is no doubt that its EU membership makes the Czech Republic a more attractive destination for immigrants.

However, EU accession requirements have not been the only determinant of changes in Czech immigration policy. The combination of low birth rates, growing life expectancy and skill shortages in the labour market has been worrisome for some experts for a number of years (Calda, 2005; Sinpeng, 2005). “The UN Development Program [UNDP] estimates that, if current trends continue, the Czech labor market would be short of 400,000 workers by 2030,” (Sinpeng, 2005, p. 1). Milos Calda (2005) claims that “Czech authorities have chosen immigration as an instrument which should, among others, alleviate the demographic slump and attract highly skilled experts who are lacking in the Czech Republic,” (p. 5). While these considerations have shaped Czech immigration policy, the history and development of Czech immigration and immigration policy through the years, as influenced by its communist past, entry into the European Union as well as its own internal domestic requirements, has also inevitably shaped its immigrant population.¹⁷ The following charts, Figures Three and

¹⁷ Borjas (1999) and Winkelmann (1999) in separate studies of US and New Zealand, respectively, found that changes in immigration policy led to significant changes in the country-of-origin mix of immigrant in the said countries.

Four, show the growth of immigration in the country as well as the mix of immigrants according to country of origin.

Figure 4 shows the number of foreigners in the Czech Republic from 1993 to 2008 differentiated by the type of residence they hold in the country. It shows a steady growth in the number of foreigners as well as in the number who have permanent residence. While the growth of immigration in the country has not been as dramatic as in Spain, the steady rise has caused immigration to become an increasingly important theme both for government policy and public opinion. It also interesting to note the increasing number of permanent stays in the Czech Republic especially after 2004, which may be attributed to its increased attractiveness as an EU member state as well as policy changes on the terms for granting permanent residence status to foreigners.

Figure 4: Number of Foreigners by Type of Residence 1993-2008 (December 2008)¹⁸

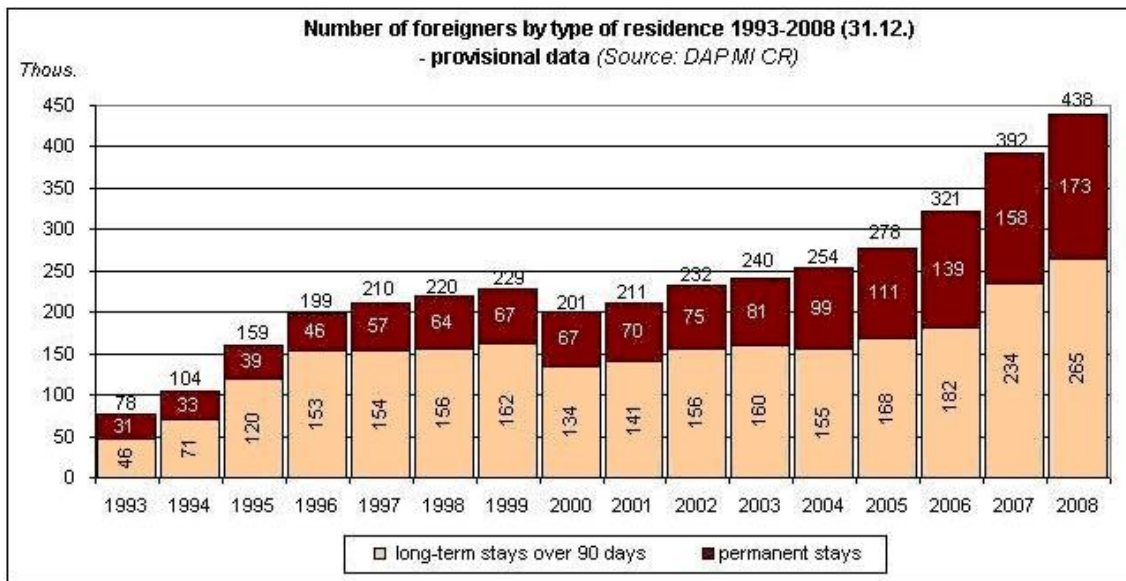
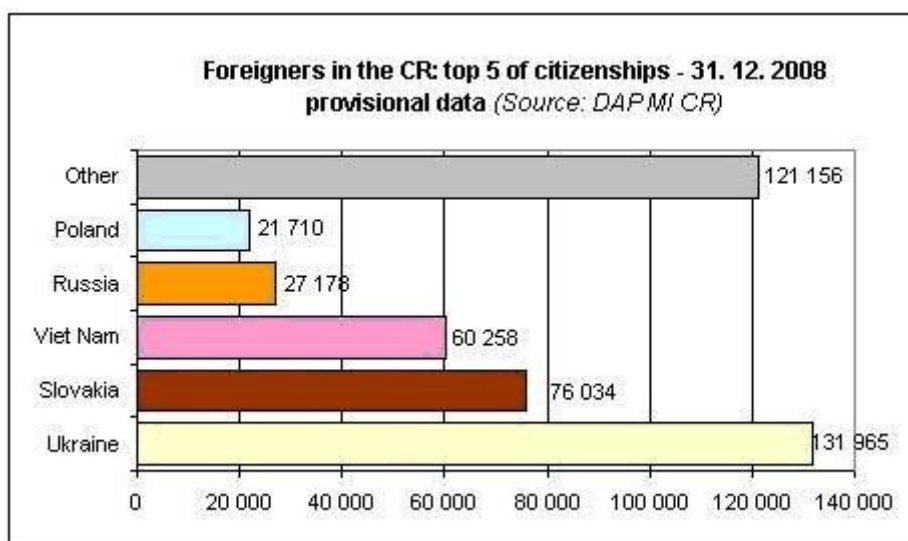


Figure 5 shows the top five countries that send immigrants to the Czech Republic. Ukrainians are the overwhelming majority of immigrants in the country, followed by Slovaks. The Vietnamese are the lone non-European group that makes up a significant portion of immigrants in the Czech Republic. Russians and Poles complete the top five immigrant populations in the country.

¹⁸ Available on the official website of the Czech Statistical Office: http://www.czso.cz/csu/cizinci.nsf/engkapitola/ciz_pocet_cizincu.

Figure 5: Foreigners in the Czech Republic: Top 5 Citizenships (December 2008)¹⁹



The author thus chose to focus the discussion of immigrant integration in the Czech Republic on that of the Vietnamese minority. They are the most visible set of immigrants and have a more difficult experience of integrating into society. This is in contrast to the other four groups who manage to blend into the native population with less attention due to less physical differences as well as mother tongues that share the same Slavic roots as Czech.²⁰ But unlike the discussion on Spain which involves a high-profile and extreme example of the problems related to a lack of social integration, the discussion of immigrant integration in the Czech Republic is based on the general experience of Vietnamese immigration and integration into Czech society, based on personal interviews with a number of immigrants, news articles and published reports about the Vietnamese in the country, mainly the La Strada Report on Vietnamese Workers in Czech Factories.

3.1 - The Vietnamese in the Czech Republic

As already mentioned, Vietnamese workers arrived in then Czechoslovakia under government contracts for guest workers from other socialist countries. Černík (2007) reports that by the mid-1980s approximately 23,000 Vietnamese had elected to

¹⁹ Available on the official website of the Czech Statistical Office: http://www.czso.cz/csu/cizinci.nsf/engkapitola/ciz_pocet_cizincu.

²⁰ As Černík (60) notes, “the language barrier for immigrants from the [other] countries was insignificant, as Russian remained highly useful and the different Slavic languages share many features which make them mutually understandable or, at least, easy to learn. These and other similar cultural features work particularly in favour of Slovak and Polish immigration.”

remain in the Czech Republic in spite of the directive for temporary immigration of Vietnamese and the expensive return programme offered by the Czechoslovak Government in the early 1990s. This is because they found a profitable way of subsistence in the market place. This new market opportunity was “unleashed in the first half of the 1990s by the hunger for consumer goods felt by the post-socialist society and by the cross-border petty-trade of cigarettes and alcohol with Germany and Austria,” (Černík, 2007, p. 64).

The Vietnamese tend to immigrate in families, usually with the men immigrating first to find employment and accommodations, and the women following soon after (Horniaková, 2006). This has resulted in a high birth rate within the community, contributing to the continued growth of the number of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic (Černík, 2007). But a more significant factor to this growth is the continued immigration from Vietnam which has been steady because of the historical links between the two countries. In 2007, an urgent need for cheap labour in certain sectors of the Czech market led to a significant influx of Vietnamese workers in the Czech Republic (Krebs and Pechová, 2009). Of the approximate 60,000 Vietnamese in the country, about 20,000 of them have arrived only since this urgent market demand for factory workers opened up in the country (Krebs and Pechová, 2009).

However, aside from this new group of factory workers, the first choice of economic subsistence of the Vietnamese has still not changed. Most Vietnamese still work at vegetable markets and grocery stores or in shops selling textiles, shoes, consumer electronics and the like. This has led to a stereotyping of Vietnamese immigrants as shopkeepers. Today this stereotype has gone even further to the idea of Vietnamese immigrants as shopkeepers and sellers of contraband or counterfeit items. A controversial raid on the SAPA Vietnamese market in Prague on November 22, 2008, has led to discussions on how deep this stereotyping goes and whether it is symptomatic of racist attitudes towards the Vietnamese. Young Vietnamese students were first to criticize what they saw as an overblown response to suspected criminal activity at the SAPA market. The Czech daily *Tyden* reported that over 800 customs officers, trade inspectors, foreign police officers and Prague police conducted the raid with the use of three armoured vehicles and even a helicopter (Stinglova, 2008). The Ministry of Interior deemed such use of force as proportionate, claiming that there was a well-

grounded suspicion of criminal activity in the said area (Albert and Redlova, 2009). However, videos of the raid shown on the Nova Television channel belie this claim, as police in full gear break into different parts of the market with little resistance from its residents.²¹ In the petition that the students submitted to Parliament, they claimed that containers and warehouses were opened forcibly, while innocent people were threatened with weapons, knocked down and handcuffed for no reason, while others were kept outside in the frost, including thirty schoolchildren, several pregnant women and an 80-year-old Buddhist nun, even though they provided valid identification (Wong, 2008; Stinglova, 2008).

While there is truth to the claims of illegal activity on the part of some Vietnamese, such a dramatic and overwhelming show of force as the raid on the SAPA market should ring some warning bells as this blanket application of “collective guilt on the Vietnamese ethnic group”²² can lead to the general criminalisation of all Vietnamese in Czech society. This would mean a reversal of the integration process between the Vietnamese and Czech communities that has been taking place slowly and painfully but surely in the three or four decades of immigration history between them.

3.2. Analysis of Czech-Vietnamese relations

It must be noted that the problem of the Vietnamese immigrant community in the Czech Republic is not the complete lack of integration. Ethnologists I. Herloldová and V. Matějová described the Vietnamese in the 1980s as integrated into Czechoslovak society, noting that in the 20 years of immigration history between the two countries, the Vietnamese had gotten to know the receiving society well and were able to take advantage of that knowledge to peacefully coexist with the Czechoslovaks (in Krebs and Pechova, 2009). The problem today is that the integration process that has been taking place all these years is coming under threat. It is thus important to identify the factors that weaken the process before it breaks down completely and brings about societal chaos not unlike what took place in El Ejido. The above-mentioned November 2008 raid on SAPA is but one symptom of the vulnerable state of the Vietnamese integration process into Czech society. Even the Vietnamese recognize that it is the

²¹ These videos can be viewed from: <http://tn.nova.cz/zpravy/regionalni/na-trznici-v-prazske-libusi-vypukla-razie.html>.

²² Accusation leveled against the police by Vietnamese students. See Stinglova.

latest wave of immigration that has been causing tension both within their community as well as between immigrants and natives. Moreover, the economic crisis experienced by the country towards the end of 2008 has made a big impact on the entire Czech society, including its immigrants. All these will be discussed in this section that analyses factors affecting immigrant-native relations in the Czech Republic under the following categories: legal conditions, social milieu, and immigrant will.

3.2.1 - Legal Conditions

Prior to its entry into the European Union, the Czech Republic followed a *laissez-faire* migration policy that included a visa-free regime for other former countries of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the Balkans as well as an institutional framework for distinct groups of migrants (Černík, 2007). This liberal migration policy turned the Czech Republic into an immigration destination to tens of thousands of migrants from Europe and Asia during the 1990s (Drbohlav, 2005). Drbohlav (2005) notes that this policy had many loopholes which allowed quasi-legal migrants to enter the country alongside legal economic migrants and their families. These were transit migrants seeking to reach the richer Western countries as soon as possible (Drbohlav, 2005). But the passive attitude of the government towards both legal and quasi-legal immigrants ended with its bid to enter the European Union and the Schengen territory. During preparatory phase for membership, the Czech Republic had to adjust its policies according to EU demands particularly on immigration policies and the policy of free movement of people (Calda, 2005). The result was a restrictive law that clearly had a primary focus on combating illegal migration, while attracting skilled immigrants remained a secondary issue (Drbohlav, 2005). It was an immigration policy that had “no clear objectives, except: 1) to join Western democratic structures (especially the EU) and thereby harmonize international migration policies and practices with those in the West; and 2) to combat illegal immigration (which, however, also lacks a general conception and particularly the willingness, ability and means to do so),” (Drbohlav, 2003, p. 213).

In order to achieve this aim of attracting skilled immigrants, the government launched the Pilot Project on the Active Selection of Qualified Foreign Workers²³ in 2002. The project initially targeted workers from Bulgaria, Croatia, and Kazakhstan, then was updated to include citizens of Belarus and Moldova and foreign graduates from Czech universities irrespective of their country of origin. The project aimed to bring foreign experts to the Czech Republic along with their families, and thus included a framework that allowed these workers to obtain permanent residence in the Czech Republic after only a period of two and a half years, compared to the standard ten-year waiting period. The Pilot Project run from 2003 to 2008, after which the project was extended and opened to more participants from 51 countries. With the new project, highly qualified workers are given the opportunity to apply for permanent residence after an even shorter period of one and a half year while standard qualified workers can apply after two and a half years (standard category of qualified workers) of uninterrupted stay and work, compared to the current standard period of 5 years. The project has been criticised as ineffective and unproductive. Sinpeng (2005) declared that the project “failed to live up to expectations,” (p. 1) noting that of the 2,000 available positions for qualified workers in the Czech market in 2004, only 256 were filled. Calda (2005), with a more positive outlook, suggested that while the project is overcautious and tentative, more time is needed to judge the project’s success or its lack thereof. He also points out that after the Czech Republic joined the EU in 2004, the country saw some, albeit limited, migration of highly skilled workers and professionals to richer EU countries, and notes that the Pilot Project could be one way to replace such persons (Caldá, 2005). But Sinpeng (2005) notes that the project’s key problem is the lack of job offers stemming from a lack of awareness as well as reluctance to participate on the side of Czech employers. The process of hiring non-EU workers is long and complicated, and this discourages Czech employers from actively participating in the project.²⁴ These complicated procedures merely reflect an employment policy that is “fiercely protective of domestic workers,”²⁵ as well as legislation that is “really not in favour of labor migration.”²⁶

²³ After the Pilot Project ended in 2008, it was extended and is now called the Project Selection for Qualified Foreign Workers. See <http://www.imigracecz.org/?lang=en>.

²⁴ Robert Basch of the International Organization for Migration, as quoted in Sinpeng 2005.

²⁵ Vera Ivanovicova, manager of the Pilot Project, as quoted in Sinpeng 2005.

²⁶ Michal Meduna, head of the migration department of the Czech Ministry of Labour, as quoted in Sinpeng 2005.

But in a move that recognised immigration as a permanent phenomenon, the government released a document called the *Concept of Immigrant Integration*,²⁷ which aimed to define the scope of rights and obligations of immigrants that would be perceived as fair for and by all members of society. The Concept states that: “The basic assumption will be in this respect the principle of acquisition of rights. In practice, this means that the scope of rights granted to an immigrant will usually depend on the length of his/her residence in the territory of the Czech Republic, or his/her residence status.” However, Gwendolyn Albert and Pavla Redlova (2009) still describe the legal framework as rather restrictive and complicated, saying that policies help maintain foreigners in conditions of social insecurity. They note that “the biggest gap in social positions lies between foreigners with long-term residence permits and those with permanent residence permits,” (Albert and Redlova, 2009, p. 35). Blanka Tollerova (in Albert and Redlova, 2009) explains that “foreigners with visas for more than 90 days live under different conditions in many aspects of their lives (e.g., they cannot buy real estate, they only have the right to access public health care when employed, and it is harder for them to open a bank account), but the main inconvenience consists in the necessity of prolonging the visa every year. This factor is considered both a reason for their social insecurity and an anti-integration element,” (p. 35). Because residence permits are based on employment for a specific job, labour migrants are in a constant precarious situation which in turn limits the possibilities of social inclusion (Albert and Redlova, 2009).

Adding to the precarious state of labour immigrants is the corrupt and abusive practices of employment agencies that take advantage of the ignorance and vulnerability of immigrants as well as the passivity, if not complicity, of authorities. Albert and Redlova (2009) quote Czech ombudsman Otakar Motejl who has criticized existing practices in Czech consulates abroad saying that “corruption is a part of the visa-issuing process.... The situation at the Alien’s Police in Prague and at the consulates in Russia, Ukraine, and Vietnam is unbearable. Mafia structures have a hand in transactions related to visas and permanent residency permits,” (p. 36). This situation described by Motejl is part of the vicious cycle of abuse and exploitation of that Vietnamese immigrant workers suffer in their quest for a better life. It has been noted that many

²⁷ First approved in 1999 and updated in 2006, available from http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/UDRW/images/items/docl_1338_677049665.pdf.

Vietnamese immigrants arrive in the Czech Republic heavily in debt (Krebs and Pechova, 2009; Bilefsky, 2009). This is because of employment agencies that charge exorbitant fees for services ranging from obtaining a job offer in the Czech Republic to arranging interviews with the Czech Embassy in Vietnam (Krebs and Pechova, 2009; Bilefsky, 2009; Albert and Redlova, 2009; Ashton, 2007). This debt puts them in a vulnerable condition – one that opens them to exploitation of unscrupulous employers or agents while closing the door to social inclusion into major society.

An interview with a recently arrived Vietnamese immigrant confirms this circular problem of exploitation and exclusion.²⁸ Tran came to the Czech Republic two years ago with the “help” of an employment agency that found her a job in a factory. She described the work as extremely hard and tedious. She was fortunate enough to find another job at one of the many nail salons that have mushroomed all over the country. But her sister is not so lucky and is still working at a factory on long shifts that do not allow her enough time to meet Tran or make friends outside her job. Even Tran, who has escaped from the monotonous factory life, is still unable to make friends outside her job. She works and lives with other Vietnamese, is unable to converse in Czech, and feels unwelcome in this country that has been her home for two years. She is unhappy but she cannot leave. She has to continue earning money to pay off her debts. Employers recognise and exploit this vulnerability. Michal Krebs and Eva Pechova (2009) note that employers are aware that even if working conditions are not acceptable for workers, these immigrants are unlikely to try to find another job because of administrative and language barriers, and thus do not feel the need to create better working conditions for these employees.

Tran has, in some ways, been fortunate. She has been able to move away from the factory setting where, according to the La Strada report on Vietnamese Workers in Czech Factories, a large percentage of the Vietnamese working in Czech factories suffer from substandard living and working conditions, and in many cases receive lower wages, wage supplements and bonuses than regular Czech workers (Krebs and Pechova 2009: 24). Krebs and Pechova (2009) note that “there is no doubt that one of the factors contributing to the exploitation of Vietnamese workers is the absence of liability of Czech companies which, thanks to agency employment, use these migrants’ cheap and

²⁸ Interview with Tran, Vietnamese immigrant, in Olomouc on 1 December 2009.

flexible labour in order to pursue their own economic goals without having to bear any legal responsibility for the worker's wages or their working or living conditions," (p. 25). In this case it is easy to see that the problem of integration within the scope of legal conditions lies in the implementation of laws at the local level. Such abuses of the law as practiced by dishonest agents, no matter that they do not represent the whole of society, open up problems for the victims, as can be seen particularly in the case of a number of Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic. As already stated in the previous chapter, such exploitative activities of unscrupulous agents force immigrants to "work hard and scared" and apart from mainstream society, thus blocking any chance at social integration.

Compounding this problem of exploitation and the limited punishment thereof are local administrations that are not prepared or equipped to deal with immigrants as well government departments that are unable to coordinate programs and policies effectively (Albert and Redlova, 2009). The effectiveness of any law lies in its implementation. A successful immigration policy needs implementation not only at the borders but at the municipal level where immigrants live their lives and interact with mainstream society. Without this comprehensive application of policies and consequent penalties for abuses, immigrants will remain at risk and unable to integrate successfully into society.

3.2.2 - Social Milieu

Legal conditions in the Czech Republic are not the only factors affecting immigrant integration into Czech society. Societal conditions are equally important factors of integration. In this chapter, these are also divided into two: socio-economic factors and socio-cultural factors. The discussion on socio-economic factors focuses on the economic crisis at the end of 2008 and the effects it had on immigration and immigrant-native relations. The discussion on socio-cultural factors takes into consideration the Roma community in the Czech Republic and the role it plays in diffusing tensions between natives and immigrants.

Socio-Economic Conditions

The theory of economic self-interest assumes that antagonism towards immigrants is based on the threat they pose to one's economic situation, that people's attitudes are framed by their desire to protect and improve their material circumstances (Citrin and Sides, 2006). "Antagonism and anti-minority sentiments are likely to be a result of socioeconomic competition or threat of such competition among individuals for jobs, housing, social services, and economic benefits," (Semyonov et al., 2006, p. 428). The global economic crisis posed a very real situation of threat to the Czech labour market and resulted in big losses for foreign labourers, particularly the newly-arrived Vietnamese immigrants who came to the Czech Republic in 2007. As mentioned earlier, gaps in the Czech labour market led to an influx of Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic in 2007. But when, at the end of 2008, the country was hit by the global economic crisis, this naturally impacted greatly on the new set of foreign workers, who are generally the first people to be let go by companies in the face of crisis (Veverkova, 2009). Indeed, Albert and Redlova (2009) report that labour migrants employed by mediation agencies were the first to suffer layoffs in 2008 and note the prediction of the Czech Ministry of the Interior that some 68,000 foreigners were bound to lose their jobs in 2009.

While it is easy to verify the vulnerable economic position of immigrant workers in the time of economic crisis, the question of heightened anti-foreigner or anti-immigrant sentiment among the native population is more difficult to measure. There certainly has been no widespread and sharp manifestation of anti-immigrant sentiment across the country say for example in terms of increased violence or political rhetoric against immigrants. However, a closer look at public opinion will show that there has indeed been a marked increase in concern over immigration and its effects on the Czech economy, particularly on local employment.

In the Eurobarometer National Report on the Czech Republic for Spring 2008, unemployment was not among the top priorities in the Czech Republic and only 14% of the Czech public ranked it amongst the two most important issues (Eurobarometer 69). Moreover, "Czechs put less emphasis on immigration issues which are important for a third of Europeans, but only for every fifth (18%) Czech," (Eurobarometer 69, p. 6).

But by Spring 2009, the Eurobarometer National Report on the Czech Republic reported that the two most pressing issues for Czechs were unemployment and the economic situation (Eurobarometer 71). In addition, 65% of respondents thought that the presence of people from different ethnic and national groups increased unemployment while 57% thought that immigrants use healthcare and social system excessively, more than they pay in taxes (Eurobarometer 71). This has led to the observation that “Czechs, compared to Europeans as a whole, seem to be quite unfriendly towards foreigners,” (Eurobarometer 71, p. 7). For one, on the European scale, only 49 % blame immigrants for increasing unemployment; and two, most Czechs do not agree with the majority of the European public that still feels that “immigrants can play an important role in the development of better understanding and tolerance with regard to the rest of the world, that people from different national and ethnic groups enrich cultural life in host states and that they are needed for work in certain branches of the economy,” (Eurobarometer 71, p. 7).

The situation in the Czech Republic is thus empirical evidence for the theory of economic self-interest in that there was a clear increase in concern over immigration once the economic crisis threatened local jobs as well. It is a positive sign that this increase in negative attitudes towards immigrants has not been translated into negative or violent actions towards them beyond the expected loss of employment opportunities. However, this still points to the vulnerable state of immigrants in the society, and the consequent difficulties these immigrants face in terms of integration into society. The Autumn 2009 Eurobarometer Report on the Czech Republic shows that 84 percent of the Czech public is extremely pessimistic about the situation of the economy and 43 percent believe things will still get worse (Eurobarometer 72). The previously mentioned police raid on SAPA at the end of 2008 is a cautionary tale because such blanket criminalisation of a group of immigrants can only serve to heighten existing fears of the native population and this in turn would lead to an unnecessary and undesirable worsening of relations between immigrants and natives. The previous chapter described the extreme consequences of unchecked worsening immigrant-native relations which must be prevented from happening again at all costs.

Socio-Cultural Conditions

The theory of symbolic politics assumes that individuals' political views are shaped by pre-dispositions such as racial prejudice or nationalism that they acquired early in life (Chong, 2000) and these general values and identifications have a strong impact on the formation of public opinion. Thus, negative attitudes towards immigration can be explained as a reflection of fears about the preservation of national identity, which are heightened by an 'invasion' of newcomers who are "visibly different in appearance, customs, and values," (Citrin and Sides, 2006, p. 330-331). It is under this framework that notes the impact of the visibility of an out-group that this paper assumes that the Vietnamese community in the Czech Republic is more vulnerable to anti-immigrant sentiment compared to Ukrainians and other major immigrant groups in the country.

The obvious visibility of the Vietnamese has been compounded by the significant influx of their numbers in 2007 and the problems they encountered following the economic crisis of 2008. This influx would have triggered heightened perceptions of threat among the native population (Semyonov et al., 2006). Moreover, media began to give more attention to the issue of immigration, concentrating primarily on its negative effects on both economy and society. For example, Albert and Redlova (2009) report that media has "perpetuated the criminalisation of migrants by arguing they would immediately become active in criminal gangs upon losing their legal residency," (p. 5). Still, as mentioned earlier, there has been no widespread and sharp manifestation of anti-immigrant sentiment. While there have been sporadic cases of violence and political rhetoric against immigrants,²⁹ anti-foreigner sentiment in the Czech Republic has generally remained passive and muted. For example, there is no Czech version of Georg Haider or Umberto Bossi,³⁰ nor a comparable Czech equivalent of the El Ejido riots. It can be said that Czech-immigrant relations have remained relatively undisturbed despite the turbulent economic times and heightened politicisation of immigration. This is particularly interesting because even ahead of the marked increase of Vietnamese immigrants in the country, Dušan Drbohlav (2004) described Czech

²⁹ Bilefsky for example recounts an incident in Chocen where locals accosted some Vietnamese telling them that the Vietnamese must go home. Albert and Redlova also identify Czech MP and Central Bohemia Governor David Rath and shadow Minister of Foreign Affairs Lubomír Zaorálek as Czech politicians spouting anti-foreigner rhetoric.

³⁰ Notorious xenophobic spokesmen from Austria and Italy respectively.

society as xenophobic. The latest Eurobarometer National Report on the Czech Republic is less harsh and merely observes that Czechs, compared with other Europeans, seem to be quite unfriendly towards foreigners (Eurobarometer 71: 7). If these claims are true, one may wonder why there has been no highly visible backlash on immigrants despite the widespread effects of the economic crisis in the Czech Republic.

This paper recognises the inadvertent role that the Roma community in the Czech Republic has played in diffusing tensions between immigrants and natives. Calda (2005) notes that opinion polls show that “the backlash and rejection of the Romanies overshadow any anti-immigrant sentiments,” (p. 8). Zoe Aiano (2009), while claiming that “Neo-Nazism and extreme right-wing nationalism are on the rise in the Czech lands,” (p. 25) notes that riots or protests against ethnic minorities are directed particularly at the Roma. In a STEM poll conducted in April 2009,³¹ two thirds of the polled said they would not like to live next to Vietnamese, Chinese and Ukrainians, as these nationalities are perceived as a source of a cheap labour force, labourers or illicit traders who live in relative isolation and preserve their cultural habits.³² However, only 12 percent of the respondents said they would not mind Romanies as their neighbours, with one third of respondents actually saying that coexistence would be entirely unacceptable for them. In a Special Eurobarometer Report on Discrimination in the EU in 2008, the Czech Republic registered the highest percentage (47%) of respondents across Europe who admitted they would not be comfortable living with a Roma neighbour (Special Eurobarometer 296). These statistics indicate that the primary Other in Czech society is not the immigrant but the Roma.

Zygmunt Bauman (2004) offers an explanation about the convenience of recasting immigrants as the modern-day scapegoats “for the apprehensions born of the sudden shakiness and vulnerability of social positions, and so they were a relatively safer outlet for the discharge of anxiety and anger which such apprehensions could not but cause,” (p. 55). Societies need to transfer their fears onto Others and this is nothing new. “It is only the link between immigration and public disquiet about rising violence

³¹ STEM is a Prague-based public opinion firm. For the full story, see <http://www.ceskenoviny.cz/zpravy/czechs-have-best-relations-to-slovaks-worst-to-romanies-poll/374125>.

³² The author’s own experience confirms this. Neighbours of her Czech friends in Prague were not happy to find out that a “Vietnamese” had moved into the flat, and warned them about criminal activities of non-Czech tenants.

and fears for security that is novel; otherwise nothing much has changed since the beginning of the modern state – the folkloristic images of devils and demons that used to ‘soak up’ diffuse security fears in the past ‘have been transformed into dangers and risks’,” (Albrecht in Bauman, 2004, p. 55-56). In the case of the Czech Republic, it may be concluded that the significant Othering of the Roma people has deflected the Othering of immigrants that have taken place in other societies to replace older personifications of societal fears.

3.2.3 - Immigrant Will

As previously mentioned, the Vietnamese community in the Czech Republic, has been slowly but surely integrating into Czech society. Manifestations of integration are obvious particularly in the second generation of the Vietnamese, as well as the gradual change of choice of economic subsistence from the stereotypical marketplace to other activities (Krebs and Pechova, 2009; O’Connor, 2007). “For many years [the] Vietnamese community has been trying to improve its image and break the stereotypes embedded in Czech population as a result of the most pronounced subsistence strategy of the Vietnamese in the 1990s. To some extent it succeeded to do so thanks to the excellence of the second generation children at schools,” (Krebs and Pechova, 2009, p. 16-17).

The process of integration, however, is being threatened not only from the outside by the factors discussed in the previous sections, but also from the inside, from within their own ranks. Many Czechs still perceive the Vietnamese “as a closed society of foreign market traders, who live in the country but are not really part of Czech society,” (O’Connor, 2007). This is primarily because of the older generation of Vietnamese who still have not learned the Czech language and thus are unable to interact with mainstream society. For the older generation, integration into the economic system is all that matters, “because unless their stay in the Czech Republic brings profit their presence in the country loses its purpose even for themselves,” (Krebs and Pechova, 2009, p. 10). On the other hand, the younger generation is able to fully integrate into society, particularly through the Czech education system, and “to a much larger extent identify with Czech culture and often face problems to even communicate in Vietnamese which clearly distances them from the generation of their parents,”

(Krebs and Pechova, 2009, p. 10). This has caused a rift between the two generations, mainly over concerns about the erosion or loss of Vietnamese identity (O'Connor, 2007).

The situation of Vietnamese integration into Czech society can thus be described as still fragile and incomplete. But a bigger problem than the older generation that still either finds it difficult or refuses to integrate into mainstream society now threatens the integration process. This problem stems from the character and conditions of the newly arrived labour immigrants from Vietnam. Along with Czech society, the Vietnamese community itself was unprepared for the consequences of the influx of cheap labour from Vietnam in 2007 (Krebs and Pechova, 2009) or, more importantly, of the economic crisis in 2008. If the older generation of Vietnamese immigrants came from a more privileged background and were trained and well-organized, the new labour immigrants are mostly uneducated or ill-trained people from poor provinces in Vietnam who seek to improve their economic situation, and arrive in the Czech Republic quite unprepared for the new environment and heavily in debt (Krebs and Pechova, 2009).

Even from the beginning of the new wave of immigration, the older Vietnamese community in the country realised that the newcomers posed a problem for Czech-Vietnamese relations. The high concentration of this new and cheap labour in certain industrial areas like Pilsen “gave rise to tensions between the local population and Vietnamese immigrants whose coexistence until then had been easy,” (Krebs and Pechova, 2009, p. 15). This was only the beginning of the problem. When the global economic crisis finally hit the Czech Republic at the end of 2008, the inevitable happened. Many of these newly-arrived Vietnamese workers lost their jobs and, effectively, authorization to stay in the country. Despite the voluntary return program implemented by the Czech government to address this development, many Vietnamese workers, saddled with debt, decided to stay and wait for better times (Bilefsky, 2009). However, better times have still not come, and more and more immigrants are losing their jobs. The Vietnamese community now fears the increase of criminality (Krebs and Pechova, 2009). An interview with a Vietnamese immigrant who has been in the Czech Republic for more than 20 years confirms this view. Katka,³³ who came to the Czech Republic under a government contract during the Communist era, is aware of the

³³ Interview with Katka, Vietnamese immigrant, in Olomouc on 2 December 2009.

increasing criminality associated with her countrymen. She notes, however, that while there is some truth to this, the problem of criminality cannot be attributed to the Vietnamese alone. She points out that Mongolians are guilty of criminal activity as well, but because of similar physical appearances between the Vietnamese and Mongolians, the Czechs lump both groups into one and lay the blame on the Vietnamese.

This increased perception of criminality is a big threat to integration. Having worked so hard to protect their position in Czech society, the older generation of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic – meaning the ones who arrived during the Communist times and the second generation stemming from this first wave – are now faced with the dilemma of helping this vulnerable new group of immigrants while rejecting the criminality, both real and imagined, that they are accused of (Krebs and Pechova, 2009). There have been initiatives to support those who have lost their jobs. In March 2009, Vietnamese leaders told Interior Ministry officials that they could support one another until the job situation improved, but this proposal was rejected (Richter, 2009). Nevertheless, even if this proposal had been approved, it is not a foregone conclusion that conditions would improve. Krebs and Pechova (2009) note the experience of Vietnamese students who tried to recoup the reputation of the Vietnamese in Pilsen where immigrant-native relations had broken down following the influx of foreign workers: they offered free courses on Czech language and etiquette to Vietnamese workers, but failed to achieve any results due to the lack of interest on the part of the workers.

It is clear then that integration into a host society is ultimately up to the immigrant. In the case of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic, one can identify divergent courses taken by the immigrants. There are those who actively take part in the process and attempt to help or inspire others as well, like the second generation of Vietnamese, mostly students who excel in school and actively try to promote a better image of their community while trying to build bridges between them and Czech society. But there are also those who refuse or are unable to integrate for a variety of reasons, like the older generation that is set in its ways and still are unable to speak the language, and those who arrive in the country heavily in debt and vulnerable to exploitation. “Due to the combination of various factors including debts in the country of origin, labour

legislation in the Czech Republic, cultural differences and lack of knowledge of the language and of the local conditions, [some Vietnamese] find themselves in the Czech Republic in a discriminatory and exploitative position [but] their will or attempts to solve this situation are not decisive,” (Krebs and Pechova, 2009, p. 24). Until there remains large numbers of indecisive and/or unwilling amongst the community members, Vietnamese integration into Czech society cannot become a complete success.

Chapter Four: Comparing and Contrasting Immigration in Spain and the Czech Republic

“Travelling through the world produces a marvellous clarity in the judgment of men. We are all of us confined and enclosed within ourselves, and see no farther than the end of our nose. This great world is a mirror where we must see ourselves in order to know ourselves. There are so many different tempers, so many different points of view, judgments, opinions, laws and customs to teach us to judge wisely on our own, and to teach our judgment to recognize its imperfection and natural weakness.”

-- Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592)³⁴

At first glance, other than the fact that both countries are now members of the European Union, the Czech Republic and Spain do not really seem to have anything in common. When it comes to immigration, the lack of commonality between the two countries seems even bigger. However, a closer look at the shifting patterns of immigration in both countries will show striking points of both divergence and convergence to make for an interesting discussion that may contribute not only to studies on immigrant integration in Spain and the Czech Republic per se, but immigrant integration and even immigration in general. Robert Park (1950), in introducing his now classic theory on the cycle of race relations, described it as a cycle of events that tends to repeat itself everywhere. This is the starting point of this comparison and contrast of two seemingly different countries and their immigration experiences.

4.1 - Different Stages in the Cycle of Race Relations

While Spain, when compared to other European countries like the United Kingdom or Germany, can still be described as a new immigration country, the Czech Republic on the other hand is an even newer country of immigration. One may argue that it may not actually be called such considering the relatively low number of immigrants in the country. However, with the ever expanding globalization process, and the European Union moving towards deeper integration, immigration may be inevitable for even small countries like the Czech Republic which have been traditional

³⁴ As quoted in Jackson (1980, p. 4).

countries of emigration.³⁵ This only means that Spain is ahead of the Czech Republic in Park's cycle of race relations, but, following this same theory, immigrant-native relations in both countries will follow a particular course.

The contact point for Spain can easily be set in the 1970s when the country experienced an economic boom. As the country continued to experience economic growth, immigration steadily grew along with native awareness of the new phenomenon. For the Czech Republic, the fall of communism marked the beginning of immigration and can thus be considered the point of contact. Although foreign workers started arriving in then Czechoslovakia in the 1970s as well, they were under strict supervision and control due to the nature of their work contracts, which were basically inter-socialist government agreements. Petr, a native of Prague, confirms that society was not really aware of these foreign workers during the Communist period.³⁶ He recalls that it was only after the fall of communism that the Czech society became aware of the Vietnamese in the country for example.

Today, it can be said that the Czech Republic is in the competition stage. Between the start of immigration to the country in the early 1990s to the sharp rise of permanent immigration in 2007,³⁷ immigrant-native relations have become more interactive, creating not only awareness but also perceptions about each other. The influx of foreign workers into the country increased the visibility of immigrants in mainstream society, and, as Semyonov et al. (2006) pointed out, contributed to higher perceptions of threat to both the economic self-interest of natives and to the cultural or symbolic identity of the society. The economic crisis that hit the country in 2008 definitely brought the competition to a deeper and more personal level. As the Eurobarometer Spring 2009 indicated, immigration became a more important concern and threat for Czech citizens after the crisis hit the country.

³⁵ Milada Horakova (2000: 4) notes that "emigration from the 'Czech lands' (Moravia, Silesia and Slovakia) was already high during the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Migration losses from the Czech lands during the period 1850-1899 amounted to some 1,130,000 inhabitants, or around 32 per cent of the natural population growth."

³⁶ Interview with a Czech local, in Prague on 24 December 2009.

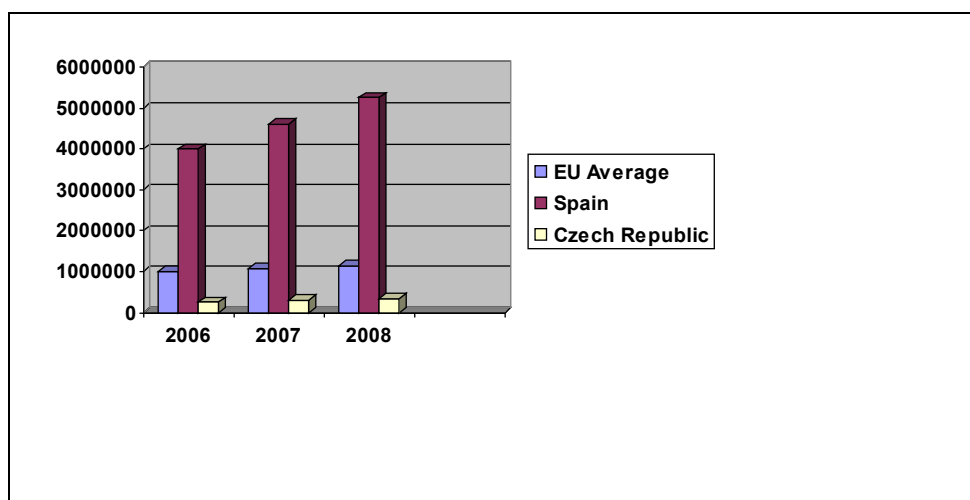
³⁷ According to the OECD (2009), permanent-type migration to the Czech Republic increased sharply in 2007, reaching over 99 000, compared to 63 000 in 2006.

Spain, on the other hand, may already be settling into the accommodation stage. Thomas Gale (2008) notes that accommodation can take a variety of forms, including institutionalized discrimination. “Accommodation organizes social relations and encourages social attitudes and norms that permit groups to coexist and conduct their daily activities,” (Gale, 2008). High profile conflicts such as the riots in El Ejido may have created an awareness of the costliness of such conflicts and recognition of the need to develop a more stable and steady relationship with immigrants. Ricard Zapata Barrero (2003) notes that El Ejido marked the introduction of immigration into Spain’s political and social agenda, as the violent events “forced Spanish society and polity to consciously face up to and formulate its *immigration problem*,” (p. 244). Moreover, illegality has been institutionalised in Spanish law through the temporary and contingent nature of its permit systems (Calavita, 2005). This institutionalised irregularity further points to the level of accommodation that Spain has reached in the cycle of race relations, as Spanish society continues its struggle to define itself vis-à-vis its immigrants who are now for all intents and purposes members of that same society.

4.2 - Distinct Development of Immigration Policies

As noted in the previous chapters, before Spain and the Czech Republic entered the European Union, their immigration policies were undefined and fairly *laissez-faire*. Upon entry into the EU, they had to tighten their immigration policies in order to achieve alignment with the policies of other EU Member States. However, this common tightening of controls did not hide their distinctly divergent attitudes towards immigration in general which are still reflected in their national policies. Figure 6 shows the difference between immigration levels of Spain and the Czech Republic compared with the EU average. Neither Spain nor the Czech Republic is close to the EU average. This can be an indication that their immigration policies reflect national interests instead of common EU interests. How these countries have managed to retain their national characters is interesting considering the relentless Europeanization process that has been taking place since the conception of the Union.

Figure 6: Foreigners in Spain and the Czech Republic 2006-2008³⁸



From 2007 to 2008, the number of foreign residents in the Czech Republic increased by slightly over 50,000, while Spain marked an increase of over 650,000 in the same period. These numbers alone show that Spain is considerably more open to immigration than the Czech Republic is. Spain has continued to experience significant increases in immigrant arrivals despite the tightening of immigration controls. On the other hand, the Czech Republic continues to have significantly lower levels of immigration, marking steady but low levels of growth. But numbers are not the only markers of difference in their immigration policies. They also differ in integration policies, as discussed in the previous chapters. Why this is the case – that these two countries follow significantly different patterns of immigration despite their membership in a single regional institution that insists on cohesive policies for all its members – can be explained by theories on domestic politics and globalisation.

The domestic approach to immigration sees economic and social interests within a country as primary factors that shape immigration policies. Spain's relative openness to immigration as well as seeming tolerance for illegal migration, which Joppke (1998) claims is essentially part of immigration policy, can be explained in several ways. For one, the countries ageing population and (formerly) booming economy created a need for foreign workers. Secondly, a big part of Spanish economy has traditionally been

³⁸ Author's own table based on statistics from Eurostat, available at <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tps00157>. The numbers include both EU and non-EU foreigners within the countries.

underground, and thus relies on off-the-book workers (Moreno Fuentes, 2005; DeParle, 2008). Third, its proximity to northern Africa and Eastern Europe plus its ties to Latin America indicate that they have a steady and ready supply of workers to actually meet this demand. The Czech Republic on the other hand remains comparatively closed to immigration, which is aligned to EU demands, but is behind the rest of the EU in terms of integration policies. Unlike in Spain where economic issues influence policy-making and overall attitudes towards immigration, in Czech Republic, more than economic concerns, social issues are at the heart of this attitude towards immigration. As Calda (2005) noted, the Czech Republic also has concerns over its demographic future, and this has led to the implementation of projects designed to attract more skilled labour into the country. However, vestiges of communist ideology that focused on national unity and homogeneity remain ingrained in society and affects attitudes towards immigration (Iglicka and Okolski, 2005). Moreover, old state structures left behind by communism are unable to effectively deal with current social and economic problems such that the integration of minorities (including immigrants) takes a back seat (Iglicka and Okolski, 2005).

The theory on globalisation also helps explain how these two countries have managed to retain distinctive identities in terms of immigration policy vis-à-vis the aggressive Europeanization process. Under this theory, immigration is an inevitable offshoot of globalisation, which governments are unlikely able to control, in the same way they have been unable to regulate globalisation. This phenomenon is easily recognisable in the case of Spain. But the same is also true for the Czech Republic. Because despite inherent hostile native attitudes towards foreigners in general, the Czech Republic is unable to stop immigration flows which comes as a consequence of liberalising its economy and opening it up to globalisation. Following the arguments of globalisation scholars, it can thus be said that the process of globalisation is more relentless than the process of Europeanization.

4.3 - Shared Pattern of Societal Prejudice against Immigrants

Park's cycle of race relations involving the natural progression toward competition and conflict between natives and immigrants and the eventual plateau into a level of accommodation that assumes an accompanying development of prejudice

against the newcomers is but one of the many theories that try to explain the existence of prejudice in society. As discussed in the previous chapters, group conflict theories on economic self-interest and on symbolic politics are particularly helpful in explaining the growth of anti-immigrant sentiment in general, and in Spain and the Czech Republic in particular. But while economic interests do play a role in constructing anti-immigrant sentiment and societal prejudice against them, prejudice brought about by symbolic attitudes or politics play a more influential role in native attitudes towards immigrants. The impact of values and identities on opinion formation is frequently more potent than that of material concerns (Sears in Sides and Citrin, 2007).

Prejudice is a difficult sentiment to measure. But the manifold manifestations of prejudice in society are easily recognisable. The law, for example, is one of the spheres in which prejudice rears its head. Calavita (2005) is of the opinion that the law has a way of institutionalising prejudice and thereby perpetuates it, creating the cycle of prejudice and the consequent exclusion of certain sectors from mainstream society. The law, according to Calavita, plays a significant symbolic and ideological part in constructing the immigrant as an Other, and thus has a “central role in the alchemy of economics, race, identity and exclusion,” (Calavita, 2005, p. 165).

But as we have seen, even the most well-intentioned laws may not be enough to combat prejudice. Immigrants in both Spain and the Czech Republic face problems in integrating not only because of restrictive laws but also, and just as importantly, because of a lack of effective implementation of these laws as well as consequent penalties for abuses. Farmers hiring labourers at incredibly low wages and under almost inhumane conditions in southern Spain, and unscrupulous agents charging factory workers exorbitant placement fees for jobs in the Czech Republic continue to get away with these abuses. What is surprising is that despite the widespread exploitative practices of employers (who may or may not be natives), the criminality that is attributed to the rise of immigration is targeted mainly at the immigrants. This in turn has a consequence on policies toward immigration. The precarious juridical status of migrants and their definition as a dangerous group are indeed risk management responses to the supposed criminal action and behaviour of migrants (Brandariz Garcia and Fernandez Bessa, 2008). However, the symbolic exclusionary rationale behind them and the specific practices that go with them actually play a part in creating the risk in the first place

(Brandariz Garcia and Fernandez Bessa, 2008). Hence is the circularity of prejudice and exclusion in society perpetuated by law.

4.4 - From Specific Cases towards a Broader Picture of Immigration

The case of El Ejido is an illustration of what integration is not, and how far the consequences of a lack of integration policies can go. While it cannot be said that the situation in El Ejido is endemic in Spain, state-level policies and country-wide conditions had allowed for the situation in El Ejido to develop. As for taking the case of Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic, it also cannot be said that the conditions surrounding their integration into society are completely true for other immigrant communities as well. However, all the factors discussed in the previous chapter affect the other immigrant communities in the country, albeit in different ways and to varying extents. Despite the disparate cases explored in this paper, the analysis shows that there is a commonality in the development of immigration, particularly in the cycle of immigrant-native relations. Spain and the Czech Republic may not be on the same stages of the cycle but both countries seem to be following the same cycle, with Spain embarking on it ahead of the Czech Republic. But there are inevitable differences in the way these countries approach immigration, due to their unique histories as well as the diversity of its immigrant populations. These similarities and differences in the immigration experiences of Spain and the Czech Republic point to both a certain universality as well as inimitability of the immigration experience. They indicate that while immigration is a universal experience, each country's unique reality (history, culture, economy, etc.) has a bearing on its response to immigration. While the integration process tends to follow a universal path, institutional and societal responses change the dynamics of the process within each country. This is why it is possible to identify a common set of factors that impact on immigrant integration but still ascertain unique problems or challenges within this set of factors when analysing the immigration experiences of two different countries.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

“Without integration, limitation is inexcusable; without limitation, integration is impossible.”

-- Roy Hattersley³⁹

“If you practice exclusion, you risk the future of your country.”

-- Jesus Caldera⁴⁰

Immigration is an age-old and world-wide phenomenon that, in this age of globalisation, has become even more pervasive. The debate on whether it brings net positive or negative gains to the receiving society is far from done, and may, in fact, never be finished. Because although it is possible to trace certain patterns in immigration processes across nations, inherent differences exist not only between countries but within countries themselves because of the diverse mix of immigrant populations a single country receives in today's globalised world. Moreover, constant upheavals in society -- be they economic, political or cultural -- impact on the immigration process and change the way it affects a particular society at a given time. It is thus important to focus on the present and find ways to harness current immigration realities in order to gain the most advantages for all members of society. One way to achieve this is to promote the integration of immigrants into society.

The case of El Ejido illustrates an extreme picture of a lack of integration. It shows the far-reaching consequences of non-integration: from social and economic exclusion, to segregation, criminalisation, violence and xenophobia. The case of the Vietnamese in the Czech Republic is not as specific as the first case but it also demonstrates existing and potential problems of non-integration in society. Both these cases indicate the precarious situation of immigrants in society and point to the importance of promoting social integration. They also show that there is a commonality in the development of immigration, particularly in the cycle of immigrant-native relations. There are inevitable differences in the way countries approach immigration, due to their unique histories as well as the diversity of its immigrant populations. These similarities and differences in the immigration experiences of Spain and the Czech Republic point to both a certain universality as well as inimitability of the

³⁹ A British Labour Party MP, as quoted in Bleich (2008: 533).

⁴⁰ Former Spanish Minister of Labour, as quoted in DeParle (2008).

immigration experience. This is why it is possible to identify a common set of factors that impact on immigrant integration while ascertaining unique problems or challenges within this set of factors. These factors are the legal conditions in the country, the social milieu, and will or initiative of immigrants.

This paper noted the pivotal role that law plays in this process: both as a perpetrator and perpetuator of the problem. As noted in previous chapters, the law plays a significant symbolic and ideological part in constructing the immigrant as an Other, and thus has a “central role in the alchemy of economics, race, identity and exclusion,” (Calavita, 2005, p. 165). Thomas More’s critique of medieval society may just as well apply to today’s society. When exclusion and discrimination is institutionalised by law, how can any society suffer any of its members to be punished by that same law? Fair, effective and sustainable laws are thus needed, and proper implementation and just execution must follow. There is no excuse for the abuse of law and abuse of human rights. It is important to practice, not just the letter, but the spirit of the law. There must be a radical shift in value systems, to be able to start doing what is right, what is decent. The law of profit that is inherently followed in modern-day societies must be replaced by the law of common decency.

Social realities are also influential factors affecting the process of social integration. As shown in the analysis of the case of El Ejido and case of the Vietnamese in the Czech Republic, general values and identifications acquired early in life have a strong impact on the formation of public attitudes towards immigrants. In particular, particular fears about the preservation of national identity are heightened by an ‘invasion’ of newcomers who look, speak and act differently. But while these intrinsic and deeply personal attitudes primarily shape native attitudes towards immigrants, other realities play a role if not in shaping, then in changing these attitudes. This paper particularly noted economic realities that impact on anti-immigrant sentiment. This factor is particularly significant at this moment because of the global economic crisis that hit both countries and resulted in job losses that affected both immigrants and natives, and led to heightened perceptions of threat to native self-interests.

A third and equally important factor is the will of immigrant themselves. As stressed in the beginning, it must not be forgotten that integration, to be successful, must

be a two-way process. A big part of the literature on immigrant integration today focuses on the responsibility of receiving societies to take measures to ease the process of integration of immigrants. No matter how good the policies and programs of a state, no matter how open and welcoming the natives of a society are, it still is up to the immigrants to decide that they want to be integrated into their host society and take the necessary steps to achieve this goal. The cases of Moroccans in El Ejido and of the Vietnamese in Czech Republic show that immigrant initiatives are not always concerted, nor always particularly welcomed by society. It is necessary to address the issue of concerted action because a united front is important especially in trying to build rapport between two communities. Perceptions (and misperceptions) play a big role in the process of integration. The misdeed of a single member of one community is usually enough to ruin the reputation of the entire community. As for native reaction to immigrant action, this may always go either way. The problem in this case of a negative response indicates a lack of awareness and understanding of the other side. Indeed, this understanding and acceptance of the Other does not come easy. Immigrants themselves must strive for continuous positive intercultural dialogue in order that new attitudes of openness and inclusion replace that of prejudice and exclusion.

What should come next, after understanding how different factors have propagated and intensified the situation, is to find solutions for an end to this circular problem of integration. Cycles of abuse, exploitation, prejudice and exclusion exist within this problem. They are all intertwined, affecting and feeding off each other. This is why it is essential that actions taken by the entire society take place in conjunction with one another. Such coordinated action requires a radical shift in value systems, not only at state and institutional levels, but particularly and more importantly at individual level. A lack of action on any actor's part would have direct and significant impact on the process: it would mean the further propagation of one of the vicious cycles entrenched in the immigration process, which would in turn fuel the other cycles to continue on in its path of iniquity. However, the author believes that the most valuable and effective intervention must come from ordinary people. First of all, in any given situation or problem, people must help themselves. But more importantly, the shift of values and attitudes at individual level is most significant because this is eventually reflected at state and institutional level, while the reverse – value shift starting at state level – does not necessarily translate into changes at individual level.

The shift of individual values will mark a shift in societal attitudes, which will, in turn, be reflected in institutional changes towards immigration. A new cycle must begin.

References:

- Aiano, Zoe (2009). "Racism and Reform." *The New Presence*, Spring 2009, pp. 22-24.
- Albert, Gwendolyn and Pavla Redlova (2009). *Racism in the Czech Republic*. Brussels: European Network Against Racism.
- Ambjörnsson, Ronny (1997). "East and West. On the Construction of a European Identity," in *Cultural Crossroads in Europe*. Tuuli Forsgren (ed.). Stockholm: Swedish Council for Planning and Coordination of Research.
- Aparicio, Rosa and Andres Tornos (2003). "Towards an Analysis of Spanish Integration Policy," in *The Integration of Immigrants in European Societies*. Heckman, Friedrich and Dominique Schnapper (Eds.). Stuttgart: Lucius and Lucius.
- Arango, Joaquin (2000). "Becoming a Country of Immigration at the End of the Twentieth Century," in *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*. King, Russell, Gabriella Lazaridis, and Charalambos Tsardanidis (Eds.). Houndmills: Macmillan.
- Ashton, Kimberly (2007). "Vietnamese seek Czech 'Eden'." *The Prague Post*, 17 October 2007. Available from: <http://www.thepraguepost.com/articles/2007/10/17/vietnamese-seek-czech-eden.php>.
- Bauman, Zygmunt (2004). *Wasted Lives: Modernity and its Outcasts*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bilefsky, Dan (2009). "Crisis strands Vietnamese workers in a Czech limbo." *The New York Times*, 5 June 2009. Available from: <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/05/world/europe/05iht-viet.html>.
- Biles, Peter (2004). "Spain's Immigrants Demand More Rights." *BBC News* (25 February 2000). Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/656612.stm>.
- Bleich, Erik (2008). "Immigration and Integration Studies in Western Europe and the United States." *World Politics*, Vol. 60, April 2008, pp. 509-538.
- Bosswick, Wolfgang and Friedrich Heckmann (2006). *Integration of Migrants: Contribution of Local and Regional Authorities*. Ireland: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. Available from: www.eurofound.eu.int.
- Boyer, Spencer (2009). *Learning from Each Other. The Integration of Immigrant and Minority Groups in the United States and Europe*. Washington DC: Center of American Progress, April 2009. Available from: www.americanprogress.org.

- Brandariz Garcia, Jose and Cristina Fernandez Bessa (2008). "The Construction of Migrants as a Risk Category: Philosophy, Functions and Repercussions for the Spanish Penal System," in *Criminalisation and Victimization of Migrants in Europe*. Salvatore Palidda (director). Genoa: Dipartimento di Scienze Antropologiche, Universita degli Studi di Genova.
- Calavita, Kitty (1998). "Immigration, Law, and Marginalization in a Global Economy: Notes from Spain." *Law & Society Review*, Vol. 32, No. 3, pp. 529-566.
- Calavita, Kitty (2005). *Immigrants at the Margins: Law, Race, and Exclusion in Southern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Calda, Milos (2005). "Demographic Slump vs. Immigration Policy: The Case of the Czech Republic." Prague: Institute of International Studies, Charles University, Working paper 127, November 2005. Available from: <http://www.ccis-ucsd.org/publications/wrkg127.pdf>.
- Caldwell, Christopher (2009). *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe: Immigration, Islam and the West*. New York: Random House.
- Caritas Europa (2007). "Integration: A Process Involving All." Brussels: Caritas Europa. Available from: <http://www.caritas-europa.org/module/FileLib/IntegrationAProcessInvolvingFinal.pdf>.
- Caro, Manuel (2002). "Tying Racism in El Ejido to Spanish and European Politics." *Rutgers Law Review* (Summer 2002). Available from: [http://biblioteca.rrp.upr.edu/LatCritCD/Publications/PublishedSymposium/LCVIRutgers&%20FLR\(2002-03\)/30LCVIRutgersMJCaro.pdf](http://biblioteca.rrp.upr.edu/LatCritCD/Publications/PublishedSymposium/LCVIRutgers&%20FLR(2002-03)/30LCVIRutgersMJCaro.pdf)
- Castles, Stephen (1998). "Globalization and Migration: Some Pressing Contradictions," *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 50 No. 2, June 1998, pp. 179-186.
- Chong, Dennis (2000). *Rational Lives: Norms and Values in Politics and Society*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Citrin, Jack, Beth Reingold, Evelyn Walters, and Donald Green (1997). "Public Opinion toward Immigration Reform: The Role of Economic Motivations." *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 59, pp. 858-881.
- Citrin, Jack and John Sides (2006). "European Immigration in the People's Court," in *Immigration and the Transformation of Europe*. Craig Parsons and Timothy Smeedings (eds.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Černík, Jan (2007). "Czech Republic," in *European Immigration: A Source Book*. Anna Triandafyllidou and Ruby Gropas (eds.). UK: Ashgate Publishing.
- DeParle, Jason (2008). "Spain, like U.S., Grapples with Immigration." *The New York Times*, 10 June 2008. Available from: http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/10/world/europe/10migrate.html?_r=1&adxnnl=1&adxnnlx=1262188876-2bwj3xHERThEHXIqet0hWw.

- Drbohlav, Dušan (2003). Immigration and the Czech Republic (with a Special Focus on the Foreign Labor Force). *International Migration Review*, Vol. 37, No. 1, pp. 194-224.
- Drbohlav, Dušan (2004). *Migration Trends in Selected Applicant Countries Volume II - The Czech Republic: The Times They Are A-Changin*. Vienna: International Organization for Migration.
- Drbohlav, Dušan (2005). "The Czech Republic: From Liberal Policy to EU Membership." *Country Profile*, Migration Policy Institute. Available from: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=325>.
- Duran Ruiz, Francisco (2003). "The relationship between legal status, rights and the social integration of the immigrants." San Diego: University of California, Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, Working Paper No. 84.
- Economic and Social Committee of the European Communities (2002). *Immigration, Asylum and Social Integration*. Luxembourg: Office for the Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Eurobarometer 69 (2008). "National Report on the Czech Republic (Executive Summary)." Brussels: European Commission. Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb69/eb69_cz_exe.pdf.
- Eurobarometer 71 (2009). "National Report on the Czech Republic (Executive Summary)." Brussels: European Commission. Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb71/eb71_cz_en_exec.pdf.
- Eurobarometer 72 (2009). "The Key Indicators: Results for the Czech Republic." Brussels: European Commission. Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb72/eb72_fact_cz_en.pdf.
- Eurobarometer 296 (2008). "Discrimination in the European Union: Perceptions, Experiences and Attitudes." Brussels: European Commission. Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_296_en.pdf.
- Commission of the European Communities (2003). "On Immigration, Integration and Employment", Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, COM 336, Final, 3 June 2003, Brussels: European Commission.
- Fekete, Liz (2000). "The Pogrom at El Ejido – Why – and Who is to Blame?" *Independent Race and Refugee News Network*, 1 August 2000. Available from: http://www.irr.org.uk/europebulletin/spain/asylum_seekers_refugees/2000/ak000003.html.
- Gale, Thomas (2008). "Race Relations Cycle." *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Available from <http://www.encyclopedia.com>.

- Gonzalez Enriquez, Carmen (2007). "Spain," in *European Immigration: A Source Book*. Anna Triandafyllidou and Ruby Gropas (eds.). UK: Ashgate Publishing.
- Hammar, Tomas (ed.) (2005). *European Immigration Policy: A Comparative Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Horakova, Milada (2000). "Legal and illegal labour migration in the Czech Republic: Background and current trends." *International Migration Papers No. 32*. Geneva: International Labour Office.
- Horniakova, Veronika (2006). "Foreigners working in the Czech Republic," from the Official Webpages of the Czech Republic. Czech Republic: Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Available from: <http://www.czech.cz/en/current-affairs/work-and-study/foreigners-working-in-the-czech-republic>.
- House of Lords Committee on Economic Affairs (2008). "The Economic Impact of Immigration," *First Report of Session 2007-08*. London: The Stationery Office Limited.
- Iglicka, Krystyna and Marek Okolski (2005). "Conceptual and Political Approaches to Integration: A Central European Perspective." in *Managing Integration: The European Union's Responsibility Towards Immigrants*. Rita Sussmuth and Werner Weidenfeld (eds.). Germany: Migration Policy Institute.
- Jackson, John (1980). *The Necessity for Ruins and Other Topics*. Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Joppke, Christian (1998). "Why Liberal States Accept Unwanted Immigration." *World Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 2, pp. 266-293.
- Katka, Vietnamese immigrant. Interview by author, 2 December 2009, Olomouc, Czech Republic.
- Kinder, Donald and David Sears (1981). "Prejudice and Politics: Symbolic Racism versus Racial Threats to the Good Life." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 40, pp. 414-31.
- Kraler, Albert (2009). "Regularisation: A Misguided Option or Part and Parcel of a Comprehensive Policy Response to Irregular Migration?" IMISCOE Working Paper No. 4, February 2009. Available from: <http://www.imiscoe.org/publications/workingpapers/documents/WP24-regularisation.pdf>.
- Krebs, Michal and Eva Pechova (2009). "Vietnamese Workers in Czech Factories – Research Report (Excerpt)." Czech Republic: La Strada.
- Kontra, Miklos, Robert Phillipson, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Tibor Varady (eds.) (1999). *Language, A Right and A Resource: Approaching Linguistic Human Rights*. Budapest: Central European University Press.

- Kreienbrink, Axel (2008). "Spain." *Focus Migration, Country Profile* Vol. 6, August 2008. Available from www.focus-migration.de.
- Lahav, Gallya (2004). *Immigration and Politics in the New Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lluch, Victor Angel (2000). "Spanish Apartheid, Plastic-wrapped." *Le Monde diplomatique* (March 2000), <http://mondediplo.com/2000/03/11spain> (accessed 25 March 2009).
- Lumpe, Christian (2007). "The Labour Market Impact of Immigration: Theory and Evidence." Germany: Centre for European Economic Research, August 2007. Available from www.wiwi.uni-konstanz.de/forschergruppewiwi/.
- Meyers, Eytan (2000). "Theories of International Immigration Policy – A Comparative Analysis," *International Migration Review*, Vol. 34 No. 4, pp. 1245-1282.
- Morely, H. (ed.) (1980). *Ideal Commonwealths*. London: Routledge and Sons, 1890.
- Moren Alegret, Ricard (2002). *Integration and Resistance: The Relation of Social Organisations, Global Capital, Governments and International Immigration in Spain and Portugal*. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishers, 2002.
- Moreno Fuentes, Francisco (2000). "Immigration Policies in Spain: Between External Constraints and Domestic Demand for Unskilled Labour." EPCR Joint Sessions of Workshops, Copenhagen, 14-19 April 2000. Available from: http://www.mmo.gr/pdf/library/Spain/ECPR_fuentes.pdf.
- Moreno Fuentes, Franciso (2005). "The Regularisation of Undocumented Migrants as a Mechanism for the 'Emerging' of the Spanish Underground Economy." Madrid: Unidad de Politicas Comparadas, Working Paper 05-06, June 2005.
- O'Connor, Coilin (2007). "Is the Czech Republic's Vietnamese community finally starting to feel at home?" *Radio Praha*, 29 May 2007. Available from: <http://www.radio.cz/en/article/91826>.
- Park, Robert (1950). *Race and Culture*. Illinois: The Free Press.
- Park, Robert and Ernest Burgess (1969). *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Petr, Czech local. Interview by author, 24 December 2009, Prague, Czech Republic.
- Pinyol, Gemma (2008). "Spain's Immigration Policy as a New Instrument of External Action," in *Spain in Europe 2004-2008*. Esther Barbe (ed.). Barcelona: Institut Universitari d'Estudis Europeus.
- Potot, Swanie (2009). "Strategies of Visibility and Invisibility: Rumanians and Moroccans in El Ejido, Spain." In *Struggles for Home: Violence, Hope and the*

Movement of People, edited by Steff Jansen and Staffan Löfving, pp. 109-128. New York: Berghahn Books.

Rhalib, Jawad (director) (2007). *La Loi du Profit*.

Richter, Jan (2009). "Authorities reject Vietnamese plea to be allowed to remain without jobs and support one another." *Radio Praha*, 5 March 2009. Available from: <http://www.radio.cz/en/article/113888>.

Ruiz Vieytez, Eduardo (2007). "Diversity, Immigration and Minorities Within a Human Rights Framework," in *Human Rights and Diversity: New Challenges for Plural Societies*. Eduardo Ruiz Vieytez and Robert Dunbar (eds.). Bilbao: University of Deusto.

Sassen, Saskia (1996). "Beyond Sovereignty: Immigration Policy Making Today," *Social Justice*, Vol. 23 No. 3, pp. 9-20.

Sears, David (1993). "Symbolic Politics: A Socio-Psychological Theory." In *Explorations in Political Psychology*, edited by S. Iyengar & W. J. McGuire, pp. 113-149. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

Semyonov, Moshe, Rebeca Raijman and Anastasia Gorodzeisky (2006). "The Rise of Anti-Foreigner Sentiment in European Societies, 1988-2000." *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 71, No. 3 (June 2006): p. 426-449.

Sides, John and Jack Citrin (2007). "European Opinion About Immigration: The Role of Identities, Interests and Information." *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 37, Part 3, pp. 477-504.

Sinpeng, Aim (2005). "Migration Policy: A Stuttering Start." *Transitions Online*, Issue 11/22/2005. Available from: www.cceol.com.

Stinglova, Helena (2008). "Vietnamese petition against police raid." *Prague Daily Monitor*, 1 December 2008. Available from: <http://praguemonitor.com/2008/12/01/vietnamese-petition-against-police-raid>.

Süssmuth, Rita and Werner Weidenfeld (eds.) (2005). *Managing Integration: The European Union's Responsibility Towards Immigrants*. Germany: Migration Policy Institute.

Tetzlaff, Rainer (2002). "Affirmative Integration of Immigrants – Developing a New Approach Towards Multiculturalism." Hamburg, Germany, May 2002. Available from: <http://www.civiced.org/pdfs/TetzlaffRainer.pdf>.

Torns, Teresa (2000). "First Strike by Immigrants Follows Racist Riots in El Ejido." *European Industrial Relations Observatory On-line*, 28 April 2000. Available from: <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/2000/04/feature/es0004184f.htm>.

Tran, Vietnamese immigrant. Interview by author, 1 December 2009, Olomouc, Czech Republic.

- Veverkova, Soňa (2009). "Foreign workers most vulnerable during economic crisis." *European Industrial Relations Observatory On-line*, 2 April 2009. Available from: <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/2008/12/articles/cz0812029i.htm>.
- Vitorino, Antonio (2005). "Foreword: The European Union's Role in Immigration and Integration Policy," in *Managing Integration: The European Union's Responsibility Towards Immigrants*. Rita Sussmuth and Werner Weidenfeld (eds.). Germany: Migration Policy Institute.
- White, Gregory (2001). "Risking the Strait: Moroccan Labor Migration to Spain." *Middle East Report* Vol. 218, Spring 2001, pp. 26-29+48.
- Wong, Curtis (2008). "Police crack down on vendors." *The Prague Post*, 3 December 2008. Available from: <http://www.thepraguepost.com/articles/2008/12/03/police-crack-down-on-vendors.php>.
- Zapata Barrero, Ricard (2003). "Spanish Challenges and European Dilemma: Socialising the Debate on the Integration of Immigrants." *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 4:2, Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, pp. 243-264.
- Zapata-Barrero, Ricard and Nynka de Witte (2006). "Project Report: A European Approach to Multicultural Citizenship. Legal Political and Educational Challenges." Department of Social and Political Science, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, December 2006. Available from: http://www.upf.edu/gritim/_pdf/griip-emilie_wp1.pdf.