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# Segregation Never, Integration Now?

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Social Construction  
and Integration  
Policy

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## ***Abstract***

Low-skilled and historically marginalized migrants are often seen as a drain on society and resources, leading policy makers to enact strict border measures and integration policies that are often harmful. Given the current climate of anti-immigrant sentiment and the rise of the far right in both the United States and Europe, this study aimed to determine the strengths and weaknesses of integration on Latinos in the United States and Roma in the United Kingdom. In order to ascertain the outcomes of immigration policies in these two nations, the research conducted a series of one-one interviews with Latinos in the United States and Roma in the United Kingdom. The theory of social construction in conjunction with Deliberative Democracy was used as a basis for this study. The interviews were analyzed using Inductive Thematic Analysis in order to map out common themes across migrant experiences and develop policy recommendations based on the participant's feedback. The analysis concluded that the education of migrants and their children was the main contributing factor in their decision to migrate. Migrants with positive educational outcomes were better suited for integration, compared to migrants who struggled to obtain or complete an education, as was seen among Latino participants.

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Dr. Amy Below, Chair

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# *Introduction*

Low-skilled and historically marginalized migrants are often seen as a drain on society and resources, leading policy makers to enact strict border measures and integration policies that are often harmful to low-skilled migrants and their families. At times, migrants make long and costly journeys to settle into communities that are unwelcoming to their presence where they face discrimination that can lead to poverty, poor health and education, and lack of social and political capital. This is reflected in both the Latino population in the United States and the Roma population in the United Kingdom where political representation rates are low and negative stereotypes of migrants prevail. Despite these policies and outcomes migrants are not deterred from settling into these host nations.

This study set out to the strengths and weaknesses of integration policy with regards to Latinos residing in Oregon and California the United States and Roma Manchester and Leeds, United Kingdom. The research included eleven interviews to better understand the shared migrant experience and ideally inform the policy making process. Using the theory of social construction to address the lack of social capital found among migrant groups, the researcher then looked at deliberative democracy as working theory to help shift the policy debate away from stereotypes and foster inclusivity to members of society by giving migrants direct access to government, regardless of their ability to vote.

The interviews revealed that migrants who received an education equal to native residents were more likely to be politically engaged and the community level and expressed a healthy view of their ethnic background. Furthermore, respondents felt they were better suited for integration. Due to the results of the study, policy makers should focus on policies that deal with migrant

education, language inclusivity, and direct communication between local governments and migrant populations. Policies that reflect these recommendations will foster positive outcomes of integration and increase the social capital of migrants.

In order to facilitate a productive understanding of how social construction and deliberative democracy can hinder or enhance access to the policy making process, the study begins by defining the terms integration, migrant, neoliberalism and modernity. The push and pull factors of migration and their effects on migrants will also be discussed followed by an overview of the theories of social construction and deliberative democracy as a method to de-colonize social construction. Case studies of Latinos and Roma will be presented, including a discussion on their history, past policies enacted on their behalf, and current issues in the social construction of migrants. Lastly, Inductive Thematic Analysis, the methodology used in this study, and the findings will be discussed along with the policy recommendations found in the interviews with the participants.

# *Literature Review*

## *Terminology*

A major difficulty with evaluating integration policies is the lack of a universal definition of integration. Historically, integration has been associated with assimilation, a process in which the immigrants abandon their culture and background and take on the culture of their host nation (Zenou, 2009, p. 140). Scholars such as Galli and Russo (2013) and Alba and Nee (2003) view integration as one step in the process of assimilation, where assimilation occurs over generations of immigrant families. Assimilation differs from integration in that integration seeks to incorporate the migrant, with their customs, beliefs, and traditions into the fabric of the existing society. Assimilation, on the other hand requires that migrants adopt the customs, beliefs and traditions of the host society (Sammut, 2011).

This study reflects themes emerging in research and literature that identifies integration as a two-way process. The process is one in which the actions of immigrants and their willingness to conform to the host society, along with the actions or policies of the host community toward immigrants bridge mutual understandings and commonalities in order to meet the goal of developing a thriving, shared society. In other words, integration is the recognition of differences between immigrants and natives, in one nation, and their willingness and ability to also see similarities. The Migration Observatory at Oxford (2011) highlights the importance of “host societies” in integration policies by their response to the migrants in their neighborhood. When “host societies” allow immigrants to participate in labor markets, educational institutions, and civic processes, in addition to observing migrant cultural practices there is greater integration among migrants and their hosts. This “process wherein immigrant newcomers and the

communities in which they settle – both the individuals and institutions – mutually adapt to one another” (Jimenez, 2011, p. 4) will be the working definition of integration for this study.

Marginalized immigrant populations that are the focus of this study will further be referred to as migrants. “The migrant not only connotes one who moves within or across national boundaries; it also refers to a subordinate position with respect to that of the citizen” (Schmidt-Camacho, 2008, p.5). Both Latino and Roma migrants have dealt with altered borders and boundaries.

While migrants have crossed borders into new nations, the borders of their homelands have also shifted. Latinos in the U.S., for example, had the border altered in the acquisition of territory from Mexico to the United States. Mexican citizens residing in California, Arizona, and New Mexico were no longer citizens of Mexico nor were they U.S. citizens after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (Acuna, 2007). Under the Treaty of Paris, the island of Puerto Rico was ceded to the U.S. at the end of the Spanish-America War. The people of Puerto Rico became United States Citizens under the Jones Act of 1917 (Roman, 1997), but their citizenship did not afford the people of Puerto Rico “full incorporation” into the U.S., as they remain a Commonwealth of the U.S. (Malavet, 2000, p. 3). They and their descendants live in a borderland existence as they are neither fully American, but somewhere in between. The Latino ethnicity envelopes a broad spectrum of people, including Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Hondurans, Brazilians, and people from all Spanish speaking nations. Latinos cannot claim one nation-state, but they do share a cultural and historical experience.

The Roma, having never claimed a fixed nation-state, have had the borders of the modern European Union (EU) expand eastward, putting pressure on new EU states to remedy their “Roma Problem”. Roma have lived in Europe for centuries and may be considered European Roma, but like the Latinos they share a cultural and historical background among differing

groups with differing dialects. Each of these migrant populations, while they may have U.S. or EU citizenship, are not afforded the same protections as other citizens of their states against discrimination and segregation, for example. As a result, they lack political representation and participation making them second-class citizens.

Neoliberalism is an important component of this study as it relates to the push and pull factors of migration. Stuart Hall describes neoliberalism as political and economic ideology that promotes “the free, possessive individual” while keeping the state from wielding too much power over the free choices of people and the market economy (Hall, 2011). Neoliberal policies are aimed at increasing the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the nations who enact these policies. This is achieved through the privatization of land and industry (Kingsolver, 2007) and through the promise of modernity and prosperity (Hairong, 2008). Modernity and prosperity relate to the American Dream where individuals achieve social status through the consumption of goods (Kingsolver, 2007; Hairong, 2008). The notion of modernity pulls people into the migrant stream. The drawbacks of neoliberal policies, increases income disparities and unemployment rates from the outsourcing of jobs (Hall, 2011), push people into migrant labor as they do not have options for employment in the nations. Furthermore, neoliberal policies can result in anti-immigrant sentiment as “globalization and post-industrial changes exert pressure on national cohesion and produce an emphasis on the politics of identity and citizenship. Consequently, such pressures may lead to restrictions on immigration” (Meyers, 1268, pp. 1268).

At the same that globalization and neoliberal policies produce anti-immigrant sentiments and border restrictions, globalization is working to deterritorialize national borders. Markets, goods, services and job skills are also becoming globalized, in the Western sense (Suarez-Orozco,

2001). The idea that a Western education is needed to succeed in the global market may also pull people into the migrant stream.

Recent studies on immigrant groups have emphasized the rural and urban patterns of migration in single nations (Hairong, 2008; Mills, 2001), and anti-immigrant sentiment that accompanies downturns in the economy with respect to one nation or state and one immigrant flow (Glitz, 2012; Kunovich, 2013), as neoliberalism suggest. Longitudinal studies on English proficiency across non-English speaking immigrant groups, such as Asians and Latinos have been used to demonstrate the importance of language skills in increasing both socioeconomic status and social acceptance with manual labor immigrants faring worse than high-skilled immigrants in subsequent generations (Portes and Rivas, 2011; Bleakley and Chin, 2010). Latino immigrants are usually low-skilled, manual laborers that lag in English proficiency, socioeconomic status and lack social acceptance from the native population. Each of these studies contributes to the growing body of research on immigration, integration and the long-term effects of policies that view immigrants negatively, but each of the studies has a narrow focus; they consist of one or two immigrant groups, migrating to a single nation. This study will contribute to the field of integration and immigration policy by broadening the focus and providing a comparative analysis of two Western nations.

### ***Migration: Causes and Effects***

Migration is not a unique phenomenon to the U.S. or UK. Migration takes place throughout the world and the effects are well documented in the policy analysis arena, anthropology ethnographies, economics, and public health. Current waves of migration, from the 1990's to the present, are the result of neoliberal economic policies. Neoliberal economics promote free trade ,

among other policies and the privatization of state controlled enterprises, such as oil refineries and land that was formerly used for communal agriculture (Kingsolver, 2007). Neoliberal policies encourage the individualist pursuit of modernization, through the promise of a prosperous life (Hairong, 2008). Neoliberalism has been successful in increasing GDP, but the rise in income inequality has had negative effects on migrants who have not felt the benefits associated with the neoliberal policies. These migrants, however wish to be modern and have the prosperity associated with a growing middle class, thus these migrants leave their communities in the U.S., China, the European Union, Mexico and elsewhere to embody the effects of economic hardship, food insecurity, and the pressure to consume (Hairong, 2008).

When an individual or group identity hears a message repeatedly, they begin to embody that idea, or in the case of migrants, a stigma or negative social status. Whether it is the sorrow of displacement and lack of belonging in their new society (Mills, 2001), the shame associated with being an exploited migrant worker in hard manual labor (Hairong 2008), or the physical anguish that manifests itself on migrant bodies (Sutton, 2007), these factors are carried into all aspects of the migrants lives, education and socioeconomic status, for example. All of these factors contribute to the increased marginalization of migrants and their apprehension to participate in politics. Their apprehension arises from their embodiment of exploitation and negative construction. As the dominant society appears to only value the economic and labor output of migrants and does not allow for them to be politically represented, in addition to lacking a voice or a vote, migrants feel as if they cannot contribute to the body politic, a foundation necessary for a democratic society.

Mills (2001) studied these issues as they relate to rural Thai women who migrated to the cities in order to work in the factories. Their contribution to the workforce was noteworthy as young

women could care for their parents, a role societally designated for rural Thai women, yet their long and grueling working conditions left them marked as factory workers because “the exploitative conditions of urban employment provided steady reminders of migrants’ continuing status as peripheral and culturally marginal figures amidst the city’s cosmopolitan landscape” (Mills, 2001, p. 43). The rural Thai workers were segregated from the native city dwellers and could not attain the level of modernity they hoped for when they joined the migration to city factories. At the same time, these rural young women were set apart from their rural communities to which they returned because they were seen as modern and admired for their work in the cities. The young migrants in Thailand did not have a sense of belonging to either the city or their rural homes. They became outsiders to each community, without an outlet to share their stories, thus increasing their marginalization (Mills, 2001).

The same sentiments and lack of belonging that the Thai workforce faced were echoed in China where young, rural women arrived in Beijing to work as nannies and housekeepers. Yan Hairong’s (2008) ethnography *New Masters, New Servants* records the stories of young migrant women in China where neoliberal economic policies of modernity and prosperity were merging with communist Chinese ideals about service to their community and country. Young women left the countryside to build the Chinese economy through service to middle class, urban families. By taking on these jobs, young, rural women had the ability to gain “suzhi”, or modernity, if their duties were fulfilled in socially acceptable ways. Social acceptance of their duties included being good consumers, not interacting with other migrants on the streets, and above all swallowing their pride. Migrant women were advised not to question their employers or speak of their troubles of life in the city, as they were constantly reminded that there was always someone else willing to take on the work if they complained about the demands and conditions under which

the work was done. Paralleling the stories of rural Thai women, when the Chinese young women returned home on holidays they were expected to bring gifts that conveyed their modernity as a consumer, such as electronics, clothing and accessories, however, they were not allowed to speak of their hardships of earning the money for the goods. Their experiences were erased, making them invisible.

The ethnographies above and other stories of migration draw upon similar narratives of opportunity, exclusion, and internalized hardship associated with the pull factors of migration. The migrants left to become modern and realize the neoliberal goals of individualization and increased wealth, but their marginalization remained and even grew as migrants left their homes. However, many migrants were marginalized in their home nations for their social status, ethnicity, and gender before they left in search of a better life. The pull factors of migration are linked to neoliberal policies adopted in “developing” countries, such as Argentina. Barbara Sutton (2007) detailed how the stigma of being poor and low class increased as the number of people living in poverty grew after the adoption of neoliberal policies, such as free trade and the influx of Multi-National Corporations into the country. Following the enactment of neoliberal policies, privatization of industry and land resulted in a high unemployment and reduced funds for social services. Women were making ends meet by looking for scrap metal and cardboard amongst the trash as their husbands were out of work and money was needed to feed the family. They were living in a society that valued consumerism, but did not have the means to consume. Under neoliberalism, their inability to consume was not considered a symptom of society, but a defect of the individual, with poverty being a choice they made. The women who had to pick through the garbage were dirty and poor, due to their own choices and not to the circumstances attributed to neoliberalism in their country. These women were unable to convey the image of a

modern woman because they could not participate in the consumption of goods that allowed them dress and wear makeup in the way modern women were expected to. Lacking the means to become consumerists, or modern, these women were dismissed from mainstream Argentine society where they became marginalized.

Some migrants leave their homes because they are living in poverty and are faced with high unemployment rates, and limited opportunities to pursue an education. Before they embark on their journeys they are already scared with the stigma of marginalization. They embody the messages and rhetoric of being marginalized and ignored. These factors are successful in pushing people into the migrant stream (Kingsolver, 2007). Migrants can also be pulled into migrant labor because the labor holds the promise of becoming modern. Being modern does not equate to having political representation, nor does it break the marginalization that migrants carry with them into their new homes. This is especially true when migrants are made to feel unwelcome, in addition to being subject to political rhetoric about the negative effects their residency has on native populations. Migrants may begin to internalize their marginalization, breaking the confidence and belief that their political participation has bearing on policy outcomes. In other words, the cycles of migration, marginalization, and the integration of migrants are intertwined in a continuous cycle. This cycle can be seen in the theory of social construction where migrants, who lack political representation and face anti-immigrant sentiments, do not have access to the political process that can alter their status in society.

### ***Social Construction as Applied to Public Policy***

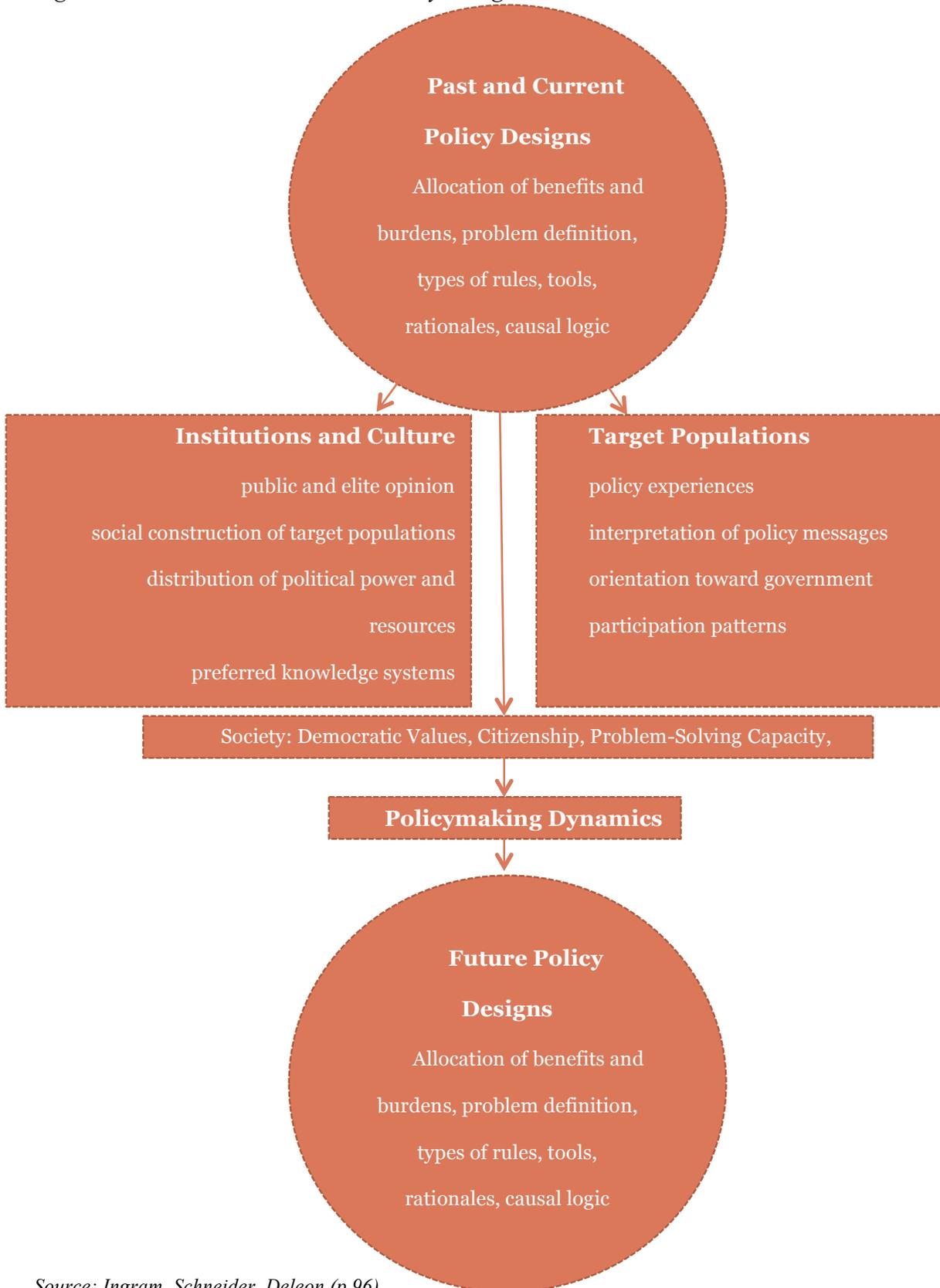
The theory of social construction is used in many disciplines, from sociology to anthropology and ethnic studies. In this essay, the use of social construction in the policy process will

demonstrate how migrants are framed negatively in the policy making process, using the media, interest groups, and political parties as an indirect conduit to perpetuate the inherent biases already present in existing policies (Hall & O'Shea, 2014). The theory of social construction as laid out by Ingram, Schneider and DeLeon, leading scholars of social construction theories in the policy realm, can also explain how, over time, the burdens of integration policies shift away from migrant groups and allow them to gain political and social power. By understanding migrants beyond their physical movements, the effects of the integration policies on the larger ethnic community, native born and migrant, can be discerned.

Social construction in the broadest definition is “a world-shaping exercise, or at least, encompasses varying ways in which the ‘realities’ of the world are defined. This would include images, stereotypes, and assignment of value to objects, people, and events, that is the elements that operationalize policy and politics” (Ingram, Schneider, & DeLeon, 2007, p. 95). In other words, social construction is the process by which perceptions about our environment, and the people in it, are formed. Every aspect of reality is constructed. There is no objective meaning. This theory discerns how certain policies are repeatedly enacted.

Within the policy theory of social construction is the idea that there are four targeted groups who may receive benefits or burdens of a policy. Pierce, et al (2014) describes groups that are favored in the policy making process and receive the benefits of policies as advantaged. Seniors and small business owners are examples of advantaged groups. Groups that have power and receive policy benefits, but are not viewed favorably by the public are known as contenders. The financial industry in the U.S. is an example of contender groups. Two other groups with little power in the policy process are known as dependents and deviants. Dependents receive the benefits of policies as the public sees these groups as vulnerable populations. Children and

Figure 1: Social Construction and Policy Design



Source: Ingram, Schneider, DeLeon (p.96)

people with disabilities would be dependents. The last group that lacks both power and favor are the deviants. Deviants receive the burdens of policy and are socially constructed as negative members of society, such as criminals. Migrants fall into the deviant category.

Ingram, Schneider and Deleon further explain that social construction of a targeted population relies on past policy. The social institutions and culture influenced past policies. These past policies contain biases toward groups that are seen negatively and target them to receive policy burdens. The policies created out of institutional and cultural norms dictate societal values and norms. Those in power, who are viewed favorably, have direct impacts on social values.

The social values further influence policy making dynamics, embedding past policy into future policy (2007, p. 96) Figure 1 shows how the cycle of social construction is repeated and the difficulty of altering the cycle. This theory can be applied to many other social policies that relate to the assignment of policy interests. It is further understood that the burdened populations of policy are those groups that have little political power and participation, thus perpetuating the power structure by placing targeted groups in the “deserving or undeserving” categories of benefit and burden allocation (Ingram, Schneider, & Deleon, 2007, p. 101). Migrants have historically been placed in the “undeserving” category as assimilation practices were used to measure the merit of who was willing to move beyond the deviant status allocated to migrants.

In the media and in policy debates, migrants have been framed as illegal, connoting criminal behavior. In the United States, for example, a series of news articles and political talking points taken up by Congresspersons and media pundits sparked the immigration debate with statements that the U.S. is a nation built upon the rule of law. Lawmakers claimed that when migrants enter the country “illegally” they do not respect the law and should not be allowed to remain in the

nation under amnesty (Feere, 2013; Smith, 2011; Foley, 2011). Under these headlines migrants were deemed criminal and deviant. This deviant status justified the negative perceptions of migrants held by the general public and policy makers were able to burden migrants with stringent integration and immigration policies. Similar strategies are used in media campaigns against Roma migrants in the UK. Pierce et al (2014) describe the role of the media in cycle of social construction as having “the capability to influence. It is most straight forward in that it can be assessed in terms of political resources such as votes, wealth, skill, and the potential to mobilized people”. Media can confirm the public’s knowledge of what they already believe to be true, reinforcing the current institutional and social values, or social construction. Those without power or a voice in the conversation have little power to provide new insights and shift cultural norms. Negative media of migrants has flooded newsstands and TV channels with headlines that read *How we are powerless to stop the ‘carousel of career beggars’* (Duffin and Mendick, 2013) and *Roma already in Britain defecating on people’s doorsteps’ says top Tory council leader as she warns of burden that Romanian and Bulgarian immigrants will place on public services* (Gye, 2013).

Social construction, therefore, relies on a reinforced message and stereotype of deviant groups for the allocation of burdens and benefits. The rewards and justifications for policies are found in the message that mirrors institutional and cultural norms. Social Construction is not static. While it is a long and challenging process to change the social construction of a group, it is possible for a deviant group to achieve favorable standing. U.S. Veterans suffering from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), for example were once seen as stigmatized and marginalized with little resources to improve their mental health and lacked a diagnosis. As PTSD became a recognized medical diagnosis and efforts to destigmatize the diagnosis came into play, veterans were

targeted to receive policies that treated PTSD (Thompson, 2008; Aryee, 2013). The same process of recognition for migrants could decrease their marginalization.

Figure 2: The media's role in social construction



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There are many non-profit community organizations in the UK and the U.S. that aid migrant populations in order to help them integrate into their host society. These groups raise the cultural awareness of the dominant group through music, dance, and theater; they offer language classes, and employment placement opportunities to alter the negative stereotypes of social construction. Through these practices, it is hoped that the social capital and civic engagement of migrants can be improved in order to remove their deviant status in the policy making cycle of social construction and begin to receive benefits from integration policies (Roma Support Group, 1998).

Roma and Latino migrant groups have little, if no political representation in the form of elected officials from their community and they also lack the wider community support necessary to change their status and negative construction. Due to the low status afforded to migrants, they remain outside of the dominant power structure as second-class citizens. Deliberative Democracy, which will be discussed in the section, is one method that can combat the social construction of marginalized groups in the policy process.

### ***Deliberative Democracy***

The method of deliberative democracy works to end the cycle of negative policy construction through the inclusion of all community members and their experiences, regardless of ethnicity, race, class, status, or social standing<sup>1</sup>. Steven Wheatley advocates for deliberative democracy in

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<sup>1</sup> In the ideal form, Deliberative Democracy opens discourse for people to change their minds when faced with facts and experiences. It is in this spirit that Deliberative Democracy was chosen as a methodology in conjunction with social construction of policy theory. It was not the words and experience of the researcher that the results of this study back to Western governments on behalf of the “other” that was studied (Spivak, 1988). This research used Deliberative Democracy as a method to “decolonize” social construction and obtain “a more critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations, and values that inform research practices” (Smith-Tuhiwai, 1999). New voices are needed to inform policy. While the subaltern, their role in research and the approaches to “otherize” minority groups are real, this paper sought to decolonize and de-other minorities by including their voices in the policy recommendations and research findings.

action stating, that “democracy, according to the deliberative model, is a system of government that gives each citizen a genuinely equal share in the exercise of power” (2003, p. 510). In essence, deliberative democracy brings second-class citizen voices to the policy debate. When marginalized voices become heard, they have a say in the policy process and begin to change their social status. In other words, deliberative democracy can bring political equality to migrants, even if they lack the ability to vote<sup>2</sup>.

Deliberative democracy can change the cycle of social construction, offering an inclusive model that lets the marginalized voices inform policy. Deliberative democracy draws from liberal ideas of democracy, however the policy process changes in the deliberative model. For example, when policies are enacted in representative liberal democracies, they are usually done so at the behest of political action committees, interest groups, and institutional organizations who receive the benefits of policies and a who are socially constructed in a positive manner. These positive policy actors have influenced the policy process and the allocation of benefits for decades (Domhoff, 2009). They find it difficult to be open to new ideas and experiences because those ideals challenge their status in the social hierarchy. Therefore, these political actors are not apt to seek out conversations and interactions in which they their opinions could be changed. Nor do they have discussions that include the full range of expressions and desires of the people they serve. Representative liberal democracy is not inclusive and representative of all voters, especially migrants, as some cannot vote due to the fact that they are not citizens of their host nation. Their voices, opinions, and experiences are often overlooked in representative democracies, found in the U.S. and the UK, leaving them marginalized and excluded from the policy process with little avenues for redress. Deliberative democracy can expand the discussion

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<sup>2</sup> Roma Residents in the UK can vote in local elections. Only Latino migrants who obtain citizenship can vote in local and national elections.

around policies that include the contributions of migrants and other marginalized groups.

Deliberative democracy is not an exercise in voting rights; it is a practice of engaging politically with the public, seeking their input, sharing concerns, and finding common ground, opening up the policy making process by including all resident voices, not just those of voters, increasing accessibility to the democratic process.

Deliberative democracy enlarges the scope of policy actors and voices, but there are limits to the types of input that are considered deliberative. Jurgen Habermas (1996) based his model for deliberative democracy on his theory of communicative action. In communicative action, the participants had to be truth seeking and truth telling, leaving out coercive and threatening rhetoric, while remaining open to new ideas and the possibility of changing their mind. The foundation for discourse is set in this model, yet it omits the role of story-telling in deliberation. Bachtiger et al. (2010, p. 43) convey that the exchange of ideas, through story-telling, can be an important component to Deliberative Democracy and this study where the experiences of migrants can inform policy makers about the perspectives and situations that are unique to their migrant and ethnic community. These stories can alter the constructions of migrants that are found in past policies while forcing policy makers to take a different approach to integration and immigration policies. The inclusion of story-telling, in deliberative democracy achieves the desired outcomes as described in Habermas' model, of communicative action. Story-telling may be truthful in that when sharing one's story, the narrator may be seeking common understanding, while at the same time, the narrator is open to stories of others and how those events were transpired by other members of the wider community.

When migrants arrive in host communities there is often a segregation of natives and non-natives where they do not interact with one another, leading to mistrust between the two groups.

Through dialogue and the process of information exchange, Fiber-Ostrow and Hill have demonstrated that there is an increase in tolerance for migrants. In addition to increased empathy that can alter the social construction of migrants and reduce anxiety and the resulting allocation of policy burdens on the migrant population (2012, p. 153). Social trust builds social capital. Social capital leads to positive policy outcomes and a new, favorable social construction of migrants who will receive policy benefits and not burdens.

Deliberative democracy has been demonstrated to be a working theory by Simone Chambers in *Deliberative Democratic Theory* (2003), Steven Wheatley and Bachtiger et al. yet there remain critics of the theory. For example, one argument in opposition to deliberative democracy is the time commitment that deliberation entails to reach a consensus (Marsh, 2011; Gutmann and Thompson, 2004). Furthermore, deliberative democracy is criticized for causing polarization. Cass Sunstein (2000) explains that groups become polarized after deliberation because participants feel pressure to conform to social norms, with inaccurate and little information about the policy, in addition, to being persuaded by the best argument in the deliberation. Cass's statements rest on the homogeneity and equal standing of the groups in deliberation.

Consensus is not always a desired outcome of deliberative democracy. In pluralist and diverse societies, such as the U.S. and the UK, consensus may be unattainable in many circumstances. Rather than reach consensus, deliberative democracy seeks accountability and informed governing that recognizes the diversity of constituents and their concerns (Chambers, p. 321). Deliberative democracy is a constant process in which all actors are engaged with one another, not only during election seasons, but in periods leading up to an election and after. Through sustained contact and inquiries, in the long run policies will contain an element of accountability. Representative liberal democracy lacks accountability because it relies on voting to reflect the

“will of the people,” when not every citizen votes, nor is every person residing in the community eligible to vote. Deliberative democracy does not require consensus, rather, it requires the discourse of the people amongst each other and with government officials to inform sound policy.

For the purposed of this study, the ideal use of Deliberative Democracy was achievable. The requirements of truth-telling, the omission of rhetoric, and the ability for each participant to be open to the possibility of changing their mind was present in the interview process. Lastly, deliberative democracy embraces diversity and heterogeneous groups that are represented equally and respectfully in the deliberative process.

In conclusion, if applied, the deliberative democracy model would be inclusive to migrant groups that are often left out of the policy process due to their negative social construction and lack of social capital. Seeking out the stories, experiences, and input from all members of a community can build social trust that leads to social capital and an increase in political participation that can overcome the negative social construction of migrants inherent in past policies and the future cycle of social construction.

# *Case Studies*

## *Case Study 1: Latinos in the United States*

The case study for Latinos focuses primarily on policies between the United States and Mexico, with most Latinos being labeled as Mexican even though Latinos consist of peoples from all over Latin America. This generalization of all Latinos, as Mexicans compounds the marginalization of Latinos as their distinct ethnicity and cultures are ignored. Although the examples below are specific to U.S.-Mexico relations, understanding this case could affect the Latino populace as a whole because most migrants are socially constructed as Mexican by the dominant society.

Early interactions with Latinos in the expanding U.S. territories set the stage for the negative social construction that Latinos would endure for decades to come. They had, and still do have, little favor in the policy arena. The political marginalization of Mexicans and Latinos in America began with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. Under the Treaty, the U.S. acquired the modern states of New Mexico, Arizona, and California from Mexico in 1848. The Treaty denied Mexicans who were living in the newly annexed territories citizenship and they were unable to maintain their private property (Acuna, 2007, p. 48). When the U.S. obtained the Island of Puerto Rico in 1898, Congress and the Supreme Court gave little recognition to the Puerto Ricans self-determination and political representation (Roman, 1997; Malavet, 2000). From the onset of the modern Mexican state, Puerto Rico and the formation of the American Southwest, Latinos in the newly acquired territories were framed as marginal, without a national identity and were excluded from political representation and participation.

These early policies informed the policy cycle that led to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). A Federal agreement with Canada and Mexico enacted in 1994, where globalization was achieved through free market and free trade policies instead of the acquisition of new territories; a new form of colonialism. NAFTA continued to reveal the marginal role that Latinos, migrant and native born, played in American society. This case study will focus on the push and pull factors of Latino migration to the United States; the legislation proposed, enacted, and defeated; and the effects those policies have had on Latinos in the twenty years since the passage of NAFTA. Using California's Proposition 187 (Prop 187) as a starting point, recent legislative efforts in Arizona Senate Bill 1070 (SB 1070) and its copycat legislation in Oregon will be highlighted.

The rhetoric and political messages of Prop 187 and SB 1070 were informed by past Latino immigration policies. Understanding this framework is helpful in assessing the policies that were proposed and enacted after the ratification of NAFTA. The property rights and citizenship status of the Mexicans who held lands in the ceded territories of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo were not protected, as mentioned previously. Mexicans were granted citizenship in the 1930's, however, prior to their naturalization, they were left without political redress and limited court protections (Griswold del Castillo, 2006). NAFTA hoped to bring an increase in GDP and the standard of living to Canada, the United States, and Mexico. Instead, Mexico was left with a high unemployment rate, pushing people into the migrant stream (Kingsolver, 2007). In addition to economic woes, migrants were subject to the historic marginalization of Latinos once they entered the U.S.

Western states relied heavily upon Latino migrants for labor in the agricultural sector, since before the 1930's and the introduction of the Bracero Program. The Bracero Program was a

partnership between the United States and Mexico that secured a migrant labor force to work seasonally in the agricultural fields of the United States. Acuna (2007) and Schmidt-Camacho (2008) convey how Braceros were granted temporary entry into the United States during each harvest. With Braceros entering the United States to work, the United States government hoped that migrants would not take up permanent residence, while Mexican officials hoped that the remittances would spur on the economy at the end of the Mexican Revolution. What Mexico did not foresee was the demand by Mexican nationals to enter the migrant stream. This high influx of nationals leaving the country further stymied the economy, with Mexican Bracero officials unable to complete the paperwork and demands of laborers in the timely mannered desired by migrant workers. This caused Braceros to cross in the United States and work year round, without documentation. To meet labor demands, low-wage migrants were welcomed into the United States without having to provide proof of legal resident status. The labor demands and policies enacted after the Great Depression and World War II “were crucial to maintaining an exploitable, non-white work force of hundreds of thousands of Mexicans. Braceros were the perfect exploitable underclass, willing to work for low wages and in deplorable conditions” (Garcia, 1995, p. 127).

Latinos were not only a source of labor in times of boom, but were used as scapegoats in times of crisis. Their exploitation was made easier because Bracero migrants came to work in the United States without proper documentation. During the 1930's and again in the 1950's millions of Latinos, and others with Spanish names were deported to Mexico, whether Mexico was their country of origin or not. In 1954, the Federal program known as Operation Wetback deployed hundreds of border patrol agents in California, Arizona and parts of the Midwest to round up and repatriation 11,000 Mexicans (Hernandez, 2010, p. 171). American citizens and migrants were

put on trains bound for Mexico because they looked Hispanic and could not provide documentation of their status. Repatriation programs were enacted in order to return all Latinos to Mexico, regardless of their country of origin in order to provide jobs for Anglo-Americans that were facing high unemployment rates.

These policies reinforced the social construction of Latino migrants and helped shape future policy. When Latinos were useful for their land or for their labor, they were welcomed in the U.S, yet they were not integrated into American society and politics. When times were difficult financially, migrants were targeted as a drain on resources and considered undeserving of employment or social services. Thus, campaigns and programs to deter Latino migrants were conceived. This history now sheds light on the rhetoric and policy message of Prop 187 and SB 1070.

### ***Prop 187***

Prop 187 was placed on the state ballot in 1994 during a year of economic turmoil for the state of California. (NAFTA had gone into effect earlier that same year). The economic stress California faced in 1994 revealed the pattern of nativism where “during times of economic stagnation and periods of social malaise, the public may voice anti-immigrant sentiment, and demand that the government stop the entry of immigrants into the US” (Newton, 1998, p. para. 1). The message of Prop 187 reflected the dire mood of California residents that were unemployed, declaring a ration of the public services available and a decline in employment opportunities. In order to save public resources such as health care, education, and jobs for the perceived native population, illegal migrants would be denied access to public schooling for their children, in addition to barring migrants from receiving medical services. The historic policies and public

perceptions of Latino migrants as a second-class citizen group that consumed public resources without contributing to society and who caused high employment by taking American jobs away from lawful residents led to the passage of Prop 187 (Lustig & Walker, 1995). The policy message of Prop 187 was clear; migrants and Latinos in general were not welcome to live or participate in mainstream society in California.

The underlying message of Prop 187 was that Latino migrants did not deserve the use of public services because they were criminals who broke the law by coming into California and the U.S. illegally. In addition, Latinos did not possess social capital because they were segregated from the Anglo community and could not participate in the political process of voting on Prop 187.

The legality of Latino migrants continues to be a contentious topic. As this case study has pointed out, migrants under the Bracero Program entered the U.S. without proper documentation. However, this did not stop employers from hiring undocumented workers, nor did the demand for labor diminish when the failures of the Bracero Program were revealed to promote undocumented migration. When they were recognized as citizens, in the 1920's resident Latinos were not provided with the papers to prove their citizenship (Acuna, 2007). This makes it difficult to proclaim Latinos as "illegal". Furthermore, Latinos such as Puerto Ricans are recognized as U.S. citizens, however, with limited political representation. Puerto Ricans can vote for the President, yet they do not have elected representative in Congress. Cuban migrants have also been granted a "special humanitarian parole policy, the Wet Foot-Dry Foot policy that lets any Cuban setting foot on U.S. land adjust status to become a permanent resident - regardless of the legality of their entry" (Barrios, 2011, p. 2).

Latinos objected to Prop 187 because under the law, they would face discrimination. Whether they were citizens or legal residents, their phenotype matched that of the alleged “illegal” population. Hospital administrators, social service providers, and teachers were also against Prop 187 “on the grounds that they did not have the staff time, funds or ability to check immigration documentation constantly” (Newton, 1998, para. 24). Although the majority of the burdens fell on the Latino and migrant communities, others were faced with negative effects of the policy. Lustig and Walker (1995) admitted that migrants paid into the tax system and “only 3.2% used welfare compared to that of 3.7% of working-age Americans” in 1994 (Newton, 1998).

Although Prop 187 was never fully implemented, 59 percent of California’s residents voted in favor of the measure (Alvarez & Butterfield, 2000). The political social construction of migrants found in Prop 187 continued to inform legislation into the next century. One of the perpetual effects of Prop 187 was the long-lasting internalized message that migrants, and their children embodied in their interactions with the larger, dominant community, as did the rural Thai and Chinese migrants. Latinos remained living in poverty, scared of seeking medical attention and withdrawing from the educational aspirations that pulled some migrants to the U.S in the first place. Furthermore, they had no avenue for political action or redress, and limited forums to discuss their experiences. Latino migrants, at this time were not assimilated nor were they integrated. They lived on the periphery of American society where their opinions, values, and involvement in the community were not welcome.

Due to the passage of Prop 187, migrants stopped seeking medical services, or prolonged care due to the fear that they would face deportation or interactions with Immigration and Naturalization Services (Berk & Schur, 2001, p. 153). In addition, there was a widening of the income inequality gap as Latino migrants experienced large cuts in their wages (Gutierrez, 1999,

p. 507). Future cycles of poverty and marginalization were exacerbated by the practice of putting Spanish-speaking children “into low-level, non-college preparatory curricula” with only five percent of the Latino children, at that time completing college (Gutierrez, 1999, p. 508).

### ***SB 1070***

Continuing the stigmatization of Latinos was Arizona’s 2010 State Senate Bill 1070 (SB 1070) that was designed to deny perceived migrants employment through the arrest of business owners that hired illegal migrants, people that drove illegal migrants in their vehicles, and migrants that were found to be trespassing in the U.S. (Szkupinski Quiroga, 2013). These provisions became known as “papers please” laws that allowed “all law enforcement officials [to] take steps to verify the immigration status of any individual they encounter if there is reason to suspect that the individual is in violation of federal immigration law” (Su, 2010). This law allowed for the racial profiling of Latinos and other persons of color in the state of Arizona. All people suspected to be Latino with brown skin, brown hair, and brown eyes, were ordered to be stopped by law enforcement and asked for proof of their legal resident status.

Under SB 1070, Latinos and other minority groups such as Native Americans became targets of police and other law enforcement officials. They were excluded from employment opportunities because of the threat their presence had on employers. In addition to their exclusion from work, Latinos were repeatedly pulled over in their vehicles on suspicion of being an “illegal” resident. Szkupinski Quiroga (2013) documented the affects of SB 1070 on Latinos in Southern Arizona. Her conversations and interactions with Latinos living under SB 1070, revealed feelings of “fear and vulnerability.” Furthermore, Latinos moved to other states where they did not feel threatened

and where they believed their children had a future. The message to Latinos, native and migrant in Arizona, was that they were unwanted criminal trespassers. Although parts of the SB 1070 law were overturned by the Supreme Court, the State government's ability to reject any law that interfered with immigration enforcement, for example, the "papers please" provision was kept intact (Su, 2010). While State Law could not supercede Federal Law, persons suspected of being an undocumented migrant were still allowed to be stopped and asked for their documentation status.

### ***Copycat Legislation in Oregon***

During the Great Recession in 2009, Oregon's unemployment rate peaked to a high of 11.7 percent. In 2012, the unemployment rate remained well over 8 percent compared to the pre-recession rate of 5.7 percent (Oregon Center for Public Policy, 2013). Jobs became scarce in Oregon after 2009, though the total population continued to increase, growing 9.7 percent from 2000 to 2010 (Mackun, 2011). These factors contributed to economic woes and concerns over migration to Oregon.

During the 2011 Congressional session, five immigration bills were presented; HB 2802, HB 2803, HB 2804, HB 2805 and HB 2806. All the bills were fashioned after the "Arizona Style" of SB 1070 that granted local law enforcement the ability to ask for the documentation status of any person they arrested in every county, denying children the right to education if they were found to be undocumented and requiring proof of citizenship to persons registering to vote for the first time in Oregon (Mirk, 2011). None of the bills were taken up for a vote by the legislature,

however, the bill's author and sponsor Kim Thatcher was a Republican representative from Keizer, Oregon, which borders many small agricultural communities where the Latino population is high.

This research aims to determine how migrants understand and perceive the process of integration, and if it can be achieved under legislation efforts that burden them and label them with a deviant status in the policy making process. With Proposition 187 overturned, most of SB 1070 dismantled, and Oregon failing to take up the measures there is a pushback against anti-immigrant rhetoric in the U.S., however, migrants are aware of their social construction and how that affects their ability to become a part of U.S. society. The messages that the Roma, living in the UK receive are similar and are examined below.

### ***Case Study 2: Roma in the United Kingdom***

Similar to the Latino population in the U.S., the Roma of Europe differ in cultural tradition and country of origin. They are perceived as one ethnic group, but prefer differing monikers and speak different dialects of Romanese. While the Roma come from different regions of Europe and thus have different cultural traditions, they are viewed by the dominant society as mostly Romanian and Bulgarian Roma. Roma from Romania and Bulgaria are associated with negative attributes in the UK and throughout Europe.

Several Romani tribes that have been labelled as “gypsies” have been living in modern Europe for centuries. David M. Crowe (1995) described the waves of Roma migration out of India and into Europe, with the earliest documentation of a Roma presence in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Early Roma in Europe were identified as metal workers and menial laborers (Scheffel, 2005). During this time the Roma began to be labeled as thieves and beggars and lived outside the feudal system.

Roma were segregated from feudal townships and were able to get by on odd jobs until the Communist era, eight centuries later, when attempts were made by various governments to “assimilate” the Roma (Cekota & Trentini, 2011). Assimilation programs included mandatory schooling, housing in settlements, as well as employment opportunities that were provided by the government. Assimilation efforts were not successful, however, as the Roma remained living in settlements outside of the towns in which they worked and children in schools received a substandard, segregated education. The practice continues today in states such as Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic with many young Roma dropping out of school and starting families at the age of 15 (Scheffel, 2005). The perpetual poverty and exclusion of Roma has contributed to their marginalization where they have been the targets of discrimination and anti-immigrant sentiment. An EU report on Roma found that, “one in three is unemployed, 20% are not covered by health insurance, and 90 % are living below the poverty line” (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2012). In addition, the Roma lack political capital in many Central and Eastern European states (CEE), as well as the UK. This is reflected in the number of Roma representatives in government positions. The UK does not currently have a Roma serving in government at any level, while the EU, representing 505.7 million people (European Demography, 2013) has had “only three Romani people hold a seat in the EU Parliament since elections began in 1979 (Bangau, 2014). Two of those seats were held in the past decade.

### ***Communist Collapse and the Roma***

The exclusion of Roma continued into the 1990’s after the collapse of Communism and the shift toward democratic governments and neoliberal economic policies. With mandatory employment rules ending the Roma were among the first to lose their jobs. This led to the further segregation

of Roma, as they did not venture beyond their settlements on a regular basis for work or school. Dena Ringold (2000) explained how public lands in which Roma resided on during the Communist era were privatized and sold to developers. The privatization of land in Hungary, for example, ended housing subsidies on public lands for Roma, forcing many to become squatters, living in abandoned buildings without access to public services such as running water and electricity. The squatters began to illegally tap public services perpetuating the stereotype of Roma as thieves and further marginalizing their daily living experience and their basic needs.

As Latinos faced increased income inequality and unemployment after the adoption of NAFTA, Roma in former communist states faced the same struggles as governments moved from collaborative efforts to free market, individual pursuits in economics. Roma found themselves unemployed, without many housing options and encountering various modes of discrimination in schools and when accessing public resources. Furthermore, the negative images found in newspaper articles exacerbated the poverty cycle and low levels of education found among the Roma populace in most former Eastern Bloc states. It was hoped that the enlargement of the EU and the free movement of people between EU member states would provide the Roma with relief from discrimination as well as increased access to and opportunities for education and the labor market. This led to an influx of migrants to Western states where Roma were pulled to, in pursuit of better living conditions and employment opportunities. It was during this time that anti-immigrant sentiment increased 9 percent from 1995 – 2004.

### ***EU Enlargement, the UK, and the limits on Roma***

In 2004, ten new member states joined the EU. Among the ten states were Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and Czech Republic, states with high populations of Roma residents. Ascension into

the EU allowed new member states to adopt the Euro, the single currency used in EU states, if they met the economic criteria, in addition to joining the Schengen Zone, although with restrictions. The Schengen Zone allows for the free movement of EU citizens over borders. The UK opted out of the Euro Zone currency and the Schengen Zone, preferring to control its own borders and immigration policies (Geddes, 2005). Furthermore, new member states were required to abide by human rights requirements laid out in the Copenhagen Criteria created in 1993 calling for the protection of minorities and providing basic human rights of education and housing, for example (Marktler, 2006). Many of the states that were granted ascension in 2004, however, were in violation of human rights and minority protections. Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic were still practicing segregated schooling from Roma children and denying housing to Roma (Scheffel, 2005). Furthermore, Marina Simeunovic's (2012) research revealed that in 2013 Roma were still being denied education and identification cards that would allow them to move across border and partake in the political process. Roma in many CEE states often faced discrimination when trying to obtain their identification cards. Identification cards were not the only barriers faced by Roma in CEE countries. Upon admission into the EU in 2004, Western States such as the UK imposed restrictions on Roma migrants. Restraints of Roma migration included restrictions on Romanian and Bulgarian Roma, states that joined the EU in 2007 and that had more severe restrictions until January 1 of 2014.

With the 2004 EU enlargement, there was some relief for Roma in the CEE states. Roma and other CEE citizens were able to migrate to the West, but not as freely as other EU citizens. For example, of the ten countries that were granted EU member status, eight of them, including Hungary and the Czech Republic became known as the A8 as their citizens were required to register with the Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) in order to obtain employment in the UK

(Drinkwater, Eade, & Garapich, 2006). The WRS provided employees with access to Child Tax Credits and other social benefits, such as full rights of free movement and no longer needing to register with the WRS after one year of continuous employment (Pollard, Latorre, & Sriskandarajah, 2008). Before January 1, 2014 access to paid employment by Romanian and Bulgarian migrants was limited to certain low skilled sectors such as the agricultural industry where thresholds on the number of Romanian and Bulgarian Roma migrants permitted to work were limited. This made it difficult for Romanian and Bulgarian Roma to remain in the UK. There were provisions for self-employment that did not require registration, however, though self-employed individuals had to prove their pay or contract status (Migration Advisory Committee Report, 2008). All CEE Roma that entered the EU after ascension in 2004 were required to be in paid employment in order to be granted resident status. In order to be registered with WRS, migrants were required to pay an application fee each time they acquired a new employer. Application fees saw their peak price at £90 in 2009 (Migration Advisory Committee, 2009).

Before Roma migrants entered the UK and were held to monetary and employment restrictions, they were first scrutinized at points of entry. Well before ascension in 2004, the UK set aside immigration and border controls as a matter of importance, crucial to sovereignty. As it had abstained from participation in the Schengen Zone and reserved the right of border enforcement, immigration agents in the UK were able to target ethnically questionable migrants, or those that appeared Roma (Geddes, 2005). This provision was included in the Race Relations Act of 1976, an act that barred discrimination, with the exception of Roma migrants that were at points of entry into the UK. The racial profiling of Roma continued under the “Decade of Roma Inclusion”.

### ***The Decade of Roma Inclusion***

The “Decade of Roma Inclusion” (2012) began in 2005 as an inter-governmental effort to end discrimination against Roma in all of Europe. Member states include Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia and Spain, as well as representatives from various Romani communities throughout Europe. These governments commit funds to implement, measure, and develop plans to increase education, employment, and housing opportunities for Roma communities.

The UK and many other Western European states where Roma were migrating did not join the “Decade of Roma Inclusion” or implement plans to increase the civil participation of Roma. Instead, anti-immigrant and anti-Roma campaigns began to rise up in states that were receiving high numbers of Roma migrants, such as the UK, Italy, France, and Germany. During this time the UK was still practicing racial profiling at borders. In addition to the news articles that ran stories of Roma as criminals in late 2013, before the employment restrictions were lifted on Romanian and Bulgarian Roma public officials made claims that the large influx of Roma migrating to the UK would lead to riots (Bowers, 2013). This example of public outrage points to assimilation being the key objective in integration policies including the “Decade of Roma Inclusion”. This begs the question of how integration that merges the cultural heritage of migrants with their new society can be successful? This question and others was presented to two migrant populations, on to continents, with similar migrant struggles.

# *Methods*

## *The Interview Process*

One-on-one semi-structured interviews were identified as the appropriate method for this qualitative research endeavor. In following the theory of Deliberative Democracy and reaching out to marginalized groups, recording their experiences and recommendations to government officials, the interview subjects engaged in the policy discussion. This methodology allowed the researcher to capture some of the overarching and unifying themes of both case study groups, in order to develop a list of recommendations and further areas of study for integration policy. Recruitment flyers, with the excluding criteria were sent out to supporting organization who screened potential participants. This was facilitated through the Hispanic Advisory Council (HAC) in Oregon and journalist Ciara Leeming in the UK. Once participants were identified, HAC put the participants in contact with the researcher while Ciara acted as the liaison between interviewees and the researcher. The participants were found using the organization's networks in the migrant communities. The desired number of participants for this study was fifteen with the total number of participants being eleven. Participants included six Roma, originating from various CEE states now residing in and around Manchester and Leeds, UK. Five Latinos, from different Latin American countries now living in the US comprised the remaining participants. The researcher had met with the Hispanic Advisory Council and presented the interview questions and recruitment flyer to the Council. The recruitment flyer and interview questions can be found in Appendix I. The Council agreed to post the flyer and screen potential participants for the study. Screening criteria included volunteers being over the age of 18 and not

having any previous or pending deportation claims against the individual. Citizenship status was not asked of any participant in order to avoid any potential legal action against the participants.

The same exclusionary requirements were in place for the Roma recruitment process in the UK, with Ciara Leeming acting as the screener. Ms. Leeming also accompanied the researcher on all interviews, as trust between researchers and the Roma community is precarious and the participants would not agree to be interviewed otherwise.

Once participants were identified, interviews in duration of one and one half hours were scheduled with each volunteer. The researcher met over coffee with each interviewee and asked about their journey to their host nations, their reasons for coming, and the impacts that race and ethnicity played in their access to education and resources. Furthermore, their ideals of integration and their place in society were discussed. All but two interviews were captured on digital recording devices in order to be transcribed for an Inductive Thematic Analysis of common themes. The option of having the interviews digitally recorded was important in providing the interviewees with security and trust.

Eleven interviews is in not a large enough sample to draw out generalizations for policy recommendations, however, it is a good starting point to fuel continued research in the field of integration policy. A few possible conclusions for the low participation rate among Latinos could be a lack of time to participate with no upfront reward or reimbursement for their efforts.

Another potential barrier could be language, although the fliers were posted in both English and Spanish. A perceived risk of being identified as a migrant without proper documentation may have deterred many potential volunteers as well. The researcher had attempted to mitigate the risk factors by offering the participants pseudonyms, in addition to providing them counseling

resources for emotional trauma associated with speaking about their experiences. The researcher did not create paper trails for the participants relying instead on verbal consent and providing phone contact for scheduling and follow up questions.

The Roma were approached in the same manner using verbal consent and phone contact, but the screener Ciara Leeming was paid for her support and role as interview liaison, as she attended each interview and provided transportation to the researcher. Due to Ciara's recruitment of Roma from her educational and media network, the sample of Roma participants may not be as representative of Roma migrants in the UK as many of them are involved in local Roma organizations and educational pursuits for Roma rights and integration. The Hispanic Advisory Council, on the other hand did not require any monetary compensation and the participants were more diverse in their roles and level of community involvement than the Roma.

Another limitation of this methodology includes the researcher's own interpretation of the text being analyzed (Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2012). Although, the researcher is analyzing text of transcribed interviews and approached the analysis with an unbiased and systemic framework, the themes found in those texts are the results of the researchers' own understanding of the interviews that were conducted.

Participants for the Roma population ranged in age from 19 – 46 and were equally divided along gender lines with three women and three men. The countries of origin for Roma migrants were Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Romania. They also varied in employment status from full-time students, translators, office personnel, researchers, and food service workers. Variation existed among Latinos as well with participants ranging in age from 28 – 63. Three participants were male and two were female. The majority of interviewees were from Mexico with one

coming from El Salvador. Employment sectors encompassed educators, translators, construction workers, and one veterinary technician.

The comparative approach is useful for this study because it expands the limited studies previously conducted with migrant groups. The Roma and Latinos have a similar background of shifting borders, exclusion from the political process, segregated educations, and negative social construction (Scheffel, 2005; Acuna, 2007). Furthermore, these migrant populations have generated media attention and a reframing of policies toward them.

### ***Inductive Thematic Analysis***

Inductive Thematic Analysis is a qualitative methods approach commonly referred to as the sociological tradition (Bernard and Ryan, 1998) or the positivist tradition (Bernard and Ryan, 1998; Guest, MacQueen, and Namey, 2012). Bernard and Ryan (1998) describe Inductive Thematic Analysis as a process of reading transcripts repeatedly while recognizing themes to compare and contrast against one another. This relies on Glaser and Strauss' (1967) notion of Inductive Thematic Analysis being a grounded theory where the content derived in the analysis is "grounded" or based on the words of the participants. The text guides the process. For this study, the researcher transcribed the series of interviews and notes and then began to develop a set of codes based on the emerging themes found in the interviews. Themes related to education, modernity, and belonging were cited by all participants. The coded themes and their frequencies can be found in Appendix II. The codes were useful in cataloging the themes in order to compare and contrast them with other migrant experiences to find the commonalities as well as discover what policies were favored amongst migrant groups and which policies were having negative effects.

# *Findings*

Despite the diversity of age ranges, countries of origin and ethnic background of the participants, the most common recommendation provided by respondents was education. Their ideas of education include the traditional methods of schooling in addition to community involvement and outreach to educate the wider, native society about their cultural heritage, as well as overcoming the stereotypes propagated in the media. Other components of integration rely on language and its ability to transmit culture to future generations and creating mentors within the migrant community, having a sense of belonging and becoming modern.

## ***Roma Education in the UK***

Education was the motivating factor behind most participants', or their parent's decision to migrate. Among the Roma, education in their native countries was either denied to them because of discriminatory policies against Roma or the gender roles inherent in their culture. For example, David a 19 year old Romanian Roma migrant came to the UK when he was just 7. The transition to a new country affected his studies and he was close to being expelled. His father relayed to him how he brought his family to the UK for a better life because when he was denied entry into a Romanian university he lost his dignity. He wanted opportunities for his family that he did not have. David is now finishing his first year at the University of Manchester. He is the first Romanian Roma to attend the University and is seen as a mentor to other Roma youth and what they can aspire to.

Another Romanian Roma participant, Dani who is 30 and has been living in the UK for five years and identifies as a traditional Roma in her dress and customs wants to see a different

outcome in education for her three daughters than what she was able to obtain. She recalled the message she received about education from her mother as a child.

*“Unfortunately, my mom she didn’t give us a chance to go to school because she didn’t believe in education, she didn’t think it was necessary. She said, no you don’t need education. The only thing you need is to learn how to cook, look after your husband and your family because that is what helps you in life. If I look from her perspective I can see it. She never have a chance to see someone working, doing different things, so why you work so much doing something that is not going to be useful?”*

Since arriving in the UK Dani has been involved with the MigRom Project as a mentor and researcher. She has received English courses and training to conduct qualitative research studies. She remains a traditional Roma woman with respect for her role as mother and wife, but she is able to educate the European community about her heritage. Dani hopes her daughters will become doctors and lawyers, to have the education and opportunities she never had.

All Roma interviewees expressed their hopes for their children to be educated in the UK. Through education they believed that their children would have access to employment and a better life where their children would not have to struggle as they did. For the Roma, schools offered a place of refuge and support, even before local Governments enacted policies to get Roma children enrolled in schools throughout Manchester and Leeds. The support and encouragement found in the schools may have been an extension of the educators’ core values.

The Roma respondents, whom shared their stories, spoke of their pride for being Roma and the avenues to teach the community about their heritage and break down the negative stereotypes of their culture. Maggie has lived in the UK for 6 years. She had spent time in Canada, as a refugee before returning to Hungary, her country of origin. She eventually came to the UK with her two daughters and now works as a teaching assistant. She has been involved with heritage festivals at

her school where the children showcase their culture through music and dance while doing outreach to the school community. David uses the Internet to share his modern Roma music and speak with others about negative Roma stereotypes while encouraging other Roma to pursue higher education. Both Dani and Maggie are involved with larger Roma projects where they speak with local, national, and EU officials about Roma affairs.

In contrast to the Latinos, Roma have been encouraged to learn and speak English, but are not placed in a separate learning environment from other English speaking children in school.

Maggie spoke of the mentor program she initiated in her school to help all newcomer children, not just Roma, adapt to their new environment.

*“We did the buddy system too. That means new arrivals come in and they don’t know anything so on the playground when they see a yellow vest on the other children they can go to them and ask for help. We choose one English student and one Hungarian student, one boy and one girl. We change all the time, weekly, but they help the new arrivals. They are like counselors”.*

Furthermore, Maggie worked to translate handbooks into Hungarian and English that were resources to the community, not only about school rules and functions, but about each culture.

Alex and David are city employees that work directly with Roma families, helping them navigate the English system and enrolling their children in school. The Roma have been given opportunities to share their heritage. They are proud to be Roma, but have become more English in the process. They feel integrated, a combination, or bridge between both cultures.

In all of their endeavors to be recognized as proud Roma who are making a positive impact, they hold on to their culture and languages. Many of the Roma speak a dialect of Romanese, the Roma language, in addition to the language of their home countries and English. All the Roma

participants agreed that it is important to pass these languages on to their children, in order for them to sustain their culture.

### ***Latino Education in the U.S.***

This sentiment for the importance of education was also true for Latinos in the U.S. However, their ability to achieve secondary education was difficult. Tito, a Chicano participant, grew up in Texas in the 1950's. Tito was able to finish high school and join the Air Force, eventually settling in Oregon where he married an Anglo woman. His parents were migrants from Mexico with no formal education, yet his mother taught herself to read and imparted the importance of education upon him and his siblings. Tito spoke of the desire to make his mother proud but realized;

*“what was expected of Mexicanos, career-wise was that we would end up in the military or in low-skilled jobs. College was not an option. I did not immediately recognize the difficulties associated with my mother’s expectations of me to succeed”.*

Tito went on to say that he did not have mentors to look up to. He did not see any Latinos in community leadership roles or in education, nor was he encouraged to go to college. Tito's experiences as a Latino student in the U.S. during the 1950's did not change much in the decades that followed.

Luis migrated to the U.S. as an adult. He married an American-born, Mexican woman. They decided to come to the U.S. because of Luis' own struggles for economic stability and educational opportunities. After Luis came to the U.S. in the late 1970's, he began to take night courses in order to obtain his GED. He had only managed to complete elementary school in Mexico due to the economic hardships his family faced during the recession. He went into the

workforce at 9 years old. As one of the oldest sibling of his nine siblings, Luis was responsible for helping to take care of the family by working in the local tomato fields. For Luis, night school was a difficult process. He had a lot of catching up to do and with two young children at home, while sending remittances home to his family in Mexico, he just could not overcome the barriers and complete his degree. Luis' own struggles with education and his unrealized dream of becoming a civil engineer were channeled into his decisions about how to raise his children and the kind of education he wanted them to have.

*“I always put my family first. I wanted them to have the education I never had. Without an education you cannot advance in life. When I enrolled my kids at school I said that they spoke mostly English at home. My wife enrolled them and they were not put in ESL classes or singled out. I did not teach my girls Spanish because I wanted them to identify as being American, not Mexican. They were American. That is where they were born. I felt that if they spoke Spanish they would not be able to integrate into the community. I was not ashamed of being Mexican, but I wanted them and myself to have the melting pot experience. My kids had a hard time identifying with other Hispanics due to their lack of Spanish, but they had an easier time in school and in the community in general. I really wanted them to have an education and not have to suffer like I did”.*

Despite Luis' challenges to assimilate to U.S. culture, such as carrying his accent and having dark skin, he identifies as American first.

The English as a Second Language (ESL) education offered to Spanish speaking children in the U.S. was a concern of all Latino participants. Tito, an educator conveyed the idea of re-segregation in public schools through the use of ESL classes.

Selena arrived in California in the midst of the debate over Prop 187 in 1995. She was 15 and entering high school. Selena is the daughter of an American mother and Mexican father. It was her mother who brought her to the U.S. after the Mexican economy began to enter into a recession in 1994. Her father believed she would have more opportunities for education in the

U.S. Selena had a hard time adjusting to life away from her father and family when she migrated. She recalled how she was happy as a child, until she came to California and felt unwanted at school. She decided to get her GED after one year in ESL classes.

*“When I enrolled at school they put me in an ESL class even though I spoke English my whole life. They thought they could start me there because I was coming from another country, but they didn’t even give me a placement exam. They just figured they would put me in the ESL class”.*

Bernie’s native born daughter had a similar experience to Selena in Oregon schools, the following decade.

*“The only problem was with the school she was in since day one. They asked if we spoke any other languages at home. I said yes, we speak Spanish. She was put in ESL classes. They did not even test her.”*

Bernie’s personal struggles with education did not deter him from pursuing a post-secondary degree. It took him nine years to complete an undergraduate degree. He worked as a night time security officer in South Central Los Angeles after the riots were spurred by the Rodney King verdict. He was not comfortable living in an environment that had gang violence and racial tensions. He came to the U.S. to receive an education and slowly worked his way to a graduate degree. He now lives in Oregon with his teenage daughter. Now when he speaks of his daughter’s future he assumes she is already looking at graduate degrees. Bernie also left Mexico in the late 1980’s as his did not have an opportunity for higher education. His father was an Anglo from Texas who moved to Mexico when he married Bernie’s mother, a Mexico native. Bernie’s mother had joined the migrant stream for a short-time in the 1960’s, but returned home after a few years.

Stephanie, a 28 year old college graduate mentioned that the only way to break the cycle of poverty is to get an education. She was placed in ESL classes until high school. She was not

encouraged to pursue higher education and only did once she received outside support from family and friends who could help her navigate the process.

Bernie remarked that the ESL classes were successful in the fact that his bilingual daughter was no longer able to speak Spanish. The placement of Latino children, who identify as Spanish speakers, into ESL classes has put them at a disadvantage, according to the Latino population sampled here. By looking at educational attainment, employment sectors and the socio-economic status of ESL learners as adults, the long-term effects of ESL education can be determined. The concern of participants that attended U.S. schools in the 1990's and 2000's was that they were not learning, some days doing no lessons and facing feelings of being abnormal and bullied. They saw other kids in ESL classes joining gangs, becoming teenage parents, and dropping out themselves.

The Latino educational experience has not been one that provides support and acceptance among the participants in this study, as policies such as Prop 187 and SB 1070 continue to reinforce the idea that migrants do not deserve an education. With education being one of the primary motivating factors of migration among the participants, they and their children have worked to overcome the obstacles in the U.S. school system. This has required them to abandon their native language or be placed in alternate classrooms as a result of speaking their cultural language. Furthermore, few Latino participants spoke of community-wide events that allowed them opportunity to share their cultural heritage with the non-Latino community. If community-wide events were conducted, they focused mainly on Mexican culture, leaving out other Latinos. Tito was the sole Latino participant to discuss community events, but event those events were specific to his community and not the broader public.

The reason for the discrepancies between the Roma experience and the Latino experience could stem from the fact that many Roma who migrate to the UK are escaping the discriminatory practices of CEE states. The multicultural cities, in which the Roma took up residence, provided them a society in which they did not stand out as different. There were Asians, namely Pakistanis and Indians whose phenotype matched that of their own and who were already accepted as members of British society.

### ***Migrants and Host Communities***

Roma, in this study from CEE states were fleeing discrimination, but Latino participants, on the other hand were not fleeing racial discrimination in their home countries. They lacked the economic and educational opportunities that the Roma did in their home countries, however, their lack of opportunities were the result of recession and violence that destroyed the economic base. The U.S. is known for being a “melting pot” with many different cultures and ethnicities, but the extent to which the “melting pot” exists relies on where, in the U.S. you reside. Oregon and California suburbs are not known for their cultural diversity. Many Latinos that settle into predominately Caucasian or African-American areas stand out, leaving them as targets for discrimination. Tito described several occasions where he faced discrimination at local businesses, while Luis was referred to as “Mexican” or “Wetback” rather than his name on his jobsite. Like the rural Thai women who migrated to factory jobs, Tito and Luis were unable to escape their marginalization (Mills, 2001). Discrimination and segregation, by race are not traits that Latino migrants were accustomed to in their native countries. Rather they learned of race, ethnicity, and discrimination once they came to the U.S. and were Americanized. Once migrants learned the of U.S. social hierarchy they began to look down on other newly arrived migrants.

Bernie conveyed this when he stated that

*“The experience of migrating is culture shock. At least I came with the language. A lot of migrants don’t even come with Spanish. It elevates your status and it is kind of shocking to me because, in Mexico we don’t have race discrimination. I was never exposed to that. The minute I arrived here, it was he is white, he is black, everybody has a color.”*

The Roma shared these experiences of hierarchy among migrant groups with Asians already established in the UK. The Roma felt that their presence threatened the Asians which resulted in more discriminatory confrontations with these groups than they had with the Caucasian population. This could be due to the close proximity in which migrants live to one another and the limited resources available to them. Bernie recalled how his host family in the U.S. was a family of migrants that had been living in Los Angeles for ten years. The host families struggle to establish themselves in the area was a status symbol. Newly arrived migrants, it was thought, had to go through the same process in order to gain the status of established.

Another commonality among Roma participants was the concern over the rise in racist activity in the UK. Maggie and Ciara agreed that racism was getting worse in the UK because

*“We are in a race to be in a more hardline about migrants. Every week there is a new policy about restricting access to benefits, making it more difficult to apply. The populist parties are out doing themselves in racism”.*

David and Dani have experienced more discriminatory practices on a day to day basis. For example, David laments that when he tells people he is Roma or they know he is Roma they start to treat him differently and see their negative perceptions manifest in the way they look at him and interact with him. Dani has had shopkeepers follow her around the store as she picks up her items and has seen signs posted in her neighborhood that say no Roma or Gypsy allowed. These difficulties surrounding racism have not hampered relationships between Roma migrants and the

local government. Their conversations over community needs, school enrollment and cultural understanding have continued. Dani says she is seeing more trust between the Roma community and government officials while Maggie, Alex and Victor continue advocating for both the schools with the Roma community and for the Roma with the local government. Dani has traveled all over the UK sharing her story and pushing for Roma rights.

### ***Modernity and Normalcy***

Among the Roma, the idea of modernity emerged as a theme, especially among the women. The modern pull of migration has been found among many migrant groups including rural Thai and Chinese women as recorded by Mills (2001) and Hairong (2008). Roma women recognized the changes that took place in themselves and their families as a result of their migration. For example, Cristina divorced her abusive husband after being in the UK for two years. She was able to work and support her children on her own, an opportunity that was unavailable to her in Czech Republic. Maggie remained with her husband and ended the domestic violence situation she had been living in while in Hungary. With her role in the Citizen Advisory Council, Maggie was able to create a domestic violence project helping other Roma women escape from domestic violence. Dani did not suffer from domestic violence. She came from a very traditional Roma family that did not allow her to receive an education or work outside of the home in Romania. Dani found herself in awe of English women, in their style of dress and level of modernity. Once she settled in the UK she began working and found avenues to receive an education. Dani and Maggie both hoped for their daughters to be independent and modern in the UK with good employment in their future. Dani's new feelings of modernity contrasted with her traditions. She is now in a position where she must balance her two selves.

*“Right now I can be here, do what I want to do, act how I want, I do what I want, but when I am home I’m trying to be how he [her husband] wants me to be. Quiet, zip my mouth, put my head down. Because I am trying to maintain my family and also who I am, my personality, but also I’m trying to, in time little steps to understand it is a change”*

The modern changes adapted by Roma women were not as readily accepted by Roma men. For example, Roma men referred to working Roma women as too English and felt that they were a threat to their traditions. They did not like their wives talking with working women for fear their wives would get ideas about working and leaving the home. The Roma participants are tied to their traditions and culture, however, once exposed to English life the gender roles and discrepancies between them were realized by both men and women. Some Roma men were displeased with the idea of their daughters marrying into English families as it is the Roma women who transmit the cultural heritage to the children in some Roma households. One Roma male participant felt he was becoming English with his need for privacy and materialism. He also felt modern because he allowed his wife to go out with her friends.

In addition to feelings of difference from the majority of school mates, all Latino participants stated they felt more American now that they have lived here or grew up here. They did not have a desire to return to their countries of origin permanently, despite all the obstacles presented to them. Selena and Bernie, both natives of Mexico City feared having to live in the violence happening in Mexico City. When they return home for visits, they are constantly reminded by family friends that they are now too American, yet when in the U.S. they are not viewed as wholly American due to their accents, skin color, and language. Their experience of bordering the two cultures reflects the sentiments of the rural Thai and Chinese migrants where marginalization increases for migrants who cannot discuss their experiences or live up to the consumerist expectations of their new society (Mills, 2001; Hairong, 2005). Their existence of

being in between the host culture and their native culture is not accepted in either community.

Luis and Stephanie reflect on how they have become accustomed to the American standard of living which makes it hard for them to return home for long periods of time. The Latinos interviewed have adopted modernity in terms of consumerism, resources and standards of living.

Lastly, normalcy and the desire to belong was a shared sentiment among all migrants. Above all their pursuits and individual achievements, migrant participants wanted to be recognized as normal, to have a place in society and be accepted. Whether it was in school, in the workplace, or in their neighborhoods, migrants want to be perceived as more than migrants. As mothers, fathers and fellow citizens living a life that is safe, secure and opportunities to live the richest life possible.

### ***Discussion***

Given the Manchester model and the outcomes present in the Roma community, the U.S. would do well to initiate a pilot program similar to the Manchester model. The pilot program could be a longitudinal study of Latino migrants, assessing the social, economic, and educational impacts of Latinos that were supported by local governments, schools and other migrant mentors in their native languages, including indigenous languages.

In addition, local governments would do well to set up advisory boards made up of migrants with the purpose of the informing government officials about the needs and values of the migrant communities. The advisory boards would represent the migrant communities adding to the discourse and having direct access to the policy process. This would important in communities in the U.S. where migrants cannot vote in local or national elections. Government agencies would also be held accountable to the migrant population. Long term effects may see improvements in

education policy, housing policy as well as trust and collaboration. Trust and social capital would not be an immediate result, however, as local governments in the UK who collaborate with migrant groups still struggle with anti-immigrant sentiment in the broader community.

Although Manchester and Leeds have developed a model of successful integration through local government outreach and the employment of Roma migrants as interpreters, the UK as a whole is not a model society for integration as negative media campaigns and discriminatory and racist remarks by government officials are everyday obstacles for the Roma community to overcome. There have been increases in the physical harm against Roma victims, in addition to discriminatory practices by local businesses and community residents stemming from the negative media and political discourse.

The Roma participants expressed positive sentiments of their migration while the Latinos expressed barriers and hardships in their migrations. These negative sentiments could be the result of Latinos feeling as though they are not supported and having to assimilate rather than being able to integrate. This was seen in the role that education played in the Latino migrant's experiences. In order to receive a non-ESL education, Latinos had to deny that they spoke Spanish at home. Latinos in this study did not assimilate over generations, as Galli and Russo (2013) and Alba and Nee (2003) suggested, rather assimilation came about rapidly when the children of migrants entered the U.S. educational system. Furthermore, Latino participants suggest that integration has not been achieved. Instead of embracing both their native culture and the culture of their host nation they have been forced to favor one culture over the other. Latino interviewees shared that if they chose American culture they feel alienated from their homes and cultural history. They also did not feel fully welcome into American society whether they identified as American or Latino because they were still considered to be an "other", outside the

dominant society. They exist in what Gloria Anzaldua describes as borderland (1987). In other words, Latinos are aware of their two cultures and cannot move between them freely. They must navigate the social cues and pressures to conform. Even if Latinos successfully navigate the social cues, both the host society and the native culture of the migrants only perceive them as one or the other, not a combination of the two cultures. The working definition for integration in this study has not been achieved by the Latino participants. Given the definition applied in this study, respondents suggest that integration has not been achieved.

The Roma participants are not active in politics beyond the dialogues and events with local governments, with no representation in Parliament. Their direct access to government, however, has given them the social capital to advocate for themselves and challenge the stereotypes surrounding Roma. Latinos studied do not have direct access to government officials, although there are Latino Representatives in Congress and state government. These representatives do not reflect the Latino population as whole. Marco Rubio represents Cuban-American values and Senator Ted Cruz is Canadian born. Some constituent needs are left unaddressed because not every Latino is eligible to vote. Latinos are still lacking the social capital to be active in politics and alter their social construction.

Lastly, normalcy and the desire to belong was a shared sentiment among all migrants. Above all their pursuits and individual achievements, migrants wanted to be recognized as normal, to have a place in society and be accepted. Whether it was in school, in the workplace, or in their neighborhoods, migrants want to be perceived as more than migrants. As mothers, fathers and fellow citizens living a life that is safe, secure and opportunities to live the richest life possible.

# *Conclusion*

In conclusion, social construction plays an important role in the U.S. and UK. How migrants are perceived and accepted by their community affects their level of education, their access to resources, and the amount of social capital they can acquire. Latinos in the U.S. have had a negative social construction since the annexation of the Southwest and acquisition of Puerto Rico. Latinos have been denied the documents necessary to prove their residency and have been used as a cheap source of labor for the agricultural sector. In addition, Latinos have borne the brunt of anti-immigration policies during times of economic hardship in the U.S. Integration and inclusion policies have tried to ease discriminatory practices against Latinos, yet they are not producing tangible results.

Latinos are facing barriers in education whether they are native born or foreign born. There is a quiet concern among Latinos that a re-segregation of students is occurring in American classrooms with the placement of Latino students in ESL classes. Latino migrants cite a better life through education as one of the primary motivating factors in their migration. They seek to be integrated, yet they feel that they are still being treated as second class citizens, forced to assimilate to get by, rather than integrate. Currently, Latinos feel that society can only recognize them as either Latino or Americano, not as both.

In addition, the negative social construction of Latinos in the U.S. leaves them without political redress and little social capital making it hard for them to challenge stereotypes and gain access to the political process. Latino participants feel as though local government is not reaching out to them and including them in the policy process. Local events that share their cultural heritage with other members of the community are also lacking, according to the participant's

perceptions. The Latino community is struggling to break free from the stereotype of criminals that drain scarce social services. Their treatment in the political and social process makes it difficult for them to break the cycle of poverty and exclusion.

The Roma, in contrast are finding new ways to interact with government officials, school leaders, and community members to challenge their negative social construction and gain social capital. The Roma have not held a favorably position in European society for most of their history. Living outside the governmental systems and making their own way of life. They have been segregated from mainstream European societies for centuries before the Communist era. Under communist rule in Central and Eastern European states, attempts were made to integrate the Roma, however they received substandard housing and schools and were not accepted as equals in the labor force. When Communism collapsed, the Roma were the first to lose their employment status that the government had previously provided while their subsidized housing was sold for private development.

The Roma lived on the margins of society, subject to discrimination and segregation. When the EU expanded into the Central and Eastern European states, Western states were wary of Roma migrants and the “problem” their presence created. Their stereotype of being thieves and criminals caused Western states to enact special provisions for the new member states with large populations of Roma. The UK made it difficult for Roma to obtain visas and employment that would allow them to stay in the country. Border officials were granted permission to racially profile Roma to prevent them from entering the UK.

Despite all these setbacks, local governments in Manchester and Leeds have created a space for dialogue and collaboration with the Roma community to get their children enrolled in school,

find employment opportunities and have their needs met. The conversations between Roma migrants and government officials have allowed Roma to build trust and increase their social capital helping the community and the government to combat the negative stereotypes of Roma.

The positive interactions with the Roma in the UK are producing encouraging outcomes for the community. The same cannot be said of Latinos in the U.S. A pilot program similar to the Manchester model would be useful to evaluate the effectiveness of communicative action and Deliberative Democracy in the U.S. Furthermore, in regards to the importance of education in all migrant's lives, a study of ESL classes and the long term effects on the students should be conducted. The U.S. could model programs with Roma migrant children where they use the buddy system and mentoring as a tool to help children feel comfortable and welcome in the classroom.

The small number of interviews conducted in this research study is not conducive to making generalizations or a framework of policy recommendations. It has raised questions, however, about the U.S.'s ability to enact successful integration policies. Even with the obstacles migrants face in their journey to the U.S. and the barriers they face to establishing themselves, they are still arriving and taking up long-term residence. It would do well to understand how U.S. policy-makers, at all levels of government can help migrants settle into the host nation, realize their hopes for a better way of life and break free from the cycle of poverty.

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# Appendix

## *Appendix 1: Interview Question Themes and Recruitment Flyers*

### Interview structure and questionnaire themes

For this study, the student researcher will conduct semi-structured interviews with each group of policy actors. Each group will be asked a series of questions that draw upon the themes below in order to develop a basis for comparison. Due to the nature of the semi-structured interview, participants will be asked the same questions, but follow up questions may vary depending on the information they divulge. This will help define the themes of the research being conducted.

**Introduction:** Hello, my name is Rebecca Arce and I am a second year masters of public policy student at Oregon State University. Thank you for sitting down with me today. I am doing research on integration policy and the experiences that you have had with integrating into your community. Your participation is voluntary and you may choose to withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose not to participate, your ability to access services and be involved with the organization will not be affected. You can refuse to answer any question that you do not feel comfortable answering and you may also decline to have the interview digitally recorded. Your anonymity will be protected as I will not be using direct quotes, nor will I record your name or reveal any identifying factors about you. I would ask that you do not reveal your documentation status, as it is not necessary to participate in this study. What I really want to hear is your story and how you believe your story can impact integration policy.

1. How long have you been living in the United States/ United Kingdom? (Host country is dependent on which population the participant is from).
2. Why did you decide to settle here?
3. How do you envision success for yourself and your community here?
4. What experience have you had being included into the wider community here? Do you have any experiences being excluded from the community? Can you tell me about some of those experiences?
5. What is integration policy?
6. How is integration measured? How do you know it is working?
7. Are you familiar with integration policies that are in place in your community?
8. What have been some of the challenges that you have faced in getting access to and knowledge of these policies?
9. Do you feel like your community recognizes and understands your cultural traditions and practices? Do you recognize the cultural traditions and practices of the wider community in which you live?
10. What are some of the difficulties or fond memories you have of celebrating your heritage in your community?
11. If there is one message that you would like your representative to know about being a Romani/Latino in your community, what would that be?

# **Segregation Never, Integration Now? An inclusive look integration policies**



Would you like participate in a research study? The study is currently accepting volunteers to share their experiences and ideas about integrating and settling into a new country. This study seeks to understand integration policy from the perspectives of the Roma community.

If you would like to share your story please contact the student researcher to schedule an interview. Interviews will last between 60 and 90 minutes. The research study is open to all persons over the age of 18. While resident status is not a condition of participation and will not be asked of any volunteer, persons with past or pending deportation charges may not volunteer.

**Please contact Rebecca Arce, the student researcher at 818-749-6186 to enroll in the study.**

For any questions regarding the study please contact the Principal Investigator, Amy Below:  
[amy.below@oregonstate.edu](mailto:amy.below@oregonstate.edu)

# **Un estudio para comprender la política de integración desde la perspectiva Latina.**



## **¡Por favor, queremos su perspectiva!**

Estamos buscando voluntarios para compartir sus experiencias e ideas sobre la integración y adaptación a este país, para luego hacer recomendaciones al sistema de inmigración

Si le gustaría compartir su historia, por favor póngase en contacto con la estudiante investigadora para hacer una entrevista.

- La entrevista tomará alrededor de 60 a 90 minutos.
- El estudio está abierto a todas las personas mayores de 18 años.

Por favor tenga en cuenta que no es necesario que los voluntarios sean residentes legales de EE.UU., pero las personas con cargos de deportación pasados o pendientes no pueden ser voluntarios.

Por favor llame a Rebecca Arce, la estudiante investigadora, al 818-749-6186.

Si tiene preguntas o preocupaciones con este estudio por favor pónganse en contacto con Amy Below, la investigadora principal, [amy.below@oregonstate.edu](mailto:amy.below@oregonstate.edu)

**Appendix II: Coded Theme Frequencies**

