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Industrial Districts and Migrant Enclaves: A Model of Interaction

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So far, the relationship between Industrial Districts (IDs; clusters of interconnected local industries) and migrant enclaves (areas with a high concentration of international migrants from a single nationality) has been studied mostly by focusing on the emergence of ‘ethnic enclave economies’ within the district and/or by highlighting racist conflicts that achieved notoriety in the media. In this study, we contend that there is a more general and complex interaction between the two phenomena. This interaction is mediated by the local context, national regulations, and the organization of the international market, among other factors. By focusing on the case of the ceramic ID of Castelló de la Plana (Spain), we show how this ID with a high rate of job formality, combined with other job opportunities and a unique ‘institutional completeness’, set up the conditions for a non-conflictive Romanian migrant enclave that reached 14% of the town’s total population in 2012. Finally, and also considering another case study of ID and migrant enclave (Prato, and its Chinese enclave), we suggest a model of interaction that should be interpreted taking into account the general dynamics of the international organization of value and the requirements of flexibility and reduction of costs that frame IDs.

Keywords: industrial districts; migrant enclaves; ethnic economies; Romanian migration, migrant emplacement.

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Introduction

Let us start our argument about the singularity of the Romanian migrant enclave of Castelló with a vignette taken from our fieldwork:

On October 7th 2017, the mayor of the City Council of Castelló signed the Twinning Cities Agreement between Târgoviște (Dâmbovița, Romania) and Castelló de la Plana (Valencia, Spain) and symbolically transferred the Mayor's baton over to the representative from Târgoviște. The Assembly Hall was crowded with representatives from the Romanian Associations of Castelló, the Romanian Consulate and other institutions. Later that day, hundreds of people celebrated a festival with the participation of folklore groups from both cities. These events were preceded by similar celebrations in Târgoviște, some weeks before. The speeches given by politicians and dignitaries, including representatives from both local police forces, emphasized the exemplary 'integration' of people from Romania in the city, their demographic importance ('about 15,000 people, 10,000 of them from Târgoviște' – 10% of the town's current total population), and the fact that they identified Castelló as their 'home'.

This vignette points out a non-trivial issue, as Romanian migrants have suffered racism and stigmatization in Spain, as well as in other countries (Molero, Recio, García-Ael, Fuster, & Sanjuán, 2013). Our research question therefore is: How can this unusual adaptive success of a migrant population be explained? In order to address this question, in this paper we contend that the existence of an industrial district (ID) in the region, combined with a specific set of local conditions, helps to explain both phenomena, i.e. the existence of a 'migrant enclave' (a high concentration of migrants of a given nationality within a bounded geographical area), and the (in this case successful) 'mode of emplacement' of migrants (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2013) in a specific structure of

opportunities and constraints. We will explain the concept ‘mode of emplacement’ later on in this paper.

In order to develop our argument, we will first pay attention to the relationship between IDs and migration, focusing afterwards on the specific case of Castelló. This case will allow us to propose a general model of interaction between IDs and migration that can be applied to other realities, resulting in a ‘positive’ (i.e. ‘integration’) or ‘negative’ (i.e. ‘separation’) emplacement of the migrant population under discussion. This binary model can be further developed in order to admit a wider range of states and nuances.

This paper is organized as follows: Section 1 briefly reviews the literature on IDs and migration, introducing the concept of ‘institutional embeddedness’ (Breton, 1968). Section 2 describes the context of the case study. Then, the third section presents the data and methods used, namely, a combination of statistical sources, interviews and ethnographic observation. The results and the discussion will be presented in Section 4, which also includes a brief introduction to another migrant enclave embedded within an ID, namely the Chinese enclave in Prato, Italy, a well-known case in the academic literature (see Dei Ottati, 2014), in order to build our theoretical model. The preliminary conclusions are presented in Section 5, and the final section suggests future lines of research.

Industrial districts and migration: a brief review

Is there a relationship between the locations of IDs and migration flows? Although authors such as Mingione (2009, p. 229) noted that ‘almost all the Italian provinces with a high incidence of foreign immigrants with respect to the overall population are characterized by the presence of important industrial districts’, to our knowledge, this

question has received scarce attention to date (Andall, 2007; Guiso and Schivardi, 2007). In fact, past research that considered IDs and migration has mostly paid attention to the emergence of ‘ethnic enclave economies’ within IDs, mainly in Italy (Ceccagno 2007; Ceccagno 2015; Lazzeretti and Capone 2016) and Spain (Ybarra Pérez and Santa María Beneyto 2005). These authors either discussed the benefits that such existence brings to the ID and to the local economies (see also Canello 2016; Guercini 2016), or analysed the so-called ‘ethnic conflicts’ in such enclaves covered by the news media (Barbu, Dunford, and Weidong 2013; Cachón 2006; Narotzky 2009).

The question about the relation between IDs and migration has been partially answered by (Molina et al., 2016), who showed that the number of immigrants in Spanish IDs is strongly correlated with the size of IDs in terms of their employment capacity, controlling for the total population size in the area. While such evidence confirms a statistical relation between the two phenomena, it does not explain the causal mechanisms (if any) that underlie this relation. In terms of our research question: is there a *causal* connection between the existence of IDs and the mode of emplacement of a migrant enclave? In order to address this question, we will first describe the case study of the Spanish province of Castelló, where an important enclave of Romanians coexists with the ceramic tile ID.

Industrial districts and clusters

The term ‘industrial district’ was introduced as early as 1890 (Marshall, 1920) to refer to a geographical concentration of firms that are specialized in one or more phases of the production process of a certain end product. The division of labour in such districts takes place on an inter-firm rather than an intra-firm basis, such that firms have both collaborative and competitive relations with each other. Becattini (1990; Cf. Pyke & Sengenberger, 1990) stressed that an ID is not only an economic entity, but also an

interrelated economic, social and cultural complex, with shared institutions, either formal or informal. In addition, Porter (1990) introduced the term ‘cluster’ to depict a similar range of industrial formations, but with some conceptual differences, including the metaphorical use of the existence of a geographically bounded community (De Marchi & Grandinetti, 2014).

Marshall (1920) argued that, over time, IDs develop what he called an ‘industrial atmosphere’, which refers to the existence of intangible resources based on experience, knowledge and information that are common to all the firms belonging to the district (it is ‘in the air’, as Marshall noted) and contributes to its competitive advantage. These intangible externalities include mutual knowledge, long-term relationships and repeated interactions, and common experience, which build trust and a co-operative attitude (Paniccia, 1998), as well as a pool of qualified human resources, specialized suppliers and technological spill-overs (Krugman, 1991).

Moreover, scholars have argued that IDs have a capacity for adaptive reaction to the changing international markets through flexible productive networks of specialized firms, circulation of labour, and knowledge. However, a vast number of case studies that were performed in Italy, in particular, but also in other countries (Becattini, Bellandi, & De Propris, 2009; Hervás-Oliver, Gonzalez, Caja, & Sempere-Ripoll, 2015), showed the changing nature and diversity of the phenomenon: whereas many firms responded successfully to globalization and the economic crisis, some ‘canonical’ IDs disappeared as a reaction to the economic crisis, and others suffered a profound depression. Therefore, the survival of IDs depends heavily upon their ability to adapt to changes in the globalized capitalist system (see Giuliani and Rabellotti 2014). Among the observed adaptation strategies are the extension of supply chains beyond the district, the outsourcing of phases of the productive process, the increase in the volume of exports, and sector diversification

(Humphrey & Schmitz, 2002). Furthermore, some IDs in sectors such as textile, clothing and leather have managed to survive by reducing their production costs, often by employing immigrants for low-skilled jobs.

Related to the latter increase in the numbers of migrant workers in some districts is the emergence of ethnic firms, first as subcontractors and later on as key players in the business sector – a phenomenon observed both in Italy (Prato, textile and so-called ‘fast fashion’, mostly run by Chinese entrepreneurs; see Dei Ottati, 2009) and in Spain (Alacant, footwear industry, also primarily run by Chinese entrepreneurs; Giuliani and Rabellotti, 2014). Giuliani and Rabellotti suggested that these ‘ethnic enclave economies’ are more likely to emerge within IDs whose production process is work-intensive and allows for high levels of informality. In that case, small firms with a small capital investment can use their ethnic resources to recruit and operate a workforce in order to be competitive and accumulate both capital and know-how. In fact, the racist events that occurred in both locations (Prato and Alacant) had the accusation of ‘unfair competition’ as a common denominator².

While these studies highlight the increase in the number of migrants and the emergence of ethnic enclave economies within IDs, they do not investigate whether IDs have an influence on the possible modes of emplacement of migrants. This is precisely the topic of the current paper. In order to answer this question, we first need to introduce a few other theoretical concepts.

² To illustrate this statement, see for example: El Pais 17-09-2004“Demonstrators against Chinese footwear set fire to a factory building in Elche.

(...) The demonstrators protested against the presence of Asian warehouse keepers and businessmen because they understand that they represent unfair competition for the sector, as they claim they sell their products without any control by the Administration.” (our translation)

Migrant enclaves, ethnic enclave economies, and institutional completeness

The concept ‘migrant enclave’ refers to an area with a high concentration of international migrants from a single nationality. Although demographers tend to use the term ‘ethnic enclave’ to refer to the concentration of migrants from a single country in a geographically bounded area (Galeano, Sabater, & Domingo, 2015), we prefer ‘migrant enclave’ in order to avoid, on the one hand, the frequent confusion between ethnicity and nationality, and, on the other, taking for granted the existence of a community with specific economic cooperation/competition dynamics (Werbner, 2001). In this vein, the concept of ‘ethnic economy’ (or by analogy, ‘migrant economy’) refers to the ensemble of ‘co-ethnic self-employed and employers and their co-ethnic employees’ (Light & Gold, 2000, p. 5). This concept accounts for the existence of migrant minorities occupying specific market niches by making use of their social and cultural resources in order to overcome the barriers imposed on newcomers by the mainstream society. It inherits the dual-market job hypothesis (i.e. migrants and women are funnelled mainly into the secondary labour market, see Piore 1970), on the one hand, and the ‘middleman minority’ hypothesis (Bonacich 1973), on the other. The latter hypothesis states that migrant minorities tend to specialize in certain economic activities rejected by the majority population (vendors, money-lenders, barbers, etc.), and that this specialization leads to ethnic solidarity, which simultaneously arouses the hostility of the host society, thereby perpetuating the minority’s status as ‘foreigners’ or “outsiders”.

The second concept, ‘ethnic enclave economy’, resembles the concept of ID in the sense that it adds both a geographical and a social dimension to the definition (in this case the geographical concentration of the migrant population and small firms, linked among them). Portes and Manning (1986) identified three conditions for the existence of an enclave economy: ‘first, the presence of a substantial number of immigrants, with

business experience acquired in the sending country; second, the availability of sources of capital; and third, the availability of sources of labour' (p. 61). As in the case of the middleman minorities, the preservation of the migrant minority's culture and bonds and the direct competition with domestic firms can lead to feelings of hostility from the host society. Likewise, the ethnic enclave economy has its own life-cycle, where in a first stage it serves primarily the co-ethnic market, then it extends business to other sectors, after which, in some cases, it gradually disappears when the next generations are incorporated into the mainstream society.

All things considered, we suggest that the Chinese cases of Prato and Alacant, cited above, could be classified under the category of 'ethnic enclave economies' (or migrant enclave economies) within IDs (see Santini, Rabino, and Zanni, 2011; Cachón, 2006), whereas the Romanian case of Castelló that we will describe can be understood as just a 'migrant enclave', without the ethnic enclave economy dimension. In our conceptualization, all ethnic enclave economies presuppose the existence of a migrant enclave, but not the other way round.

Another concept that is necessary in order to understand the emergence of migrant enclaves in general is *institutional completeness* (Breton, 1968). This concept refers to the extent to which society at large is reproduced within a community (in this case, the enclave). In Breton's words:

Institutional completeness would be at its extreme whenever the ethnic community could perform all the services required by its members. Members would never have to make use of native institutions for the satisfaction of any of their needs, such as education, work, food and clothing, medical care, or social assistance. [...] Of the three types of institutions included in the index of institutional completeness – churches, welfare organizations, and newspapers and periodicals – *religious institutions* [italics added] have the greatest effect in keeping the immigrant's personal associations within the boundaries of the ethnic community. (p. 200)

Breton's main argument is that the level of organisation of the migrant community itself at the place of destination influences both the internal cohesion and the absorptive capacity of new emigrants. Among the different institutions, Breton suggests that, by providing religious services and social assistance, churches play a dominant role in these dynamics. Breton's contribution allows for a more realistic understanding of the migration process that goes beyond the 'migratory chain' (MacDonald & MacDonald, 1964) or the supportive role of co-ethnics who migrated earlier (Bashi, 2007). Both levels, social networks and institutions, interact in a way that facilitates the emergence of a migrant enclave, reduce the migration costs and recreate part of the cultural context in the new destination. The case of Castelló is especially illustrative of this multilevel dimension, as we will explain later.

The displacement-emplacement concept

The concept of 'displacement' was developed as part of the theoretical agenda of transnationalism intended to describe more precisely the wide range of mobilities, and the various forms of dispossession experienced by people forced to look for better living conditions, without assuming an 'ethnic lens', i.e. the generic homogeneity of those with the same national origin (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2013). The counterpart of the process of displacement is 'emplacement', i.e. the process oriented towards rebuilding the networks of connections in the new place, interacting with the given network of opportunities and constraints. The advantage of this conceptualization is that it conceives the 'migration process' as a multiscalar phenomenon connected to both global and local factors, without assuming the prior existence of "communities" or "cultural orientations" (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2015). In the words of Glick Schiller and Çağlar (2013):

Emplacement is understood as a relationship between the continuing restructuring of a city within networks of power and migrants' efforts to settle and build networks

of connection within the constraints and opportunities of a specific locality. It focuses analytic attention on the conjunction of time and place. In this approach, migrants' local and transnational networks of connection are considered in relation to local institutions, structures and narratives, as they emerge at particular moments in the historical trajectory and multiscale positioning of specific cities (p. 495).

This concept has the advantage that, by rejecting the ethnic lens, it forces the researcher to investigate when and how the ethnic identity become 'salient for people of migrant background and for the institutions of governance' (p. 495), the wide range of action of both migrants and non-migrants, and their multiple connections at the local, transnational or institutional levels. In this regard, we chose this concept as the outcome of the model, because the modes of emplacement of migrants in places affected by IDs show a wide variation in terms of social integration, creation of businesses, and transnational connections, among other dimensions. Now that we have presented the theoretical framework, we will describe the context of the case study of Castelló.

The Ceramic Tile ID in Castelló and Romanian migration to Spain

The Ceramic Tile ID in Castelló

Spain has a similar reality to that of Italy (Giuliani and Rabellotti 2014) regarding IDs, with slightly higher figures than Italy (Boix, 2009): the more than two hundred IDs mapped in Spain contain about 20% of the total population, the same proportion of total employment, and 35% of the manufacturing industry. In addition, the geographical distribution is also uneven, with a higher presence of IDs in the east for the case of Spain, and the north and centre for Italy.

In this article we will focus on the ceramic tile ID in the Spanish town Castelló. The ceramic industry in this town started in 1727 with an initiative by the Spanish Crown, *la Real Fábrica de Loza de Alcora*, and soon a cluster of small workshops, the

fabriquetes, appeared, gradually developing a ceramic industry in the area (Martínez Chafer, 2012). During the 1980s, the sector underwent fast development through a process of technological innovation resulting in its current organization in four main subsectors: clays, tiles, glazes and machinery. In addition, the sector enjoys a high level of institutional integration, with industry associations, trade unions and technological centres playing an important role (Boari, Molina-Morales, & Martínez-Cháfer, 2016).

During the economic crisis, the construction sector – the ID’s natural market – collapsed, but the ID showed a higher level of resilience than other economic sectors, through a process of concentration, the increase in the importance of the glaze subsector (the most technologically advanced) and the increase in tile exportations to new countries. Nowadays, the ID is achieving levels of activity comparable to those before the crisis (ASCER Annual Report, 2015). For instance, the frits and glazes subsector is the second main activity, employing 3,610 people, and had revenues of 1.194 billion euro with an export ratio of 72% (ANFFECC, Annual Report, 2015).

The Spanish ceramic tile industry has already been identified and analysed as both a ‘district’ and a ‘cluster’ in the seminal works of Ybarra (1991) and more recently by Boix and Galleto (2006) and Boix (2009), who characterized the industry as a ‘Marshallian-type industrial cluster’ (district). The Castelló case, which is cited in several empirical papers (Albors-Garrigos, Hervas-Oliver, & Marquez, 2008; Oliver, Garrigós, & Porta, 2008; Russo, 2004), has been widely acknowledged as an industrial district phenomenon (Giner & Santa María, 2002). Moreover, [reference removed] offered a comprehensive description of the whole process of creation of knowledge and innovation in this area. Finally, (Molina-Morales, Lopez-Navarro, & Guia-Julve, 2002) and (Molina-Morales & Martínez-Cháfer, 2016) analysed the role played by the specific local institutions in the transmission of knowledge within the district.

The ceramic industry is a linear process that demands large amounts of raw materials (clays), water, gas, and technological services, especially for the tuning of modern ceramic glazes. This concentration of capital demands highly qualified people for the technological subsectors (machinery and laboratories), whereas the continuous production line employs a mostly small number of workers with low levels of qualification, operating in two or three shifts, with long-term contracts. The level of job formality is high, with trade unions and professional associations playing an active role.

Romanian Migration to Spain

After the fall of the communist regime in 1989, Romanians were able to enter any western European country with a visa (a cumbersome and expensive process). From 2002 onwards, Romanians could enter the Schengen Area as ‘tourists’ during a period of three months and work in the informal economy until they were able to obtain a work permit. This process was facilitated after 2007, when Romania became a member of the European Union, although Romanians still needed a work permit in many countries. In this period both Italy and Spain were the preferred destination countries of Romanians as a consequence of both the high demand for low-qualified jobs by the construction sector and the regularization processes that took place in these countries (Ciobanu, 2015). As a result, the Romanian population in Spain has experienced a steady growth in the last two decades, from being virtually non-existent in 1998 (5,000) to constituting the largest group of foreign nationality in Spain in 2010 (864,278; INE 2015; see Figure 1). National regulations played an important role in explaining these fluxes of migrants. As we just mentioned, two elements are of paramount importance for the case of Spain (similar to Italy, see Cangiano and Strozza 2008): first, the recurrent processes of massive regularization of migrants (1991, 1996, 2000, 2001 and 2005), which provided them with

access to public services, granted mobility and facilitated family reunification for more than a million people during this period (only in 2005, 100,000 Romanians obtained their residence permit); second, the incorporation of Romania in the European Union in 2007, which meant, after an embargo period of 1-2 years (depending on the country), free mobility within Europe. Earlier, in 2002, Romania had allowed the free circulation of their citizens, eliminating the personal and economic cost associated with visa applications. This favourable institutional context for migration as well as the linguistic proximity between Romanian and Spanish helps us understand its fast growth in only a decade. The growth was halted by the economic crisis of 2008-2009 (Alamá-Sabater, Alguacil, & Bernat-Martí, 2017), which affected especially the construction sector, in which most Romanian migrants were occupied, their population size currently reaching almost 720,000 (see Figure 1; INE – Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2016).

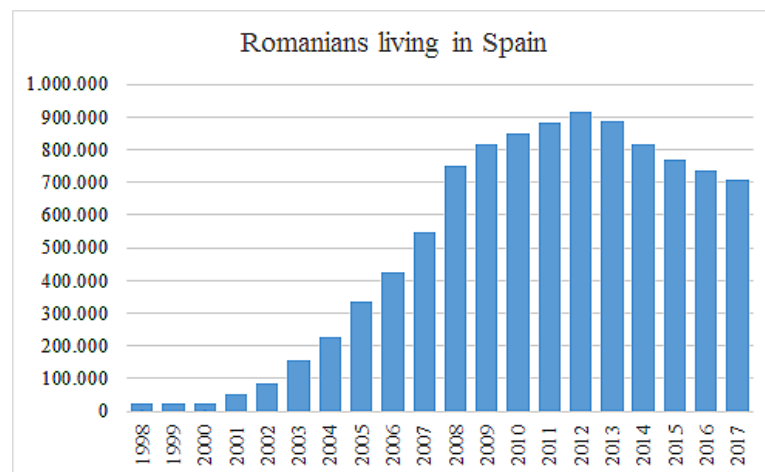


Figure 1.

The Romanian population in Spain is geographically unevenly distributed (see Figure 2). It is concentrated in the centre of the peninsula (around Madrid) and in the East ('Levante'), in both urban and rural areas (Viruela, 2008, 2016). In some cases, this

causes migrant enclaves, as is the case in Castelló, where currently 10% of the total population is Romanian (INE, 2016).

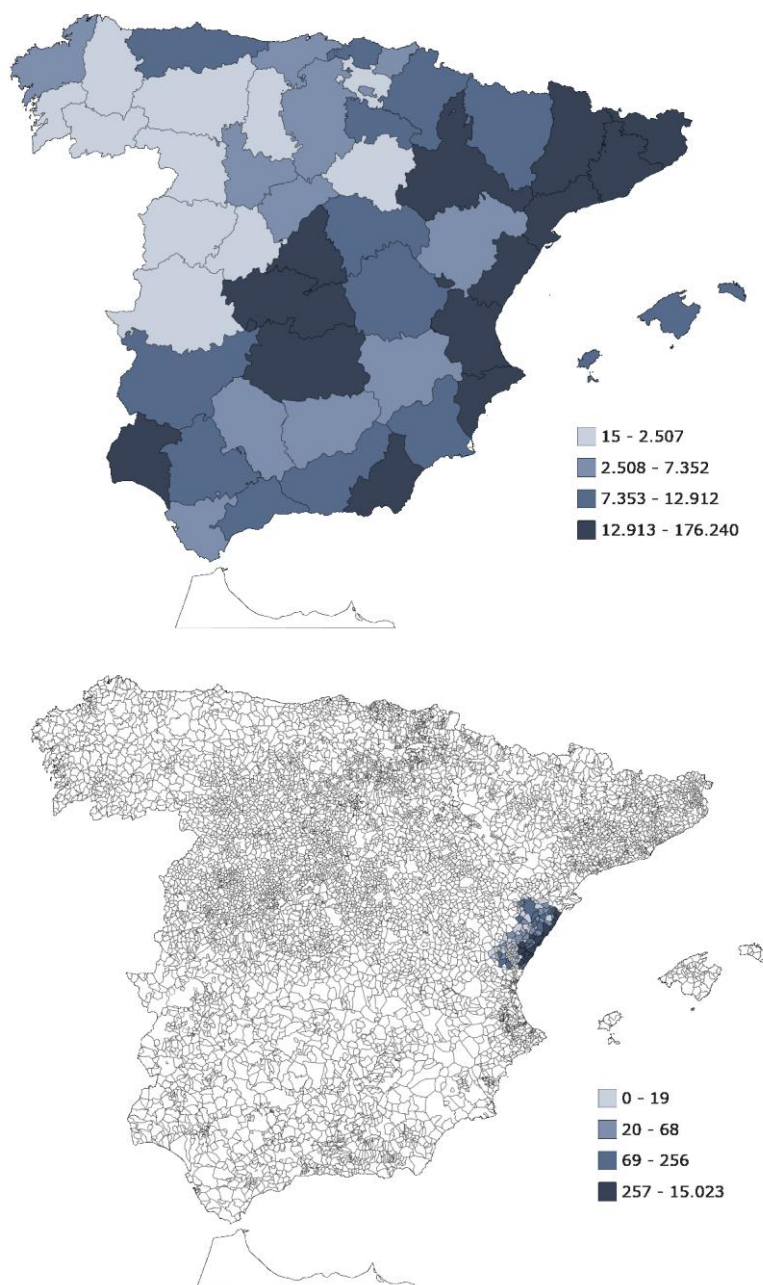


Figure 2.

Methods

The data that form the basis of this paper were collected through ethnographic fieldwork by the first author in Castelló, over a period of 14 months (intermittently from February to July 2016 and from February to August 2017). The fieldwork comprised participant observation in social events and Romanian festivities, informal and semi-structured interviews (15 semi-structured) with individuals, representatives of churches, charities, associations, local authorities, the Romanian consulate in Castelló, firms oriented towards the Romanian population (cellular communications and transportation services), and (three) in-company guided visits within the ceramic district. During this period the observation in Castelló was complemented with visits to other Romanian enclaves in Spain: Huelva (seasonal workers in the greenhouses), Reus (industry and services) and Roquetas de Mar (greenhouses). In each visit, informal interviews were conducted with migrants, employers and representatives of Romanian associations. These visits revealed the different modes of immigration of Romanian migrants in Spain, depending on the interaction with local conditions, including the type of economic sector (continuous versus seasonal), and their level of formality. Most interestingly, the migrant narratives regarding the national identity changed from place to place, between plural (e.g. ‘My home is Castelló but I am Romanian’ mostly among full-time workers), and exclusive (e.g. ‘I feel I am only Romanian’, mostly among the seasonal workers involved in patterns of circular migration).

Qualitative methods allow scholars interested in exploring unknown research problems, like the ‘Chinese enigma’ (Dei Ottati, 2014) or in our case the emergence of a Romanian enclave in Castelló, to obtain reliable contextualized information about sensitive issues, to explore causal connections among factors and, through comparison, to come up with an exploratory model of explanation. This process has been described

by Agar (1996) as an interactive loop from an ‘analytical schema’ (the set of hypotheses and theories through which the observer interprets the phenomenon) to ‘strips’ (sets of behaviours, narratives and contexts observed on-site). When some of these strips fail to match the analytical schema, the observer is forced to develop a new, more elaborate one that is capable of incorporating the spare strip. For instance, the analytical schema suggested that people re-migrate to Romania when they lose their jobs and cannot pay the mortgage. Instead, our observations (the strip) shows cases of internal migration, migration to other European countries, circular migration of one member of the family combined with seasonal work, and so on. The loop continues until no new strips defy the analytical schema. Although there are differences that we cannot detail here, the concept of ‘saturation’ with qualitative data (Guest, 2006) resembles the process of progressive discovery described here. This participant observation was complemented with literature reviews and analysis of statistical sources.

Results

The effect of the characteristics of the ID

Romanian migrants have been hired since the 90s in the production lines or in ancillary tasks in the tile district, like cleaning and maintenance, along with nationals and migrants from other countries. Nevertheless, the absolute numbers of Romanians working in the ceramic district are low compared to the number of Romanians employed in other sectors, in particular construction, tourism, services and agriculture, as statistical data reveal. For example, Figure 3 describes the evolution of job contracts signed by Romanians in the province of Castelló during the period 2001-2015. Regarding the evolution of the different sectors, the figure shows that the services sector has been growing throughout the whole period, even during the economic crisis, when it experienced a mild and short decrease in the rate of growth. In this case, ‘services’ refer primarily to domestic work,

care for the elderly, transport, hospitality and tourism. The construction sector, which is mainly a source of male occupation, suffered a dramatic collapse during the crisis. The industry sector, which includes the ceramic industry, also suffered from the crisis in terms of occupation, but the impact was less significant. Finally, the agricultural sector increased its importance as a source of occupation for Romanians in the province precisely after the crisis, possibly as a response to the fall of the construction sector.

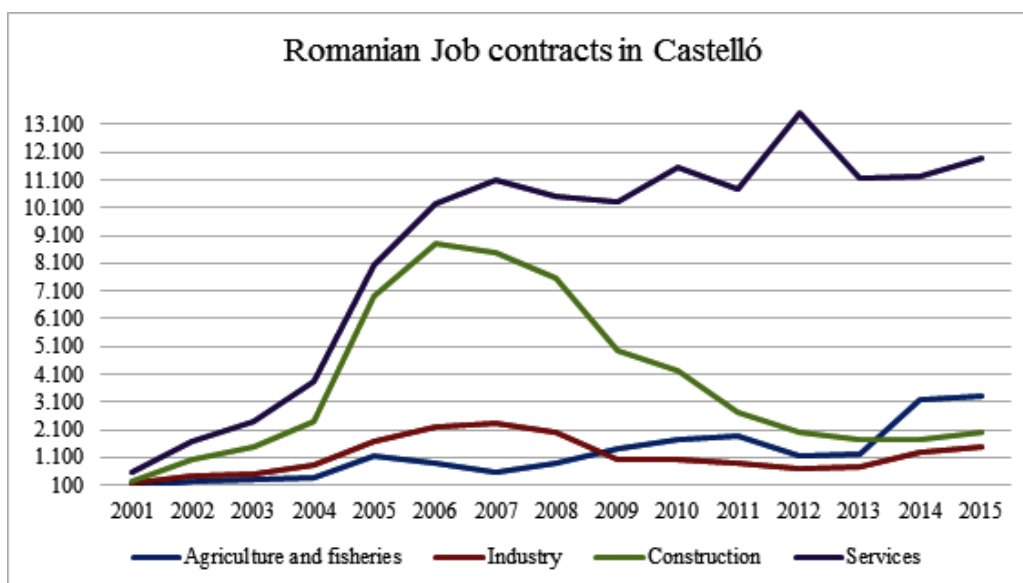


Figure 3.

Figure 4 shows the proportion of contracts signed by Romanians, distinguished by sector and gender for the period 2007-2015 for the specific case of Castelló, the capital of Castelló province. Again, services is the most important sector, with a high proportion of women, occupying mostly jobs in domestic services and care for the elderly. This source of female occupation was a way to cope with the economic crisis for many Romanian families indebted with mortgages when male workers became unemployed. Other reactions to unemployment were the sending of males to seasonal occupations in other provinces of Spain (especially for families with children attending schools in

Castelló), re-migration to other destinations in Europe (especially Germany, United Kingdom and France) or to Romania, where job opportunities were nevertheless even scarcer than in Spain.

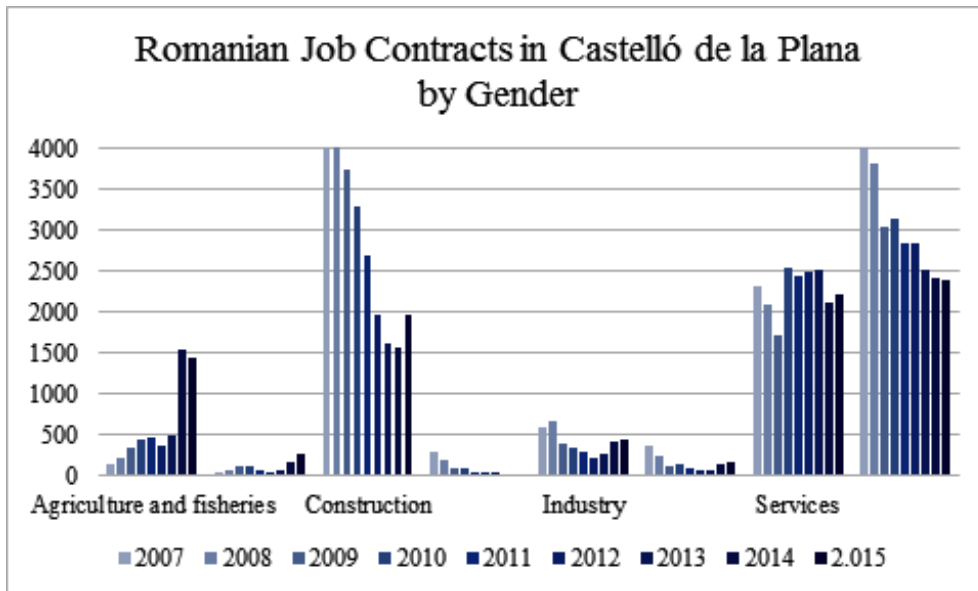


Figure 4.

The strategy of staying in Castelló while getting a job on a temporary basis in another province, at least during the first years, can be observed in Figure 5, where contracts outside the province experienced a growth precisely *after* the economic crisis (about 22%, see Viruela, 2016), especially in construction and agriculture. Agriculture is also the main sector of employment for Romanian residents of Castelló in other provinces.

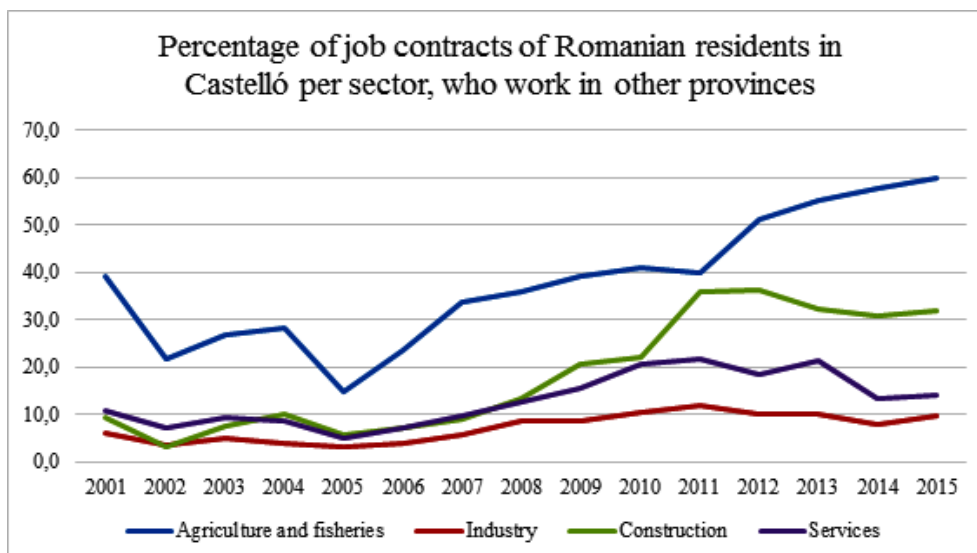


Figure 5.

The statistical information shows that the contribution of the ceramic sector (the greater part of the ‘industrial’ sector of Castelló) to the total number of jobs is small in quantitative terms, but we contend that it is important qualitatively because of its high level of formality, contrasting with the seasonal nature of agriculture and the high informality of both the construction and services sectors (see Bernat and Viruela 2011). Therefore, the job stability that is characteristic of the formal sector allowed migrants, formerly working in agriculture or care for the elderly, to choose Castelló as a more permanent place to live. This observation became clear in informal interviews with Romanian immigrants, as the field notes show:

Stefan (pseudonym) explains to me that he went to Germany first, but he was there in a precarious situation (he was even on the brink of being extradited). Then, he went to Madrid and remained there for a month. After that, he went to Castelló as an agricultural worker, picking oranges. This was in 1992. His wife came to join him one year later. Once the season finished, he found a more permanent job in the ceramic tile industry, first on the ‘line’ and thereafter on the kiln, where he remained for many years. Stefan then went back to Romania for several years, and finally, in

2007, he started a car repair shop in Castelló (Field notes: ethnographic description of a male, approximately 55 years old, Adventist, 14-09-2016).

Dumitru (pseudonym) had a cousin in Castelló, but he first went to work in Valencia (65 Km away) when he came to Spain in 2001. When he finally moved to Castelló he suffered what he calls ‘the baptism’, i.e. being rejected by the friends or family members who are supposed to help you. He could cope with the situation thanks to the Adventist church, and the Association of Migrants from the East, which gave him the opportunity to take care of an old man for almost a year. [...] After trying different informal occupations in the construction sector, he finally obtained a job in the ceramic sector (‘In Spain there were jobs for three whole countries’), first on the ‘line’ for six months, and afterwards as a machine operator, until now. First, he earned 900 euro per month, and had to complement his salary with small jobs at the weekend (...). He was offered a job in construction in Marina d’Or (a new ‘vacation city’ close to Castelló) for three times his salary, but he did not accept it because he had heard that contractors did not always pay the workers what they promised (Field notes: male, approximately 45 years old, non-religious but with an orthodox background).

These two examples show the importance of the ceramic tile sector for the settlement of new migrants in the city, who became more permanent residents of Castelló once they started to work in the ceramic industry. Although the number of permanent contracts is low, the small core of more permanent settlers have nevertheless improved the conditions for more seasonal workers to come to Castelló, as we will show in the next section. Finally, as we have already mentioned, it is probable that the lack of visibility of hired migrants in industries scattered over a wide area (compared to the visibility that migrant entrepreneurs would have had in an ‘ethnic quarter’) has prevented racist reactions from the native population that were observed in other districts.

The institutional completeness of the Romanian community in Castelló

The first Romanian migrants were Adventists, and first arrived in Coslada (Madrid),

Castelló and Valencia (Paniagua-López, 2007). During the 70s and 80s, the Spanish Adventist church launched several initiatives in Sagunt, a town close to Castelló . In 1979, Miguel, a Spanish former traffic police officer, took early retirement in Castelló as a consequence of a serious accident that left him with permanent sequelae. Close to his house, an Adventist group organized a course to quit smoking, which he attended. In 1982, Miguel received his baptism, and joined the Adventist church. When the first Romanian migrants (often Adventists) arrived in Castelló, not only was the Spanish Adventist church ready to host new members, but thanks to the connections that both Miguel and the Adventist pastor (a former Spanish military officer) had with the Spanish authorities (City Council, Diputació de Castelló), the Red Cross and Caritas (a Spanish charity related to the Catholic Church), a *network of institutions* was ready to work together in order to provide assistance to the newcomers that followed the migration chain from Târgoviște and Ploiești (the main places of origin, located to the north of Bucharest) to Castelló. These rather fortuitous events were an important aid in helping Romanians to incorporate in the local context.

As it happens, Miguel founded the first Romanian Association in Spain in 1996, the *Asociación Rumana Castellonense*, with Daniel, a Romanian migrant (Adventist as well). The Association statutes were written with the aid of the Adventist pastor. From this point on, other Romanian associations were created, taking advantage of the institutional links built by Miguel and the Adventist pastor.

Although the presence of Adventist and other evangelical churches such as Pentecostals and Baptists is important in Castelló, the majority of the Romanian population is from the Orthodox religion or cultural background. In 2004, the Orthodox church of Saint Nicholas was founded, the second in Spain, after Madrid (Buades Fuster & Vidal Fernández, 2007). In 2013, the church moved to its current location, a former

Catholic church, a courtesy that has been common in Spain (Garris Mozota, 2012). Furthermore, the Romanian consulate for the whole region of Valencia was opened in Castelló in January 2008, adding to the institutional completeness of the Romanian community. In this case, as we noted before, this migrant enclave cannot be considered an “ethnic enclave economy” as there is no residential segregation of Romanians and there is no specific business quarter oriented towards this ethnic market. Romanian dwellers and Romanian-oriented businesses are spread throughout the town. In general the people of Romanian origin are quite well assimilated into the mainstream society, following the same pattern of adaptation as other groups coming from post-socialist countries, such as Bulgarians (Gómez Mestres et al., 2012).

The Chinese ethnic enclave in Prato

During the mid-1980s, the textile industry of Prato underwent a period of crisis that resulted in the transformation of the organization of the ID (fewer textile firms with fewer workers, with more imported components) and the type of product, moving from low-medium to medium-high quality of textiles in wool and other fibres. Along with this main sector of activity, an important subsector of knitwear production was present in the area from the 1970s onwards. After the crisis, with the recovery of local industries during the early 1990s, these Italian-owned firms had problems when it came to finding local homeworkers (Dei Ottati, 2014). In this context, Chinese migrants from the city of Wenzhou (Zhejiang province), many of them already residents in Italy after the 1978 Chinese economic reform, started their businesses as subcontractors in this subsector. The Wenzhou area is renowned for its entrepreneurial culture, with a dense network of small-size firms producing leather, textiles and other goods. This entrepreneurial culture, combined with the development of their original skills and the experience acquired in the clothing sector, made this population the perfect candidate to fill this gap. This trend was

accelerated by the fact that the fast-fashion industry (*pronto moda*) found a source of low costs, precarious labourers and flexibility provided by the Chinese partnership – the perfect companion for its quick development in Prato. The Chinese workshop was typically small and kin-based, and working conditions were harsh – with employees, working 15 or 16 hours in a row (even up to 30 consecutive hours in the high season) - men and women all under the same conditions (Ceccagno, 2007). Their working mode was only possible as a consequence of the informal operation, the internal circulation of workers, and even the coordination among several workshops to dispatch an order, resulting in a value that made the sector highly competitive. During this phase, the growing Chinese community also developed what we have dubbed in this paper an “institutional completeness”, made up of Chinese associations of entrepreneurs, commerce, business people, Chinese Catholics, Buddhists, Chinese evangelical Christians, and so on (Dei Ottati, 2014). During the 2000s the Chinese clothing firms not only increased in number but also exceeded those owned by local Italian owners, eventually taking on the role of end producers instead of providers in many cases (Ceccagno, 2009). The ethnic enclave economy attracted new (illegal) migrants, willing to start their own business in the future, and also unable to enter into the job market as a consequence of their lack of knowledge of Italian, and the specific language spoken in the sending region. This new role of Chinese businessmen with a legal status as a consequence of the 1995 and 1998 amnesties was accompanied by increasing transnational contacts with Wenzhou, delocalizing some phases of the production or importing fabrics or other components better suited for low-quality production than the medium-high quality products available in the ID that were produced by Italian-owned firms. However, this process, once praised by the media and the local authorities, changed dramatically in 2009 when the right-wing was elected to the local government and the

police stepped up the number of checks on Chinese workshops (Ceccagno, 2012). Soon, information about the working conditions of illegal Chinese labourers in the workshops reached public notoriety (Ceccagno, 2015). The economic crisis also hit this once-thriving ethnic enclave economy, now within an ID in decadence and with a devised and enforced ‘explicit anti-Chinese-entrepreneurship policy’ (Ceccagno, 2015).

The model of interaction

The proposed model of interaction is depicted in Figure 6. In order to make our argument clear, the model is formulated in a binary form: either a positive or negative emplacement of the migrant enclave.

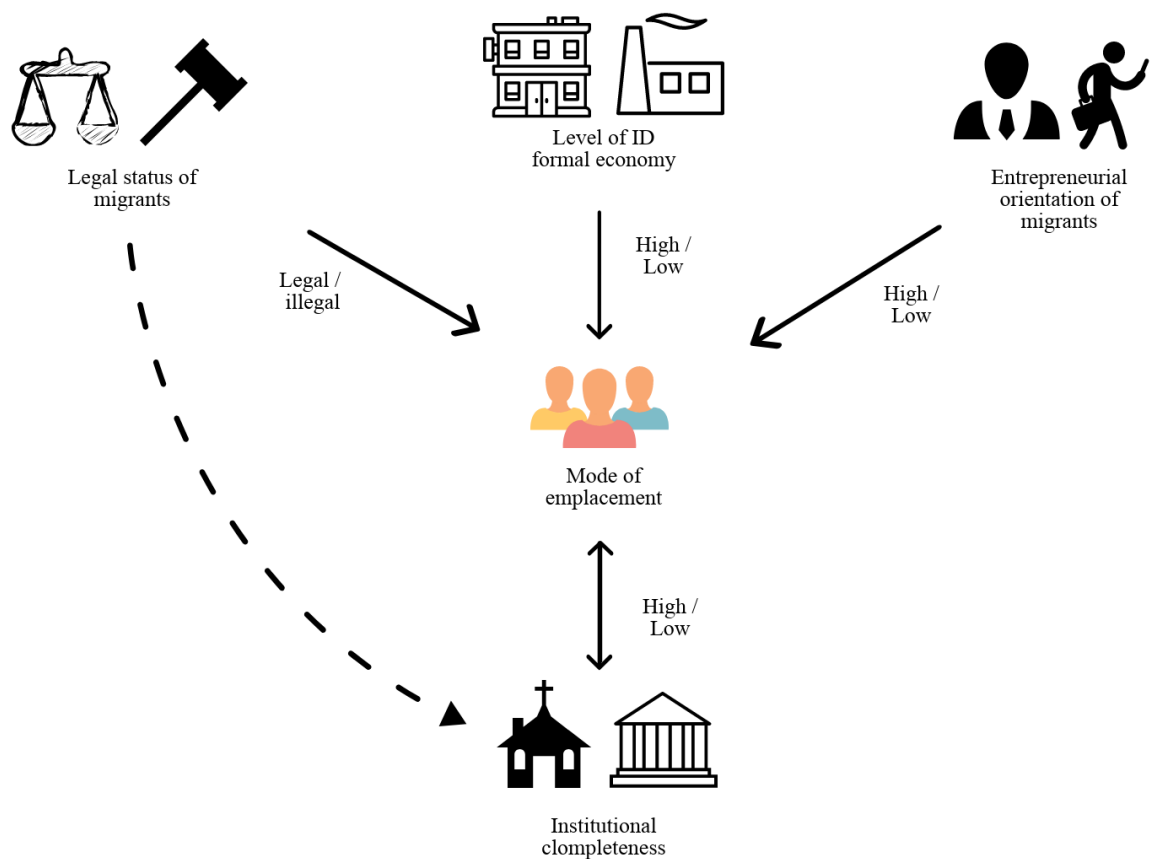


Figure 6.

The positive case would be the Romanian population of Castelló, with a *legal* status (as Romanians are European citizens), participating in the *formal* job market (because of the ceramic tile ID), which has direct and indirect effects on the decision to remain in the area, a *low* orientation towards self-employment, and a *high* institutional completeness. The dotted line between the institutional completeness and legal status factors shows the likely dependence of the former on the latter (a legal status favours the settlement of migrant institutions). Conversely, the negative case would be the Chinese population in Prato, with a high proportion of workers in an *illegal* situation, in many cases working in the *informal* economy after the development of the fast-fashion industry, with a *high* orientation towards entrepreneurship and self-employment, but also with a *high* institutional completeness inherited from the initial settlement as subcontractors of Pratese industries. We contend that institutional completeness can be understood as having an interactive relation with the migrant enclave mode of emplacement. The two outcomes considered are the ‘positive’ emplacement of Romanians in Castelló along with the ‘negative’ emplacement of Chinese in Prato in terms of social cohesion (a high level of ‘integration’ versus ‘segregation’ from the mainstream society, respectively). The binary contrast is just one of the possible combinations of the factors, and other outcomes are also possible.

Discussion and Conclusions

In this paper, we have addressed whether the relationship between the location of IDs and that of migrant enclaves and their mode of emplacement is causal and, if so, in what direction. Our response, all things considered, is nuanced: we contend that IDs play a role in the emergence and development of migrant enclaves, but in close interaction with local conditions, and favourable normative frameworks. The IDs do not just employ migrants,

but depending on their level of formality and capitalization, they can lead to different phenomena. As we have observed, the ceramic ID has a high level of job formality, which creates stable occupations and regularization, thereby helping to settle at least part of a migrant population that employers believe meet the job characteristics they are looking for (educational level, linguistic competence, acceptance of work conditions, etc.). These more permanent members of the migrant population can play a special role in creating or contributing to the institutional completeness of the group, which in turn can establish the conditions for embedding the migration chain within a higher level (i.e. the network of institutions), thereby increasing the absorptive capacity of the place, and contributing to the growing autonomy of the new enclave. Once the enclave emerges, it becomes an anchor place in a context of otherwise high mobility. On the other hand, we argue that the high capitalization characteristic of the industry has prevented the emergence of migrant businesses within the district that compete directly with native businesses. This absence of an enclave economy is likely to have contributed to the acceptance of the migrants by the majority of the population, and this acceptance (the ‘kindness of the people’ that the Romanian informants referred to), in turn, might add to the attractiveness of the place for fellow migrants.

However, a low level of capitalization and job formality for starting firms that could act as subcontractors for formal industries, as was observed in other IDs that depend strongly on a migrant workforce such as Prato and Alacant, can also create favourable conditions for the emergence of migrant enclave economies within the district. The Prato case presented here illustrates how changes within the ID (institutions becoming less tolerant with informal economy, and fewer relations with textile industries owned by nationals) led to a different mode of emplacement of the migrant enclave, and the emergence of a new economic sector that demands more transnational links with China

and more informal work conditions in order to meet the demands of the *Pronto Moda* market.

In sum, the causal relation between IDs and the mode of emplacement of migrant enclaves seems to be more complex than simple correlations suggest, as they depend on the particular characteristics of the ID, the cultural background of the migrant population and other contextual factors such as normative and legal frameworks. The emergence of migrant enclaves can be understood as the counterpoint to advanced capitalism, which demands flexibility of all the factors of value creation, including the workforce. Castelló would then be an interesting example of the creation of an anchor space within a context of high mobility of migrants. In this process, the ceramic district played, and still plays today, an important role by settling the population, and giving them a temporary stability in a flexible world. This contribution is made in the framework of a global transformation in which the ID itself is adjusting its position in the global chain that is undergoing the structural changes described above (Mahutga, 2012). From the host society's perspective, to some extent, the existence of these migrant enclaves inside the IDs may moderate the effects of fierce global competition, such as finding diverse production alternatives at home that do not necessarily require painful delocalization or the search for distant subcontractors.

We are well aware of the limitations of this work. First, we have given only fragmentary information about the informal economy, which plays an important role in the Castelló area, especially after the crisis. And second, we acknowledge that the contribution of the ceramic sector to the direct number of jobs of Romanians is relatively small.

As a final consideration, we suggest that future research needs to study the interaction of IDs and migrant enclaves in other parts of Europe and the world, and for

other types of enclaves. Mixed-methods, in-depth case studies of different IDs that coincide or do not coincide with migrant enclaves, will lead to a better understanding of the complex relation between the two phenomena. This quest should conceptualize IDs and migrant enclaves as phenomena that are related but operate at different levels of the continuous reorganization of value in the capitalist society.

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