

Migration, Minorities and Modernity 3

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Antía Pérez-Caramés *Editors*

Galician Migrations: A Case Study of Emerging Super-diversity

 Springer

Migration, Minorities and Modernity

Volume 3

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ISSN 2522-0713

ISSN 2522-0721 (electronic)

Migration, Minorities and Modernity

ISBN 978-3-319-66304-3

ISBN 978-3-319-66305-0 (eBook)

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-66305-0>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017949154

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Printed on acid-free paper

This Springer imprint is published by Springer Nature

The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG

The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Foreword

The Multiple Faces of the Galician Migration Experience

This volume constitutes an original contribution to the field of International Migration Studies. The heterogeneity of the Galician migration experience is an under-researched topic in the migration academic literature. The Galician migration experience is fundamental to International Migration Studies as well as Postcolonial/Decolonial Studies. However, academic studies focused on the Galician migration experience as well as immigration to Galicia are scarce in the literature. This volume is a fundamental correction to the silence of the academic literature on the Galician migration experience and the experience of immigration to Galicia.

From a Postcolonial/Decolonial perspective, international migration is split along two main experiences: “colonial migrants” and “privileged migrants.” The “privileged migrants” are those that at the moment of arrival are classified as “Whites” or as part of the “Westernized” populations incorporated and blended within the dominant populations of the host society. The “colonial migrants” are those that, although not directly colonized by the host country, are associated with the non-migrant racial/colonial subjects of the territory to which they have migrated. The non-migrant colonial/racial subjects are the populations historically considered racially inferior due to a long process of domestic colonial domination inside the boundaries of the state (e.g., Indigenous or Black populations in the Americas or African, Roma, and Muslims in Europe).

Colonial migrants are those that when they arrive to the host society are classified together with the colonial/racial subjects of the territory as inferior races. For example, the “Puertorricanization” of Dominicans in New York City, the “Mexican-Americanization” of Salvadorians in Los Angeles, the “African-Americanization” of Haitians in South Florida, the “Maghrebization” of Turks in Paris, the “gypsyisation” of Bolivians in Barcelona, etc. What is characteristic of the “colonial migrants” is that the racist imagination and stereotypes formed over a long historical process against racial/colonial subjects inside the state territorial boundaries are extrapolated to them. At the moment of arrival, they are classified in the racial hierarchy together

with those populations that have suffered from a long process of institutional racism inside the host country. Thus, migrants do not arrive to an empty space. They arrive to locations that are already “polluted” by a previous history of racial/colonial domination. One group of migrants is racialized in negative ways by being classified together with the colonial/racial subjects, while other migrants are racialized in positive ways as they are classified together with the dominant “White” or “Westernized” populations.

Following a Postcolonial/Decolonial perspective, the complexity of these experiences becomes visible when we analyze the intersectionality of class, race, and gender oppressions in migration studies. The entanglement between class, race, and gender is crucial here to understand differences inside and across the migration experiences between the “colonial migrants” and the “privileged migrants.” The negatively racialized colonial migrant women live a different experience of migration than the positively racialized migrant women classified as part of the “White” or “Westernized” populations.

The complexity of the intersectionality of oppressions is exemplified in the Galician migration experience. Galicia has a long history of being a subalternized colonized nation inside the Spanish imperial state. It has been a land of emigration during most of the nineteenth, twentieth, and early twenty-first century. Galician migration flows have been directed primarily toward other regions of the Spanish state (Catalonia and Castile), Latin America, the Spanish Caribbean, and Western Europe. During the nineteenth century, Galicians went to Spanish colonies and ex-colonies in the Americas, while in the late twentieth century they were recruited as cheap labor in agriculture, manufacturing, and as household domestic servants in Western Europe (Germany, France, Holland, and Switzerland).

The nineteenth century Galician workers’ migration to Latin America and the Caribbean had a great impact. Although many of them were from the working classes and peasants, when they arrived to these countries they were classified as part of the dominant White populations. Thus, many of them lived the experience of “Whiteness,” that is, they lived the “privileged migrant” experience during the first and second generations as they were incorporated in successful ways into the host societies. Galicians in Argentina and Brazil became successful economic migrants and many of them kept transnational linkages with their home country. As part of these transnational linkages, Galicians reinvested back in Galicia the savings earned in the diaspora, opening businesses and constructing houses for themselves and their families. In the cases of Cuba and Puerto Rico, Galicians were melted into the privileged White elites. Thus, despite the fact that many Galician migrants in the Americas were working-class people and peasants, they experienced upward social mobility.

The working-class origin of the Galician migration to the Americas is confirmed in their strong presence as leaders of trade unions and workers’ struggles. The anarcho-syndicalist tradition from the workers in the Spanish state was transferred to many parts of the Americas through the Galician labor migration. The most renowned case is that of Santiago Iglesias Pantín, originally from the city of A Coruña, who became the most important working-class leader during the first half

of the twentieth century in Puerto Rico. However, the Galicians' classification as "Whites" in the Americas gave them a comparative advantage in the migration experience to Caribbean and Latin American countries where Blacks and Indigenous people form a large portion of the population. This White privilege allowed many second generation Galicians in the Americas to move away from working-class positions into more privileged positions in the labor market such as professionals, skilled labor, and entrepreneurship.

A different experience was that of the twentieth century Galician migration to Western Europe during the postwar period. Most of the workers who arrived to Western Europe were negatively racialized as "colonial migrants" from Southern Europe, lumped together with the racial/colonial subjects of these empires. In particular, many Galician women went to work as domestic servants within European households and in the tourist industry in Western European countries. The gender dimension of the Galician migration experience in Europe is manifested also in their labor incorporation in manufacturing industries. The strong tradition of women in the needle industry in Galicia gave them a positive advantage in the manufacturing labor markets of Northern Europe. Many Galician women were recruited in the clothing and apparel industries. We could classify the experience of these migrants as colonial migrants due to their negative racialization, as they were classified together with the colonial/racial subjects of these metropolitan centers. For example, in Paris and Geneva they shared residential spaces as well as jobs together with the colonial/racial groups coming from the Maghreb and sub-Saharan Africa.

During the 1990s and early 2000s, following the trends of other parts of the Spanish state, Galicia became a receiving pole of international migration. Labor immigration from the Third World intensified and came to Galicia to work in the informal economy as domestic servants in family households or as workers in agriculture, ports, or business services. The similarities between the Galician and Portuguese languages made it attractive for immigrants coming from Portuguese-speaking African countries and Brazil to settle in Galicia. However, this trend stopped after the 2008 financial crisis. The rise in unemployment rates produced a massive return of immigrants from Galicia back to Brazil, Mozambique, Cape Verde, and Angola. However, African migration to Galicia is not limited to Portuguese-speaking countries. It also includes a strong presence of Senegalese immigrants. Many Africans and Brazilians have suffered discrimination as racialized colonial migrants inside Galicia.

A more recent migration flow from Galicia to Europe developed once again during and after the 2008 financial crisis. Thousands of unemployed Galician youth, looking for better opportunities elsewhere, left Galicia and once again settled in different parts of Europe. It would be interesting to see how they are going to be incorporated inside Western Europe today. Are they going to be incorporated as "privilege migrants" forming part of the "White" populations? Are they racialized together with the racial/colonial subjects of these metropolitan spaces such as Afro-Caribbeans, Africans, Arab-Muslims, or Roma people? Or are they going to develop a different kind of incorporation from the two outlined experiences above? This is a research question that needs to be addressed in the academic literature. My

hypothesis is that they are going to be incorporated in the Western European labor markets as non-White minorities but with the potential of becoming a “model minority” *vis-à-vis* the racial/colonial subjects inside the Western European metropolitan countries. The rise in anti-Black racism and islamophobia in Western Europe today might construct the migrants coming from Southern Europe as a “model minority.” The latter is still a racialized non-white category, but with more privilege than the subalternized racialized groups. The “model minority” strategy has been historically deployed to deny the racism exercised toward the subalternized groups at the bottom of the racial hierarchy as part of strategies of “divide and rule.” The “model minority” is still racialized as non-White and does not have the full privilege of “Whiteness.” However, they receive a more positive treatment than those at the bottom of the racial hierarchy, a tactic that serves to split the non-White groups.

In sum, Galician migration has a very diverse and heterogeneous experience of incorporation to different geographies around the world. The same can be said with respect to the incorporation of immigrants from different parts of the world to Galicia. Galicia and Galicians offer a very important laboratory to understand global linkages and transnational migration processes. The excellent essays in this volume close a gap in the literature by making visible what so far has been invisible in the migration literature: the very important experience of immigration to Galicia and emigration from Galicia.

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Preface

Why a Case Study?

In order to deepen our understanding of migratory processes, this book adopts a case study approach to the concrete realities in a particular place from a variety of perspectives. Chapter authors represent a broad interdisciplinary spectrum, drawing on sociology, anthropology, history, sociolinguistics, literature, and education, to construct a focused case study. We believe this focus will allow a more intense and detailed analysis of the interaction of historical, political, economic, and cultural factors that influence human migratory movements. Often we study the phenomenon of immigration without taking into sufficient account the ways it may be related to previous flows of emigration, a colonial history, and developing transnational communities involving intergenerational family ties (which are particularly important to explain movements to smaller cities or peri-urban environments). These regions have different needs, and call for responses tailored to local characteristics (Fonseca 2008). In fact, within the literature on immigration to rural areas and small cities and towns in Spain, much of the emphasis has been placed either on the conditions of foreign workers in the agricultural sector or in the settlement of Northern European retired immigrants (Morén-Alegret & Solana 2004); paying less attention to the interconnectedness of historical emigration, postcolonial ties, and contemporary immigration flows.

We focus here not on a national context, but on the Spanish region of Galicia, as a nation within a state. Spain is comprised of 17 autonomous communities and two autonomous cities, Ceuta and Melilla, which are located in the north of Africa. Power is divided into national, shared, and autonomous competencies, and the power that is devolved to the autonomic level is distributed asymmetrically. This distribution of power is constantly up for negotiation, as evidenced most recently (but certainly not exclusively) by the debate over the relationship of the Catalanian community to the Spanish state (Jones 2016). Both the Spanish Constitution of 1931 and the current (1978) one have attempted to find a balance between centralism and federalism in the provision of regional autonomy. During the fascist

dictatorship of Francisco Franco (1939–1978), the imaginary of a unified Spain was strongly enforced. The diversity of Spain’s territories and the collective memory of its repression have played an integral role in establishing Spain’s unique autonomous state system, “Without Catalan, Basque, and Galician nationalism, there would not have been constitutions such as those of 1978 or 1931” (Marín 2013, p. 376).

The Galician autonomous community is located in northwestern Spain, bordered on the south by Portugal, to the north by the Cantabrian Sea, and to the west by the Atlantic Ocean. The total population of about 2,732,347 people has historically been one of the most widely dispersed of Spain, with a strong tendency toward urban migration in recent years (“IGE,” 2015). Galicia’s foreign national population of 3.3% is well below the Spanish average (10.1%), and far below that of Catalonia (13.7%) or Madrid (12.6%). Galicia’s depressed economy, together with an absence of global cities—as defined by Sassen, 2005—may help explain why it seems relatively less attractive as a migratory destination. However, when we consider immigrants as those born abroad, the Galician percentage of 7.8% is closer to the Spanish average of 13.2%. Thus, the influence of the community’s strong history of emigration becomes evident when we broaden the lens to include foreign-born individuals. Furthermore, Galicians account for almost a quarter of all Spaniards living abroad (INE, 2015), a solid statistical remnant of several waves of emigration that solely in the Americas implied the loss of about 1,130,000 inhabitants between 1835 and 1970, for a total Galician population that went from 1.6 to 2 million between 1826 and 1975 (Vázquez 2005).

Why Super-diversity?

While much previous research has been focused on large urban or gateway cities, we’ve chosen to closely examine international migration trends in a territory that offers less obvious and immediate attractions for new immigrants. We hope to diverge from a methodological nationalism that, within a context of globalization, implies ignoring the relevance of localities other than gateway and global cities (Schiller et al. 2006). Research on migration to small towns and rural areas has somehow flourished throughout the last decade. While in certain cases this has been analyzed under a nation-state framework, thus pointing to the geographic diversification of the host localities within the same destination country (see, for example, the work by Massey and Capoferro 2008), another approach has emphasized the particularities of small towns and rural areas when becoming destinations for international migrants (see, for example, the special issue of the journal *Population, Space and Place*, 14(6), devoted to International Migration to Non-Metropolitan Areas).

The chapters in this book are situated within the emerging theoretical framework of super-diversity (Meissner & Vertovec 2015; Vertovec 2007), which highlights the importance of analyzing diversity within immigrant groups and the ways in which this diversity is dependent on historical and contextual factors that go beyond

nationality. Vertovec (2007) introduced the term super-diversity to highlight the ways in which migrant characteristics have become more complex while current UK policy, developed in response to earlier trends and understandings, fails to respond adequately to this complexity:

I stress the need to re-evaluate conceptions and policy measures surrounding diversity by way of moving beyond an ethno-focal understanding and adopting a multi-dimensional approach (including country of origin, migration channel and legal status, consequent social profiles, spatial distribution, transnational practices and local policy responses). (p. 970)

In Galicia, emerging super-diversity can be analyzed not with respect to prior immigration trends and earlier policy responses, but with respect to the region's history of emigration. As de Bock (2015) has argued, the study of past migrations itself can benefit from careful re-analysis of multiple factors hidden behind totalizing categories, such as "guest workers." The diversity of current immigrant populations in Galicia is further complicated by this history, in terms of both concrete interactions (ie., waves of returning emigrants or their families) and shared understandings. Some authors in this volume explore aspects of the Galician shared experience of recent emigration, in terms of family memories (Da Orden; Rodríguez Gallardo) and more palpable cultural and economic contributions of those who return (Cardesín Díaz). This emigration history might inspire Galician people to develop empathy and appreciation for those who travel to our shores with similar aspirations, although such a response is not necessarily automatic (Malheiro Gutiérrez 2013).

Aneta Pavlenko (in press) raises some important concerns with the use of the term super-diversity, which she considers to be a case of academic branding. She raises some important points: (1) the term tends to be vague, in that there are no clear criteria to distinguish between super-diversity and simple diversity; (2) diversity within global migrations has not actually been found to increase over time, as the term implies; and (3) super-diversity implies a radical break from the past, a kind of exceptionalism to current trends with respect to previous, less *super* diverse societies, that is simply not borne out by historical analysis.

Our application of the term to the Galician context is not based on any change in realities past or present, but we like the shift in focus afforded by the term. In our analysis, the "super" does not refer to an increased diversity either in number or category, but rather a closer analysis of the interaction of multiple factors that often get overlooked when we consider diversity only in terms of ethnicity or national origin. For example, in this volume, Fariás distinguishes between the concerns of literary and intellectual elites and working-class Galician migrants to Latin America, while Oca González considers how gender and age (generation) has shaped and also divided the Cape Verdean community in Galicia. Finally, no European study of migrations would be complete without taking into consideration the particular history of the Roma (gypsy) people, as Arranz Núñez points out in her chapter exploring the ways in which the experiences of a Romanian Roma community condition their experience of integration in their new Galician home.

Nevertheless, it is important to consider super-diversity in the context of current academic debate around the usefulness of the term as an analytic framework. Connor's (2014) research supports Pavlenko's argument that claims of increasing immigrant diversity are overstated, unless we include multiple generations of immigrant origin in the analysis. Crul (2016) has argued that super-diversity is a useful lens for examining diverse factors within ethnic groups, such as intergenerational differences, but its conceptual vagueness calls for support from other theoretical perspectives, such as intersectionality. Barber (2015) cautions against celebratory interpretations of super-diversity, since some identities continue to be undermined in contexts of multiple diversity. The Institute for Research into Super-diversity¹ (IRiS) has maintained an interesting ongoing debate, including the following lines of argumentation:

- The approach allows an investigation of affinities across multiple categories such as ethnicity, age, (dis)ability, as well as differences.
- Given the tendency to apply the notion of super-diversity to urban contexts, what would it look like in declining urban or more rural areas?
- How does super-diversity compare with intersectionality? The latter term has the advantage of being rooted in historical struggles for equality, although there has been some criticism that categories are sometimes conceptualized as largely autonomous. While super-diversity may be less sensitive to heterogeneity, it may be better suited for disrupting the status quo due to an emphasis on change.
- Super-diversity may provide a useful tool for identifying how group diversities relate to inequities, in terms of, for example, forced movements, but this depends on the way the term is interpreted.
- It can provide insight into the universality of diversity, but may also carry the risk of undermining important factors such as race and prejudice. (Humphries 2015a, 2015b)

We appreciate Vertovec's (2007) focus on the fit, or lack thereof, between policy and social realities, which shift and surpass in complexity the political imaginary (see Fernández Suárez, this volume, for the Galician case). Also particularly relevant to our project is Vertovec's call for future investigations to move "backward" into history" and "towards" in the sense of more interdisciplinary engagement" (p. 973). In the Galician context, different patterns of return immigration result from prior waves of economic emigrants and political refugees (Oso Casas, Pérez, & Varela 2008), a situation that is characteristic of but not unique to the Galician case (Hellman 1997). It is impossible to understand current emerging patterns of diversity in Galicia without taking a historical perspective, and for this reason we have divided this book into three sections that focus on the past (*Galicians abroad*), present (*Strangers among us*), and future (*Forging the new, multicultural Galicia*).

¹The IRiS was officially launched on June 13, 2013, and hosts the ongoing Key Concepts seminar series that "aims to offer a forum where researchers can discuss and reflect across disciplinary boundaries and traditions on theories and methods for an era of super-diversity," see <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/research/activity/superdiversity-institute/events/index.aspx>.

In this final section, we take into account Vertovec's insistence on multidisciplinary engagement to include proposals from a variety of perspectives: neighborhood-based community initiatives (Verdía Varela), formal and informal education (Penabade; Sánchez Bello), family and school-based language awareness raising (Rodríguez Salgado; Zas Varela & Prego Vázquez), and court interpretation in cases of gender violence (del Pozo Triviño).

In their introduction to a recent special issue of the journal *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Meissner and Vertovec (2015, p. 543) lament that "people use super-diversity simply to mean the increasing presence of more ethnic groups" and go on to describe three interrelated aspects of the notion as they understand it: historically shifting global migratory patterns that result in population diversification (new flows in terms of family reunification, student migration and refugees, as well as national, ethnic, linguistic and religious diversities); a methodological shift away from an "ethno-focal lens" to a more nuanced understanding of social relations and inequalities; and a pragmatic turn toward community-based responses. Our choice to adopt the notion of super-diversity as a lens unifying the chapters in this book is based on our understanding of what it reminds us to do: recognize the continuing influence of the past, explore diversities within ethnic and national categories, and evaluate the extent to which responses take these factors into account.

Why Galicia?

Galicia, with its mostly rural population, aging demographic, and historically depressed economy, has not been a particularly attractive destination for migrants until relatively recently. Yet the region has recently experienced a significant increase in immigration—a reversal of the region's historically pronounced trend of emigration. This provides a unique opportunity to study the roots of super-diversity in a place where immigration is an emerging phenomenon.

To understand the complex processes of immigration in its early stages, as well as the effects it has on the local community, we take a historical approach that focuses on diversities that go beyond nationality. In this sense, chapters respond to Meissner and Vertovec's (2015) call to focus on analyzing how human movement patterns shift over time; to improve understandings of social processes such as segregation, prejudice, transnationalism, and integration; and to develop policy that takes into account multiples layers of realities (local, national, international...). Authors in this volume explore local yet international phenomena such as different patterns of return migration (Golías), transnational community and familial relationships (Vázquez Silva), and niche labor markets (Oso & Martínez Buján). These analyses take into account specific realities, such as previous colonial relationships with countries in the global south, a post-dictatorship democracy, a minority language, and regional identity that struggle to claim recognition, and the devastating effect of the European economic crisis on an already fragile economy.

Complex Relations Between Emigration and Immigration Flows

Meissner and Vertovec (2015, p. 546) refer to “spread, speed and scale of changes in migration patterns.” Galicia provides a particularly strong example of the importance of examining changing migration tendencies over time, and how they are related. Lamela in her introduction to this volume, describes Galician emigration as a whole, including earlier flows during the nineteenth and twentieth century and more recent ones, as a diaspora. In their chapter, Domingo & Blanes explicitly draw upon Safran’s (1991) classic definition of the term, which establishes the Jewish community as the ideal case that can be applied to groups that meet certain criteria, including the collective memory or “myth” of a homeland to which emigrants hope that they, or their descendants, will eventually return. In her chapter, Golias explores the ways in which this collective memory relates to more pragmatic concerns as descendants of Galicians settled in Cuba and Argentina decide whether or not to “return” to the Galician “homeland.” Fernández Suarez analyzes the relationship of recent immigration with prior waves of emigration the relevance of Galician immigration policy, designed largely to support return immigration, to immigrants who lack these transnational relationships. Grosfoguel in his preface points out that Galicians who migrated to European countries were afforded a lower social standing in their destination countries than those who migrated to Latin America, where attitudes formed in the postcolonial contexts contributed to greater social mobility. While Farias documents the role of Latin American Galician cultural associations in constructing a positive image of Galicia in these countries, Miranda-Barreiro explores similar processes in the USA that served to keep the “myth” of Galicia alive in the hearts and minds of migrants living in New York in the early twentieth century. Nevertheless, Lamela cautions against simplifying the complex realities behind the popular conception that Galicia “has gone from being a land of emigrants to a land of immigrants.”

Niche Labor Markets such as Fishing and Agriculture

Meissner and Vertovec (2015) urge us to pay closer attention to migration channels and their social, economic, and political impact. Despite an intense process of de-agriculturalization that has taken place in Galicia since the beginning of the twentieth century (López 1996), this autonomous community still has the largest share of population occupied in the agricultural sector, accounting for one-third of all workers within this sector in Spain, according to the 2016 data of the Labor Force Survey (INE, 2016). However, contemporary immigrants have not come to Galicia because of the demand of this economic sector, as has been the case for Southern regions of Spain such as Andalusia, where there is a high demand of foreign workers for intensive agriculture. It is another primary sector, deep sea fishing, that has served as a more important attraction for immigrants to Galicia. This is the case, for example, for Cape Verdeans arriving to the coastal town of Burela, analyzed by Oca González in this volume.

The rest of the economic niches for the immigrant population working in Galicia are the same as in the rest of Spain: construction and domestic service/care work. In

the first case, as Oso & Martínez Buján point out in their chapter, the bursting of the Spanish real state bubble has severely impacted the male immigrant population with no previous ties to Galicia.

A Post-dictatorship Democracy

In this volume, Rodríguez Gallardo addresses the phenomenon of refugee migration from Galicia to neighboring Portugal during the Spanish Civil War and the early years of the Francoist dictatorship (1936–1945). The author points out how, despite the alliance of the Portuguese regime (under the rule of Salazar) with Franco, the cultural continuity on both sides of the border, as well as the enduring sociohistorical relations between Galicia and Portugal, fostered the arrival and settlement of Galician political refugees, particularly in the north of Portugal.

Spanish and Portuguese political regimes interacted with personal and familiar relationships, creating a kind of borderland culture. In this case, we can see how “national and international migration regimes” not only influence, but may be subverted by, “local attempts to managing ‘diversity’” (Meissner and Vertovec (2015, p. 552).

Post-colonial Relationships with Countries of Destination or Origin

As part of Spain, Galicia was not only subjected to a state dictatorship, but also enjoyed the fruits and frustrations of Spain’s colonial past. These macro-level political realities have interacted with local and personal ones to construct “specific constellations of power differentials, rights and policies” (Meissner and Vertovec (2015, p. 552). The process of decolonization of what was once a vast empire of territories ended in 1898 in the case of Cuba (as a result of the war with the United States) and the Philippines. However, Spain kept a portion of what is currently Moroccan territory under its protectorate until 1956 and “lost” its Saharan possessions as a result of Morocco invading and annexing the Sahara via a mass movement known as the “Green March” in 1975, when the fascist dictatorship of General Franco was about to come to an end.

While international migration to Spain has rarely been addressed from a post-colonial perspective, it is also true that some authors (see, among others, López 1993; Moreno Fuentes 2005) have noted the complexities of managing migration and border issues with a neighboring country such as Morocco. This country not only happens to be partially a former Spanish colony, but is also recreated in the Spanish collective memory in terms of the (threatening) Arab presence in Spain during the Middle Ages. Mandado Cendón’s chapter in this volume addresses the Muslim minority in Galicia, where, despite the scarce influence of the Islamic historical presence in Spain, the imaginary around this religious community—mainly composed by recent immigrants from North and Sub-Saharan Africa—is still enshrouded with a very particular postcolonial form of Islamophobia, mixed with the complexities of managing religious diversity in a country that maintains privileged agreements with the Catholic church.

Furthermore, the preferential treatment that migrants from former Spanish colonies receive for acquiring Spanish citizenship can also be considered part of

this postcolonial heritage (Avila-Tàpies and Domínguez-Mujica, 2015). It is precisely in a context where previous citizenship matters when applying for the Spanish one, that the approval of the Spanish Law of Historical Memory (2007) granting citizenship to descendants of Spanish exiles can be understood, as Golías analyzes in her chapter.

Fostering Intercultural Relations in Emerging Diverse Contexts

Meissner and Vertovec call for a “focus on day-to-day practices” that might lead to “innovative policy solutions” (2015, p. 551). In Part 3 of this volume, entitled “Forging the new, multicultural Galicia,” we collect an array of experiences that represent the ways in which the Galician society is promoting intercultural understanding. Verdía Varela presents participatory initiatives involving immigrant associations and NGOs. Penabade summarizes the complexities of managing an educational project for promoting the use of the Galician language in a context of severe diglossia and a relatively high foreign population. Rodríguez Salgado focuses on the demands of migrant communities for linguistic maintenance, as well as the relevant policy context. Chapters by Mandado Cendón and by Zas Varela & Prego Vázquez address the Muslim presence in Galicia, mainly linked to the relatively recent arrival of Moroccan and Senegalese immigrants. While Mandado Cendón’s contribution provides a thorough analysis of the demands of this religious and migrant community, Zas Varela & Prego Vázquez concentrate on the study of the linguistic landscape of Arteixo, one of one of the most important settlements of Moroccan immigrants in Galicia. The presence of 1.5 and second generation migrants in Galician schools is addressed in two chapters: García-Cabeza & García-Serna analyze the process of constructing gender identity for children of migrant origin who are faced with two conflicting sociocultural frames, while Sánchez Bello reviews policies and programs for incorporating diversity into the school curriculum, providing a framework to foster cooperation between schools and immigrant associations. The chapter by Novoa, Otero, Vázquez & Novas depicts an educational program carried out by the Galician Association of Reporters for Solidarity (Agareso) where journalism students travel to Morocco to work with local NGOs and to reflect on the role of hegemonic media in reifying and reinforcing stereotypes.

A Historically Depressed and Currently Fragile Economy

There is a particular term, *Galeguismo* (Galicianism) that describes a rising sense of Galicia as a nation among some politicians and intellectuals during the nineteenth century. Miranda-Barreiro describes in his chapter the contribution of Galician writers and artists settled in the USA to this movement. This sensibility has involved the production of a Galician sentimentality that, following Miguélez-Carballeira (2013), has served both as an instrument for (internal) colonial oppression and as a tool for political resistance. In the economic field, this imaginary has been captured in the notion of the economic backwardness of Galicia, that is, the idea that this part of Spain was a latecomer in important processes of economic advancement, such as industrialization. While some historians are calling

now for a revision of this myth of economic backwardness (see, for example, Fernández 2016), it is also true that Galicia's economic growth, as well as its capacity to create employment, is below the Spanish average. As Oso & Martínez Buján point out in their chapter, this has been a major factor for discouraging the arrival of immigrants.

Economic realities are clearly an important factor in Meissner and Vertovec's (2015) understanding of super-diversity, as are local identities. In the Galician case, we can see how poverty, rurality, pride, and prejudice interact in multiple ways, creating local identities and public imaginaries.

A Minority Language

A super-diversity framework challenges us to look beyond national boundaries to consider other important kinds of diversity, including "language and local/regional identity" (Meissner and Vertovec 2015, p. 545). Galician, like some other minoritized languages in the Spanish state, was accorded co-official status within the Galician autonomous community by the Constitution of 1978; nevertheless, the use of these languages is considered to be a right (*derecho*) while Spanish is considered a responsibility (*deber*) for all Spanish citizens. This unequal legal status has combined with historic political and social conditions (Costas Gonzalez 2010; Ramallo 2007) to produce an unequal pattern of linguistic attitudes and usage among Galician residents. Periodic population survey research reveals that, while the Galician language remains relatively robust, especially in rural areas, ongoing trends in terms of usage and attitudes suggest that it may be losing ground among young speakers and in the rapidly growing urban and peri-urban centers ("IGE" 2015).

What little research there is on immigrants learning the Galician language suggests a scarcity of resources and programs, compared with those for Spanish (Silva Domínguez 2008), and a lack of community support for those who make the effort (DePalma 2015). In this volume, Fariás describes attempts by Galician elite emigrants to diminish internalized Galician language prejudices among their countrymen, while Rodríguez Gallardo includes the similarity between the Galician and Portuguese languages among multiple factors facilitating transnational social and economic systems that supported Galician Civil War refugees in the neighboring country, despite the lack of official political channels. Oca González notes the influence of a similar linguistic relationship between the creole spoken by Cape Verdean immigrants and the Galician of their destination territory. Penabade describes a successful initiative designed to promote acquisition of the minoritized language by immigrants, which is often held up as a model for the rest of the Galician community.

From the Local to the Global

In the book, we look at one specific region as a nexus of migrations involving many different regions of the world. Chapter authors explore local yet international phenomena such as different patterns of return migration, transnational community

and familial relationships, and niche labor markets. We think such a tight focus on the interrelated factors in one geographic area will complement research that takes a broader, comparative perspective, particularly since many other geographic regions will share some of the factors addressed here. The complex immigration patterns of Galicia are similar to tendencies in other areas of the world, but these are not usually analyzed as parts of a systemic whole: historical emigration trends gave way to return immigration, and later to new immigrant groups, and these incoming flows persist alongside new outgoing tendencies involving both autochthonous and recently settled immigrants. Understanding how these factors interact in one setting will provide a useful point of contrast for analyzing them in a range of other international contexts.

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Series Editors' Introduction to Renée DePalma and Antía Pérez-Caramés

This book explores migration movements in the autonomous Spanish region of Galicia. In doing this, the contributing authors succeed in making visible the complexity of migration, leading to improved understandings of the relevance of migration in the making of Galicia as a distinct region within Spain. The intermingling of the numerous and diverse processes of immigration and emigration which have taken place in Galicia since the medieval age is presented in the book as the fabric of the social, political, and cultural conditions of the region, woven by such distinct processes as colonialism and fascism, as well as by the most recent refugee migration.

Over many years, Galicia has experienced the short-distance emigration of settled people for social and political reasons; particularly to the border country of Portugal, as well as to other destinations. This emigration has been either: as refugees seeking protection because their situation has become unbearable for them and flight/migration became a solution to achieve safety, or: as working migrants contributing to the well-being of their families. However, at the same time, Galicia also experienced manifold immigration from other regions and countries, some from countries and regions nearby, others at a greater distance; these migrants too were seeking safety and the realization of new options and opportunities. This perspective on the region, focussing on both directions of migration—immigration and emigration—and on many other migration patterns, is both a unique and a comprehensive approach, one which rarely has been undertaken previously.

This approach clearly demonstrates that the region's conditions are interdependent with, and are in relation to, the political and social conditions of the country—Spain—the continental conditions—Europe—and distant countries and continents, which are either migrants' destinations or regions of migrants' departure and which are important for migration movements, for temporary and permanent settlement, or for other forms of migration. To explore the manifold migration movements in such detail also reveals that there is a constant movement and exchange of people in Galicia. From a regional perspective, peoples' movements can be seen as ambivalent; as gains as well as losses for the region. However—and also from a regional perspective—numerous migrations clearly contributed greatly

to the making and development of the region, by people working through challenges faced, which led them either to make a decision to emigrate, or which brought new people from other countries and regions into Galicia. To clarify: contributions to the development of Galicia are made not only by newly arriving people who settle in the region, bringing with them new ways of thinking and knowledge and connecting Galicia with their regions of origin, but also by those departing Galicia for other regions and countries who remain in contact with relatives and friends back home and sending remittances, thus contributing to connections between Galicia with other regions and societies.

The interrelated nature of both developments is described and analyzed clearly in depth and in detail in this book; with both gains and losses being examined. Contributions by the various authors provide much evidence also about the more difficult periods of Galician history: for example, during the period of Spanish fascism, and how processes of social learning enabled solutions to be found through which people not only overcame existing difficulties, but developed strategies for their futures.

The complexity of regional migration is explored in the first section of this book, focussing on different examples of Galician emigration. The second section focuses upon immigration into the Galician region; the third examines topics which explore the multicultural situation of the Galician region. Thus, this book addresses not only the synchronic perspective—by which different migrations become paralleled taking place at the same time—but also addresses the diachronic perspective—how migration has impacted upon the region over the years and how these previous migrations also impacted upon and influenced subsequent ones. A major strength is that this book is a co-edited collection, the best format in which significant in-depth knowledge presented through each of the individual case studies here, contributes to the book's aim of comprehensively examining and analyzing migration and the Galician region. This original approach results in new and improved understandings of, and knowledge about, the complexity of migration in modern societies.

Thomas Geisen
Pat Cox
Zvi Bekerman

Chapter 1

From a Land of Emigrants to a Land of Immigrants? The Complex Realities Behind a Common Perception

Carmen Lamela

Abstract There is a persistent notion that Galicia has changed from land of emigrants to a land of immigrants. Admittedly, during most of the recorded modern history, Galicia has been the origin par excellence of flows of emigrants going abroad and to other parts of Spain. But this portrayal of the recent migratory history is applied even more to Spain, because the country as a whole receives a much higher rate of immigration than Galicia. It is said that Spain has gone from being a country of emigration to a country of immigration, a claim that has also been made regarding a number of other countries such as Portugal, Slovenia, Germany, of Europe in general, and even India. Clearly, these arguments depend on how far back in history the analysis goes and also on what kinds of movements count as emigration and immigration. In any case, the figures are only a part of the story. The definition of a territory as being of “emigration” or “immigration” responds largely to a social construct that is only partially supported by evidence.

1.1 A Land of Emigrants

The conscience of diaspora is quite present in the cultural manifestations of Galicia. It is vehemently evoked in the most patriotic poetry. One emblematic word in the Galician language that all Spaniards are familiar with alludes to the feeling associated with emigration. The term “morriña” is defined by the Galician Royal Language Academy as a “melancholic and depressive feeling and mood, specifically or caused by a nostalgia for the homeland”. The diaspora as a tragic destination underpins the representation of a sentimentalist cultural identity (Miguelez-Carballeira 2013).

But the concept of diaspora is also part of the popular, day-to-day, and humoristic culture. For example, there are jokes about the possibility of bumping into a Galician emigrant in any part of the world. The 1990s pop hit “there’s a

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Galician on the moon” alludes to the likelihood of finding Galicians in the remotest or most unsuspected places. The myth has been fuelled by well-known cases doggedly documented by the local press. Here are two good examples: in January 2016, a woman who led the longest pacifist protest in history camping outside the White House died in Washington D.C. (Roberts 2016). A homeless person who for 30 years paid direct witness to the history of the social movements of the USA, Conchita Martín was born in the Galician city of Vigo in 1945. An even more exotic case is that of Alfonso Graña, christened by the press as “Alfonso I, King of Amazonia”. This Galician villager migrated to the Americas at the end of the nineteenth century to work in the rubber industry and ended up living with the Jivaroan people until his death in 1934. His “rule” over the Jivaroan territory was officially recognised by the Peruvian government (Otero 2006).

Leaving anecdotes aside, the representation of Galicia as a land on emigrants is based on solid ethnographic evidence. In Latin America, it is common for Spanish emigrants, regardless of their place of origin, to be referred to as “gallegos” (Galicians). And other more solid evidence (quite literally) is the presence of the “*Indiano*” houses that dot the Galician countryside: a reflection of the aesthetic and economic experience of migrating to the Americas at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹

What is even more important, unlike the representation of the solitary and adventurous emigration exemplified by anecdotal cases, is that the Galician diaspora stands out, especially as a collective project. I am referring here to the remarkable associationism phenomenon established in destination countries by Galician emigration, to the investment in charity works in the country of origin (see Cardesín Díaz, this volume), and to the familial nature of a significant part of these migratory projects.

This collective dimension is very well represented in this book, whose chapters cover the wide diversity of these experiences. Galician associationism, as well as the benevolent and opportunistic interests of its emigrants, is expressed in a variety of ways in different countries and historical movements (Nuñez Seixas 2016; also see Fariás, this volume). It sometimes seems to express the cooperative spirit that is precisely missed in the country of origin, and on other occasions it resembles the maximum expression of the enterprising and individualistic capitalist spirit. It is sometimes based on a determination to preserve the original traditions and folklore, and on other occasions it aims to vindicate its connection with the host societies or with the cosmopolitanism associated with the migratory experience. Lately, a large part this associationism has mutated to become the donor rather than the receiver of financial aid from the Galician and Spanish governments, as well as the place for the dissemination of the Spanish (not Galician) recreational culture, in the style of the popular culture of the host country. In Puerto Rico, for example, the traditional

¹*Indiano* refers to a person who has resided abroad and returns home with great wealth. Their houses can be found in Galician and other parts of Spain that experienced major emigration movements during the same period. They represent the arrival of Modernism and other European architectural innovations from the early nineteenth century, such as the bathroom (Vila 2014).

romeria is proclaimed as a “Field day”,² and the Galician cultural centre in Lisbon offers *Sevillana* dance classes.

In any case, the extent of Galician emigrant associationism is undoubtedly based on the organisational capacity and economic resources of the organisations. A different matter is the collective nature of the subjects’ migratory project: that is, generally speaking, its “familial” aspect. In this regard, the diversity of migration contexts is more than relevant. The familial nature of a migratory project is not an immutable condition. The activation and deactivation of the family transnational link largely respond to interests and commitments at each given moment (see Da Orden, this volume). However, Galician emigration involves such density of transnational networks that there are many broken homes that need to be explained and recovered.

In the popular imaginary, destinations of these massive movements included places like Argentina and Cuba in the Americas, and Germany and Switzerland in Europe a number of years later. Yet domestic emigration to Madrid, Barcelona, and the Basque Country also formed part of the diasporic history of the Galician people. Many other destinations that have surprisingly been ignored, such as New York (see Miranda-Barreiro, this volume) or even Portugal (see Rodríguez-Gallardo, this volume), remain to be discovered and explored in depth.

1.2 Always a Land of Immigrants and Still a Land of Emigrants

This diasporic past underpins understandings of the new Galicia of the twenty-first century as one that receives rather than expels populations. This popular representation reproduces media portrayals of Spain and at the same time fails to approach the reality of Galicia. So far, no *pateras*³ have arrived in Galicia, nor is there an extensive agricultural sector that depends on foreign day labourers, nor are there residential areas for expatriates and European retirees (although there are isolated cases of both).

In other words, the largest groups of immigrants (people born in Morocco, Romania, Ecuador, Colombia, and the UK) are relatively small in Galicia. On the other hand, the most frequent countries of origin of Galicians born abroad include Portugal, Venezuela, Switzerland, Argentina, and Brazil. With the exception of Argentina, these are numerically minor in the broader Spanish context.

²Even though it serves as an occasion for neighbours and family to gather outdoors all day, eating and drinking, the traditional romeria is often linked to a religious motive, and what is even more important, both the occasion and the denomination form part of the most deeply rooted Galician folklore (Valentine and Valentine 1998).

³Boats or rafts used by immigrants to illegally enter Spain.

If we look at the details that are buried beneath the portrayal of Galicia's migratory past and present, we find a wealth of nuances that even go so far as to suggest a different landscape, a different genre. To begin with, emigration does not lead to immigration. Instead, both movements coexist, both in the past and present. And because the intensity of both results in balances that determine the characterisation of a society in terms of emigration or immigration, this depends, as always, on the social and statistical visibility of the migrants.

Emigration has never completely ceased and immigration has a long history in Galicia, albeit a large part of both movements, towards and from specific places, are numerically minor and do not receive academic or public recognition. Strictly speaking, Galician emigration never stopped. Not in 1898 with the Spanish-American War, or during wars and revolutions in the host countries, the oil crisis of 1973, or the period of relative economic bonanza. And so it has been and continues with recently renewed intensification, with the added complexity that these emigrants now include those who have lived all their lives in Galicia as well as those who have only just arrived.

On the other hand, the presence of immigrants in Galicia has its own age-old and transcendental history, which is especially relevant with regard to its modern and contemporary history because, though few in numbers, the elite classes came from abroad. Through the power institutions such as the church and military hierarchy, government officials from Franco's regime, bourgeoisie civil servants, magistrates, the university professors, etc., arrived to settle and pursue a career in Galicia. The presence of foreign elite classes has left their mark in the commercial field as well. For example, the origins of Vigo's canning and fishing industry, dating from the end of the eighteenth century, are related to the arrival of Catalan settlers.

Galician elites have also emigrated to other parts of Spain through this institutional support system. But what little immigration Galicia receives from the rest of the country tends to be more qualified than the Galician emigration to other autonomous regions. According to the 2011 Census, nearly 30% of people residing in Galicia who were born in a different Spanish autonomous community had university level studies; almost 15 % points higher than the total of Galician residents, and 10 points above those born in Galicia who reside in other Spanish communities.

The immigration of poorer classes also has a long history in Galicia. As in the rest of Spain, the classic case of marginal and marginalised "others"—those one who cannot be considered one of us even though they were born here—are the gypsies. The nomadic nature associated with this ethnic group makes it easier to see them as outsiders in spite of the long inter-generational continuity of their labour niches, families, and even settlements. Present-day Senegalese immigrants now complement and replace the gypsies who have traditionally share space with Galicians in popular street markets and fairs.

Now new gypsies are arriving, and they are considered "foreigners" by the local gypsies. Most of them are referred to as "Romanians". There are evident differences

(with regard to customs, language, and phenotype) as well as similarities (high level of mendicancy, school enrolment problems, police harassment, and social rejection) between both groups which are evident. Only the intellectual effort of a political protest discourse that draws upon shared historical marginalisation might manage to prioritise similarities over differences. Perhaps, the most troubling is the tendency to consider all Romanians, gypsies or non-gypsies (see Arranz Nuñez, this volume) as a single group.

1.3 Emigration, Immigration, or Return Migration?

The Galician case clearly reveals the error behind the simple distinction between lands of emigration and immigration. This error is largely due to the fact that much of Galician immigration is the result of prior emigration, and vice versa. Sometimes migration involves the same individuals, and sometimes it takes place after the course of one or two generations. Such return migrations are strongly characteristic of Galicia.

People who arrive in Spain with Spanish nationality are often considered as return migrants, even if they have been raised or were even born abroad. These include the children and grandchildren of Spaniards who did not lose or who recovered their nationality (see Golías Perez, this volume, and Herrera Erazo 2009 for the case of Galicians in Switzerland). Out of the 24,000 Spanish immigrants who came from abroad in the final years of the twentieth century, only 66% were born in Spain. According to the most recent data (2014), this number has gone down to 50%. Thus, just over half of the Spaniards who “returned” from abroad were born in Spain. In Galicia today, the most significant case of immigrants born involves people from Venezuela.

We know that in many cases, the links with Galicia were broken long ago, and that they were conveniently reactivated when there was a will to emigrate and “return to the roots” (Oso et al. 2008). But the return of the second generations often goes without notice, because Spanish nationality was not maintained and could not be recovered. In fact, many Argentines of mixed ancestry arrived in Spain and Galicia as Italian citizens, because Italy was the only country that recognised their nationality.

We also know that, especially as a result of the latest economic recession, many of those who have recently left Galicia (including those with Spanish nationality and those who were born here) have “returned” to the countries that were the origin of their (or their family’s) migration in the 1990s and early twenty-first century (see Domingo and Blanes, this volume).

1.4 Borderlands

The second factor that calls into question the distinction between countries of emigration or immigration for Galicia is its borderland status. Although it has received scant academic and political attention, the presence of foreigners in Galicia has been a historical reality due to two active and open frontiers: Portugal and the sea.

The frontier between Spain and Portugal is often referred to as the oldest in Europe, if we accept accounts that it resulted from the treaty signed at the end of the thirteenth century that established Portugal as an independent kingdom. However, it has also been documented that the original plan suffered continuous revisions. Most importantly, the topic was subject to political and academic debate during the nineteenth century, when a “natural” support was sought for national political frontiers (Trillo-Santamaria and Garcia 2015). Nevertheless, the frontier between Galicia and Portugal—approximately 300 km of the 1250 km of Spanish–Portuguese border—has always been recognised as being particularly permeable (Trillo-Santamaria and Paül 2014). The Portuguese border with Galicia has always contrasted markedly with that shared with the rest of Spain. Both Spain and Portugal have maintained an educational and academic policy of ignoring geographical and historical events concerning the neighbouring country. Thus, for example, in Spanish school history texts, references to Portugal’s historical events and circumstances are at the very least, erratic (Pereira Castañares 2001). This intention, which is also reflected in the policies of territorial distribution, was especially evident during the period of dictatorships that governed both countries during the twentieth century, and which resulted in the strong economic marginalisation of the bordering areas. But despite official isolationist policies, the inhabitants of the bordering towns of Galicia and Portugal, located in what is known as the “*raia*” (line), not only kept in touch, but also managed to make a profit from contraband, human exile routes for those escaping from prosecution under Franco’s regime or enlisting in Portugal’s colonial wars (Lois Gonzalez and Carballo Lomba 2015; Cunha 2007; also see Rodríguez Gallardo, this volume). The official policies were erratic and also managed to benefit from clandestine pursuits. For example, Spain was the country of passage that enabled the massive migration of illegal Portuguese nationals to France, in spite of Salazar’s prohibition (Pereira 2008).

In 2015, more than 100,000 people born in Portugal lived in Spain and 20% of them in Galicia, the autonomous region with the highest concentration. It is followed by Madrid, where scarcely 12% reside. In spite of being citizens of an EU member State, Portuguese immigrants who have settled in Galicia are, formally, immigrants from abroad: they are foreigners. However, the cultural similarities between Galicia and Portugal create the kind of sociological proximity between

destination and origin towns more typical of an internal migratory process, and even more so since the elimination of the internal EU frontiers. Nevertheless, the official national borders continue to be relevant in that they convert those who cross them into “foreigners”, with a legal and symbolic status that differs greatly from that of “national” (Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2004). This status generally produces vulnerability, but not always. In specific situations, the status of foreigner or foreign national can be an advantage, for example, in protecting one from convictions reserved for nationals. This is almost always the case in comparison with the “stateless”.⁴

Portuguese citizens that have spent a long time settled in Galicia often manage to pass for ordinary Galicians. This invisibility is not only the result of cultural similarity. Only a few decades ago, these immigrants employed concealment strategies because the Portuguese were often poorly regarded by Galicians, being seen as poor or criminals (Lamela et al. 2005).

Galicia’s maritime border—over 1700 km of coastline—has also served as a permeable border for the constant crossing of migratory flows throughout history. Academic attention to ports and ships, particularly transnational places, has been increasing over the past years. Galicia is a particularly interesting case because its coast is especially associated with deep-sea fishing, and its commercial harbours, engaging in naval construction and more recently in cruise tourism, provide an international character. Modern tourists from around the world extend their pilgrimage route from the Cathedral of St. James in Santiago de Compostela, Galicia’s inland capital city, to the maritime rural settlement of Finisterre, one of several Atlantic European sites historical considered to be the end of the earth (Roseman et al. 2008). Galician harbours continue to be, in the collective memory, the classic setting for saying farewell to loved ones before setting sail to the Americas. But it has also been the economic engine for attracting other migrant groups that already have a history in Galicia, such as the Cape Verdeans from the fishing town of Burela (see Oca González, this volume). The presence in this same community of other more recent migrant groups, such as Indonesians, is also linked to deep-sea fishing.

Like international borders, maritime ones are served as privileged arenas for illegal business (Urry 2014; Langewiesche 2006). Galicia has processed huge fortunes linked to the contraband of tobacco and drug trafficking through its maritime borders. This reality has without doubt contributed to the negative stereotypes associated with certain nationalities, such as the Colombian, impeding integration.

⁴According to the 1991 Census, Galicia was the autonomous community with the highest number of “stateless” people (419). This number included the children of Cape Verdean immigrants (see Oca González, this volume). After the problem was resolved, the census for 2001 recorded only four stateless people in Galicia.

1.5 What Lies Behind Super-Diversity?

In 2015, the 118 foreign countries that were given as “place of birth” by residents in Spain were also present in Galicia, albeit in a very different proportion. Only 3.5 of every 100 people born outside of the country reside in Galicia, but they are distributed among the same number of countries of origin, which allows us to underline the super-diversity concentrated in such a small numerical group (INE 2015). On the other hand, the over-representation of some of these places of birth in Galicia provides some insight into the different factors influencing the arrival and establishment of foreigners.

In Galicia, the nationalities associated with economic immigration that arrived in Spain at the end of the twentieth century are under-represented. In Galicia, there are citizens born in Ecuador, Morocco, and Romania, but they barely make up 1 out of 100 in Spain. On the other hand, besides Portugal, there is also an over-representation of nationalities that received economic migration from Galicia to the Americas and Europe. From the Americas, in addition to Argentina and Venezuela, it is worth highlighting those citizens born in Uruguay and Cuba. From Europe, we find that nearly 17,000 people born in Switzerland live in Galicia (almost 30% of the Swiss-born residents in Spain). Many are children of Galicians born in emigration and who have returned with their parents (see Domingo & Blanes, this volume).

But there are other dynamics and migratory chains that we should not assume to be derived from known migratory movements, even if they involve countries with historical links with Galicia. Thus, for example, it is not at all clear whether recent Brazilian migration to Spain and Galicia is related to the emigration of Galicians to Brazil during the twentieth century. This seems to constitute a flow with a life of its own, bringing together several different factors (Solé et al. 2011; Finotelli et al. 2013).

For heuristic reasons, I have so far addressed migratory diversity in terms of nationality, but the diversity that is most typically overlooked is that within migratory flows. Ethnic and class differences that are often irreconcilable in the society of origin maybe are masked in the new host country. We know that exiles who opposed Franco’s regime coexisted as “gallegos” with Francoist emigrants in the Galician diaspora. The important ethnic differences between Romanians in Spain and Galicia serve as one more of many examples.

Among Moroccans living in Galicia, we can distinguish at least two profiles: one linked to street vending, which has been settled long enough to establish family reunification, and that of more recent, masculinised flows linked to the construction and farming sectors. Local press reports focus on these two profiles by, on the one hand, publishing news of the opening of a mosque, a *halal* butcher shop, or a school support programme for newly arrived children, while on the other hand revealing conspiracies and labour exploitation involving vulnerable recent Moroccan immigrants. But there are also Moroccans pursuing university degrees, as well as foreign unaccompanied minors.

In general, strongly feminised or masculinised migratory flows usually correspond to specialised labour niches. However, over time, with family reunification

and the diversification of migratory flows in terms of age and gender (see García-Cabeza and García-Serna, this volume), their position in the labour market also becomes diversified (see Oso and Martínez Buján, this volume). The similarities between the “Colombians” or “Moroccans” or “Senegalese” of past and present begin to break down. What dynamics do we find behind this other source of migratory diversity? In simple terms: the passing of time.

The length of time spent in the destination country, in the precise historical circumstances of each generation, leaves traces that transform the lives of migrants and the migratory contexts encountered by new arrivals. Such traces comprise one of the main determining elements of migratory selection and subsequent integration of migrant groups: the migratory policies (see Fernandez Suarez, this volume). It is difficult to determine the extent to which these migratory policies prove prejudicial to those migrants who do not conform to the predominant categories and representations. For example, the “novelty” factor that characterises the Moslem minorities in Galicia should not be underestimated. This is a group that is still trying to establish itself, without little history aside from the Spanish construction that hardly represents it (see Mandado Cendon, this volume). With time, emigration also has deep consequences for the society of origin, sometimes transforming the gender relations and the family systems that have adopted emigration as an economic strategy (see Vazquez Silva, this volume).

Galicia also possesses certain distinctive territorial features that help explain the migratory diversity that it encompasses. For example, the differences between urban and rural areas foster considerable differences with regard to the type of immigration that settles in each place. Galicia’s seven major cities (with around 100,000 inhabitants) and considerably large metropolitan areas generate an urban economy based on the sales and services sectors that attract the diversity typically found in major migratory movements. But there is also rural Galicia, with largely abandoned villages and an ageing populace, where there is room for some numerically and socially marginalised immigrant groups. This rural Galicia is also highly masculinised, generating sordid situations where young women are periodically transported to villages in order to provide potentially dubious companionship to older men. It is in the back roads of the countryside that we find many of the brothels where mainly immigrant women work, receiving clients who have been displaced from urban areas, as well as lonely locals. This is the context that also gives rise to cases of marriages of convenience between young foreign women and elderly Galician men who seek a combination of eldercare and sex.

Overlapping with the dynamics and circumstances that are specific to Galicia, we can see processes and factors that are common to any part of Europe. Galicia’s relatively peripheral location does not entirely exclude it from the presence of the modern day international elite. Galicia continues to receive migrations classified as minority that operate under the auspices of large multinational firms, European agencies and other highly profitable businesses, such as professional sport. At least one third of players contracted by football clubs operating in Galicia’s two most important cities (Vigo’s *Celta* and A Coruña’s *Deportivo*) were born abroad. There are Danes, Swedes, Belgians, Serbs, Portuguese, Brazilians, Costa Ricans, etc.—

with a certain over-representation of Argentines. The European Fisheries Control Agency (EFCA) has been operating in Vigo since 2008, with a staff of over 50 workers from 19 European Union member states.

The major companies located in modern day Galicia obviously attract highly qualified personnel from the rest of the world. Their presence is hardly perceived on an everyday basis because they are relatively few in number and because their lives are characterised by the discretion of the highest social classes. The textile group Inditex, one of the world's largest multinationals, has its origin and headquarters in Galicia. It is the mother company of Zara, which has stores in practically every world capital city. Inditex barely produces in Galicia, but it attracts another type of labour and also results in a certain degree of highly qualified emigration from Galicia to cities around the world.

The other main multinational firm present in Galicia is the group PSA Peugeot Citroën, with a factory in Vigo since 1959. In this case, the connection is with France, but to a greater or lesser extent, all the foreign companies that operate in Galicia contribute to the migratory diversity that characterises the territory (Swedes from Ikea, French from FNAC, etc.). In fact, the presence of these so-called honorary consulates reveals the international scope of commercial relations; at present they represent about 30 different countries.

There is also the immigration that responds to a prosperous Europe, as exemplified by the demands of a middle class that can afford domestic service, home care for their children and elderly members, and even generational replacement with adopted children. In absolute figures, Spain is one of the world's countries that process the highest number of international adoptions. Galicia registers a particularly high rate of completed adoption applications, which amount to approximately 200 adoptions a year. In Spain, the majority of international adoptions come from China, Russia, Ethiopia, and Colombia. Galicia is characterised by its adoption of Ethiopian children. What these figures represent is a certain phenotypic diversity in the public spaces belonging to the higher classes. It is common to see Chinese and Ethiopian children wearing the uniforms of the most elite schools. In neighbouring public schools, a similar physical diversity is also apparent, although these children have different national origins.

At the same time, the past few years have given witness to more recent trends of emigration to a more prosperous Europe, as Galician search for the social mobility that was frustrated by the economic recession and the less prosperous return migration from other parts of Spain and the rest of the world.

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Part I
Galicians Abroad

Chapter 2

The Role of Galician Centers in the Promotion of Galician Culture Abroad

Ruy Farías

Abstract This chapter explores the role of Galician community centers in the Americas in the promotion of Galician culture abroad and in the production and maintenance of a collective imaginary of Galician identity. On the one hand, educational initiatives aimed to provide a generally working class and poorly educated migrant population with some minimum tools of literacy and general knowledge. On the other hand, other resources and initiatives were aimed more broadly at generating, within the Galician colony as well as throughout the host society, a positive image of Galicia and its emigrants. Those centers played a key role in strengthening a sense of common belonging and pride in Galician-ness among people who often departed from their homeland with internalized negative perceptions about the value of their language and their culture.

2.1 Introduction

The cultural work carried out by Galician institutions among the emigrant (expat) community in the Americas is a topic that, despite some important research, has not received the attention it deserves. There are many destination countries that have not yet been fully documented, and much of the broad time frame involved, beginning in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, has yet to be explored. Given the wide geographic and temporal scope available, I have chosen for this analysis to focus on three specific cases, that of Argentina, Uruguay, and Cuba, and within each of these national contexts on a specific type of association: Galician community centers that address both educational and cultural needs in the destination country (for a general review of Galician societies, see Peña Saavedra 1991; for characteristics and objectives of teaching societies, see Núñez Seixas 2000).

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© Springer International Publishing AG 2018

R. DePalma and A. Pérez-Caramés (eds.), *Galician Migrations: A Case Study of Emerging Super-diversity*, Migration, Minorities and Modernity 3,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-66305-0_2

In 1879, in the midst of a movement to defend regional cultural values of the Galician region of Spain, the first three Galician centers were established in the Americas: in Buenos Aires, Argentina (which disappeared in 1892 and was reestablished in 1907); in Montevideo, Uruguay; and in Havana, Cuba (Fernández 1992; González Tosar 1992; Padorno 2007; Rodríguez Díaz 2000; Vilanova Rodríguez 1966; Zubillaga Barrera 1974). Explicitly self-defined as instructional and recreational societies, all of these institutions emerged with a strong cultural emphasis. The founders placed a great deal of confidence in the value of education, as reflected by the shared priority in setting up evening or day schools. These classes, along with on-site libraries, assured that members and their families acquired or completed basic educational levels that would support career advancement and/or social mobility. Nevertheless, their objectives were not limited to intellectual and professional development, but included the broader ambition of constructing a shared sense of Galician-ness. These measures set out to teach the Galician immigrant about his homeland's history and instill an appreciation for this common cultural heritage. There was a hope that forming such a sense of positive Galician identity would help to increase the social prestige of a group that suffered a relatively poor public image in the destination countries (see Peña Saavedra 1991 vol. 1, pp. 210–11, 220).

2.2 Improving the Educational Level and Social Capital of Galicians Abroad

The three countries addressed in this chapter are among the five top destinations of the Galician overseas diaspora (Cagiao Vila 1992; Cagiao Vila and Núñez Seixas 2007; De Cristóforis 2007; Neira Vilas 1992; Núñez Seixas 2007; Villares and Fernández 1996). The majority of the thousands of (almost exclusively male) Galicians who set out for Havana, Buenos Aires, and Montevideo from the 1860s to the end of the 1930s were from rural areas. While their levels of illiteracy or semiliteracy were, in general, lower than those among the population who stayed behind, many of them can still be described as functionally illiterate. These immigrants had relatively little schooling and a considerable lack of professional and employment qualifications, a tendency that became more pronounced with the turn of the century and the intensification of the migratory flow (see Peña Saavedra 1991, pp. 163–77, for details on the education and training of these emigrants).

The majority of these people settled in urban areas of the destination countries, where they generally found jobs that were considered unskilled, humble, and physically demanding; in addition, they tended to be poorly remunerated. These working conditions served to exacerbate the low social status afforded to the Galician people in these societies. As Núñez Seixas (2002) explains, the massive numbers of relatively low-skilled Galician immigrants who arrived in Havana, Montevideo, and Buenos Aires between the mid-nineteenth and the beginning of

the twentieth centuries were employed in low-prestige jobs in urban centers that placed them in situations of high public visibility. This served to reinforce and amplify stereotypes that were disseminated in popular culture outlets such as plays and caricatures: Galicians were seen as naive and uncultured, yet hard working, extremely thrifty, and good-natured. At least in the Argentinian case, Galicians either accepted these stereotypes with resignation or attempted to deny their regional origins, hoping to blend in with the rest of the Spaniards (see also Lojo et al. 2008; Iglesias López 2007).

The evident contrast between the goals achieved by educated emigrants and the relative under-employment of those who lacked basic schooling led to an awareness of the negative implications of the limited educational opportunities in the country of origin. This realization at the individual level would not have led to collective organization were it not for the presence of a relatively small but dedicated educated elite among the Galician immigrants, consisting of journalists, literary figures, and expatriate political activists (most of whom left the country after the defeat of the First Spanish Republic¹). These educated and artistic classes provided the essential catalyst behind the formation of these kinds of Galician community centers that, while described as “instructional and recreational,” also provided mutual protection and charity assistance.

These politicians and intellectual founders were joined by their Galician compatriots who had managed to achieve upward social mobility and gained legitimacy in the eyes of the receptor society. In fact, these new social and economic elite tended to monopolize in the short term the direction of these associations, so that they were steered progressively away from political aims. At the same time, the elite intellectuals responded to the unfavorable social imaginary associated with the Galician immigrant in these countries by initiating a project of Galician cultural regeneration. This was expressed less in terms of political ideology and more in generic cultural consciousness-raising, for example in overcoming the historic humiliation of the Galician region. Efforts were aimed, therefore, at the moral, material, and cultural development of the Galician people both at home and abroad, since only by raising the prestige of Galicia on both these fronts could the “good name” be restored to the region in both national and international contexts (Núñez Seixas 1998; Peña Saavedra 1991).

Such attempts to address the problem of educational deficiencies and the resulting low-status employment of Galician immigrants in the Americas was not entirely motivated by pure altruism, since the negative stereotypes associated with Galicians also reflected on the commercial, professional, and intellectual elite. These more privileged sectors may have seen in the “sad employment perspectives and grey life destinies” of their countrymen a more general threat to the prestige of the broader socio-ethnic collective to which they belonged (Núñez Seixas 2002, see especially pp. 157–170).

¹A brief Spanish parliamentary government that lasted from February 11, 1873, to December 29, 1874, ending with the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy.

Of the three Galician community centers described in this chapter, the Cuban center was without a doubt the most successful in term of its formal instruction program (Peña Saavedra 1991, 1999; González Tosar 1992). Both the Cuban and Argentinian centers ended up adopting a strong charity function, providing material assistance to many thousands of members, a role never adopted by the Uruguayan center. While these functions ended up eclipsing the educational initiatives in Buenos Aires, this was never the case in Havana, where the Galician center developed what came to be recognized as the most successful and long-lasting project aimed at formal education of Galicians abroad.

Shortly after it was founded in November 1879, the *Centro Gallego de La Habana* (Havana Galician Center) created an Instruction Committee. By the middle of the following year, evening classes in writing, reading, arithmetic, French, English, Bookkeeping, and Spanish grammar were offered to 109 (all male) students. Algebra and Geometry were added in 1884–1885, and in 1887 educational conferences were offered and a library was opened that included a reading room. Throughout the 1920s an average of 600 people visited the library on a daily basis. A total of 13 subjects offered, with the addition of courses such as line and decorative drawing, Spanish geography and history, rectilinear trigonometry, and political economy. During the decade beginning in 1910 class registration reached its highest level, with a total of 3601 students (82.34% male) served by a team of 20 teachers. It is worth noting here that women's education was limited to basic education and certain specific classes such as music, typing, and English.

The teaching staff made ongoing efforts to identify and implement the most modern teaching techniques, although they were at times subject to criticism in terms of methodology, organization, and discipline (Vieito de López 1928). Nevertheless, the fact remains that this educational initiative was massive in scope, beyond comparison with any other Galician project in the Americas, with a progressive expansion in terms of curricular variety and quality. The program managed to adequately prepare its graduates for the Cuban formal secondary education system and receive recognition from beyond its socio-demographic target group.

On the other hand, there was one significant aspect of the initial planned curriculum that was never fully realized—subjects specifically related to Galician history and language—and this was due to lack of interest on the part of the students. During the 1885–1886 school year, a course on general Spanish history was offered that included an add-on unit on Galician history, while a similar attempt was made in the 1894–1895 school year with the introduction of a course on universal and general geography of Cuba and Galicia; nevertheless, these never garnered enough student interest to become incorporated into the permanent curriculum. Despite the offer of Spanish reading and writing courses, and even French and English language courses, the center never managed to offer a Galician language course. It was apparent that the Galicians in Cuba were more strongly motivated to acquire skills of reading, writing, calculation, and technical training that might prepare them for a trade career rather than to learn about the history of their homeland and community of origin. This is not so surprising, given that

necessity generally took precedence over virtue and pragmatism over curiosity among the members of Galician society, at home and abroad alike (Peña Saavedra 1999).

2.3 Constructing an Imaginary: The Defense and Diffusion of Galician Culture

While such formal educational initiatives comprised an important part of the work of these centers, their cultural initiatives always went beyond the purely instructional. These additional projects can be described in terms of two main objectives: to raise the prestige of the Galician immigrant in the eyes of the host society, and to create a sense of Galician identity among those living abroad (in some cases as part of a broader Spanish identity, and in others as a competing identity). These kinds of activities responded to some extent to the calculated self-interest of the elite members of the migrant society, but they were also inspired by activist sensibilities of those emigrants who were politically motivated expats and exiles. These individuals were motivated by a “Galicianist” ideology, a term deriving from the Galician word *galeguista* that refers to a set of ideologies ranging from regionalist to nationalist (in the sense of claiming independence of the Autonomous Community of Galicia from the Spanish state), all of which share a common element of reinforcing the unique personality and political and cultural characteristics of the region (Nuñez Seixas 1992).

These intellectuals strove in the Americas to construct and disseminate a sense of Galician identity among the emigrants in these destination countries. They saw a need for the political, social, cultural, and economic regeneration and the creation of a shared sense of Galician-ness among emigrants who were more likely to prioritize and maintain over time more specific local identities (in terms of parish or village, see Nuñez Seixas 2002). Over time these Galician emigrants also tended to establish a kind of symbiotic relationship with the host society, which was outwardly visible in terms of adapted culinary habits and musical tastes (Neira Vilas 2001). Nevertheless, many of these hardworking migrants managed to, along with working and studying at night, find time to explore the writings of their educated and activist compatriots, and therefore discover the historical personality and defining characteristics of Galicia.

One of the ways in which the first objective, to raise prestige of the collective within the host society, manifested was in the enormous effort invested by these organizations in the construction of grand and sumptuous social “palaces.” In certain cases, such as the Galician centers in Havana and Buenos Aires, these became recognized as architectural references points in the city. Although somewhat smaller than the other two, the *Centro Gallego de Montevideo* (Montevideo Galician Center) is also undeniably impressive.

These Galician centers also produced public media outlets—bulletins, magazines, or newspapers that often managed to achieve a relatively high volume of distribution (Peña Saavedra 1998; Zubillaga Barrera 1992). This was the case with the Galician journal in Buenos Aires that was directed by the celebrated Galician artist Luis Seoane (who fled the Spanish Civil War in 1936) for more than 20 years beginning in 1939, and which printed several thousand copies of each issue. The *Alma Gallega* (Galician Soul), the official publication of the *Centro Gallego de Montevideo*, printed 5000 copies of each issue from 1921 to 1927, a number that increased at times to reach twenty or thirty thousand.

These journals, aside from serving to disseminate the activities of the sponsoring organization, also carried out an important cultural role in publishing articles concerning the history of Galicia and its customs and traditions. On some occasions, they provided a venue for responding to denigrating images of the Galician immigrant circulating in the host society, for example in popular theater and radio productions. The organization that took the strongest role in combating these negative stereotypes was the *Federación de Asociaciones Gallegas* (Federation of Galician Societies), which was formed in 1921 by a group of about 12 societies and reached its heights in 1950 with a total of 55 member societies (Díaz 2007). This federation founded in 1922 *El Despertar Gallego* (The Galician Awakening), which occasionally protested intensely against real or interpreted aggressions against Galicians settled in Argentina, reactions which provided evidence that emigrants in general, and not only the elite members of the community, placed a great deal of value on defending the “good name” of Galicia.

In general, the attitude adopted by these publications was usually not aggressive, but rather a kind of constant vigilance against oppression. As Nuñez Seixas explains, at least in the Argentinian case, the intellectual elite constructed an identity discourse that involved self-aggrandizing descriptions of glories and virtues, emphasizing individual Galician contributions to history, science, and progress in Galician and in the Americas, without much regard for their political, ideological, or cultural perspectives. The portrait of the self-made man of humble origins who triumphs against the odds through sheer fortitude and effort was presented, perhaps to an almost obsessive extent, as a way to demonstrate that Galicians were not as ignorant as they were depicted to be by popular stereotypes. In addition to such individual success stories, the collective and visible aspect of Galician society was also depicted in terms of the community support and cultural works of the Galician centers.

One specific strategy was to highlight the role of Galicians in the history of the Americas; for example, Galician militia fighters who helped defend Buenos Aires during the second attempt at British invasion of the Río de Plata (1807). Indeed, until quite recently the *Centro Gallego* in Buenos Aires (Galician Center) had a statue at its entrance depicting the names of Galician people who supported Argentinian patriots in the War for Independence. Another strategy was to describe Galicia as a sort of paradise of natural beauty, while another line of discourse praised the heroic and glorious contributions of Galicians to Spanish and European history. In the words of Constantino Sánchez Mosquera of the Uruguayan Galician

center, the objective of such efforts was to improve the social perceptions of the Galician community settled in the area:

In these past five years we have achieved a high representative value for our association. In this time period we have done everything possible, and on occasions the impossible, to increase the social, cultural, and patriotic prestige of the Galician community of Montevideo. [...]. All of the actions and initiatives taken by the Governing Body have responded to these goals (Sánchez Mosquera 1930. In Spanish in the original).

2.4 A Turn Toward Galicianism: Reclaiming a Marginalized History and Language

At the beginning of the twentieth century, singing the praises of Galicia usually also implied claiming a Spanish identity on the part of the Galician immigrants. However, by the end of the 1920s more strongly Galicianist arguments emerged in the community in Buenos Aires. Influenced by European Galicianist schools of thought, this new approach emphasized a return to ethnic origins, celebrating the perceived pre-Roman Celtic heritage of the Galician territory in a way that served to distinguish it from the rest of Spain.

At the beginning of the organization of the Galician community in the Americas, the Spanish language was the chief medium of communication within the newly formed Galician cultural centers, and the newspapers and magazines associated with them were also published in Spanish. However, from the 1920s onward the influence of a new political turn in Galicia toward Galicianism also produced changes in the use of the Galician language in the destination countries, and especially in Argentina. From this point there was a growing tendency to defend and support the heritage language on the part of a community that, among certain sectors, had demonstrated attitudes of indifference and even disdain for the Galician language as well as other aspects of the culture.

This language began to appear throughout the immigrant publications, many of which became bilingual. Even so, the Galician language was generally reserved for literary and expository contributions. The Galicianist activists in these expatriate colonies lobbied for a stronger presence of Galician in the community press outlets that they sometimes controlled. When in 1954 UNESCO celebrated its annual assembly in Montevideo, Galician groups from Buenos Aires took the opportunity to denounce the Spanish government for persecution of the Galician language (Alonso Montero 1995).

In any case, the use of the Galician language was most strongly present in the realm of literature, and the edition of literary works constitutes one of the most passionate and prolific cultural productions of the Galician centers in the Americas (Axeitos and Seoane 1994; Alonso Montero 1995; Rodino Lalín 1989). In 1939 the Federation of Galician Societies published the classic *Poemas Galegas* (Galician

Poems) by Rosalía de Castro and *A Gaita a Falare* (The Bagpipe Speaks) by Ramón Rey Baltar. Rey Baltar's book of poetry was the first Galician book that specifically addressed the disasters of the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) and was published through the auspices of what the federation identified as “*Central Gallega de Ayuda al Frente Popular Español*” (“Galician Central of Support to the Popular Spanish Front”).² Galician institutions in Argentina played an important role in the impressive literary legacy produced by Galician emigrants and political exiles, which enabled the Galician language to continue to serve as an outlet for cultural expression despite the censorship of the Franco regime.

The defeat of the Second Spanish Republic at the hands of the fascist rebel forces in 1939 strongly contributed to the high level of intellectual creativity among Galicians in the New World, some of which was produced in collaboration with other Spanish emigrants or with artists from the destination countries. The year 1936 saw the beginning of what was to be known as the Golden Age of Galician writings in exile, especially prominent in Argentina (Alonso Montero 1995; Axeitos and Seoane 1994). Some of the Galician centers played an important role in the dissemination of Galician language and culture, and in some cases, in promoting Galicianist ideology (Rodino Lalín 1989; Neira Vilas 2001). In 1949 the Federation of Galician Societies created a publishing house called *Alborada* (Dawn Reveille) and published a broad range of important works.

The Galician center in Buenos Aires edited books sporadically throughout the 1940s and finally in 1950 established *Ediciones Galicia* (Galician Editions), which went on to become the most important of the American Galician literary publishers. Director Luís Seoane argued that the Spanish Civil War had robbed the Galician language of its literary heritage in its home territory, a situation that would not be rectified, at best, for some time. He felt this would have grave implications for the value that future generations of Galician speakers would afford to their native tongue. With this in mind, not only he published for the Galician minority in Buenos Aires and Montevideo, but also he reedited certain works with the hope that they might reach readers in Galicia, despite their prohibition by the fascist regime. Seoane also published some Galician works in the Spanish language, hoping to provide access to Galician culture not only to those Galicians who had difficulty reading in this language, but also to the Argentinian intellectual elite (Alonso Montero 1995). All in all, this publishing house had produced a total of 43 titles by 1977, two years after the end of Franco's dictatorship, many of which would have been impossible to publish under this regime.

In this sense, the American Galician centers not only published works that were essential to the Galician literary canon, but also made it possible for at least some sectors of the host societies that received these successive waves of Galician immigration to appreciate the language and literature of these people. Obviously the

²The *Frente Popular* (Popular Front) was a coalition of leftist parties formed in 1936 in opposition to fascist forces that went on to govern Spain from 1939 to 1975, under the rule of dictator General Francisco Franco. The dictatorship enacted a policy of explicit oppression of Spanish regional languages such as Galician.

number of individuals who were able to read these works, or even access them, was limited. Nevertheless, independent of the actual circulation of these literary works in Galicia and in countries hosting the Galician diaspora, they had a considerable symbolic value. Their mere existence demonstrated to many Galicians at home and abroad (particularly in Argentina), “that Galicia is not a nationality with a culture that has been dead for centuries, but a nation that is renewed and reborn from an apparent death under the worst of circumstances” (in the words of Luís Seoane during a 1957 radio broadcast, cited in Axeitos and Seoane 1994, p. 9. In Galician in the original).

It is difficult to estimate the real impact of these discourses of Galician identity constructed through the various activities of Galician centers abroad. Certainly a considerable sector of the immigrant community was affected, although not necessarily the majority, since the most optimistic measure estimates that about 25% of Galician immigrants were affiliated with a Galician center (Núñez Seixas 1998). As Higam has suggested, “an ethnic group dissipates like a magnetic field as the distance from its center increases (cited in Núñez Seixas 1998, p. 26).

2.4.1 Conclusion

I have provided here a relatively superficial and incomplete review of the two different but related aspects of the educational work carried out by Galician centers in the Americas, with a particular focus on three of the oldest ones that were located in Buenos Aires, Montevideo, and Havana. On the one hand, they provided members with minimum literacy skills and financial and general knowledge, and this was a clear tendency starting with their initial foundation in these countries. On the other hand, they also eventually developed practices designed to generate both in the immigrant community and the host society a positive image of Galicia and its people. These centers set themselves the task of fostering a sense of pride and belonging in a group of people who often had internalized before leaving their homeland negative stereotypes about their culture and language, and who were more likely to relate to more local identities than to a shared common Galician identity (Núñez Seixas 2000).

Many of these centers continue to function today, to varying degrees, as disseminators of Galician culture in destination countries of Galician emigration. The Federation of Galician Societies, for example, continues to be an important nexus of Galician progressive thought in Argentina. The organization includes an *Associaçom Civil Amigos do Idioma Galego* (Civil Association of Friends of the Galician Language), which not only provides classes in this minoritized language, but specifically follows the less mainstream Integrationist school of linguistics, which supports the understanding and orthographic representation of Galician as integrally related to Portuguese. The existence of this progressive association provides evidence that a group of like-minded activists came together thousands of kilometers away from their compatriots in Galicia, and years before anything

similar even existed within Galician territory. It also demonstrates the dynamic nature of the institution's approach to promoting Galician culture. It was this Federation that took the historic initiative to establish the Museum of Galician Emigration in Argentina, and to support a public library exclusively dedicated to the topic of Galicia.

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Chapter 3

‘Cando chegamos ô *Unai Estei*’ (When We Arrived in the USA): Literary Representations of Galician Migration to New York in the First Half of the 20th Century

David Miranda-Barreiro

Abstract In a recent study, James D. Fernández (*Invisible Immigrants. Spaniards in the US (1898–1945)*. White Stone Ridge, New York, 2014) has described Spanish immigrants in the USA as ‘invisible’, due to the lack of academic attention they have traditionally received. As pointed out by Nancy Pérez Rey (*Actas de Congreso Internacional “O exilio galego”*. Xunta de Galicia, pp. 600–614, 2001), the majority of these migrants have been of Galician origin. Galicians in the United States have therefore suffered from a double invisibility, and only in the past few years have academic studies paid close attention to their presence in this country, and particularly in their preferred destination, New York (Pérez Rey in *Actas de Congreso Internacional “O exilio galego”*. Xunta de Galicia, pp. 600–614, 2001); *Estudos Migratorios* 1:31–61, 2008; Alonso (*Obreiros alén mar. Mariñeiros, fogoneiros e anarquistas galegos en New York*, 2006); Varela Lago (*Estudos Migratorios* 1(2), 63–84, 2008); Vilar Álvarez (*Estudos migratorios* 2:69–90, 2009)). Drawing on this body of work, and focusing on texts by Alfonso Daniel Rodríguez Castelao, Ernesto Guerra da Cal and Luís Seoane, the present chapter will examine the literary representations of Galician migrants in this city produced by Galician exiles in the first half of the 20th century. The study of these texts will show the challenges posed by competing identities (Spanish, Hispanic, migrant) to the articulation of Galician identity in New York and will explore the tension between visibility and invisibility in their representation of Galician migration to this city.

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3.1 Introduction

In 2014, two works brought to the fore the often neglected case of Spanish migration to the United States: Artur Balder's film *Little Spain*, about the Spanish community in New York, and the book *Invisible Immigrants. Spaniards in the US (1898–1945)*, in which James D. Fernández and Luis Argeo tell the story of Spanish migrants in this country through an extensive photographic collection. Both of them emphasise how this phenomenon has mostly passed unnoticed. Certainly, and with the exception of a few academic studies (especially Rueda 1993, 2008) the migration of Spaniards to the United States has not been given the attention it deserves.

Fernández and Argeo state in the opening pages of their book that 'tens of thousands of the emigrants who left Spain in this period ended up settling in the USA' (2014, p. 10).¹ Rueda points out that although between 1820 and 1900 the number of Spaniards arriving in the USA was no more than 4,000, this figure would rise to 200,000 during the first half of the twentieth century (Rueda 1993, p. 13). The data gathered by Rueda indicates that Galicians comprised the majority of Spanish emigration to the USA. To give an example, and taking into account that these numbers would fluctuate over the years, Rueda points out that 'in 1933 and 1934, following the report from the Spanish ambassador to the USA and looking at those who were registered in the Consulates, half of them are from Galicia, another significant group is from Asturias and the rest are Basques, Andalusians and Castilians' (1993, p. 63). If we narrow down the focus to New York, and look again at Rueda's statistical work, the reports collected by the Spanish ambassador to the USA from 1933 to 1935 indicate that 50% of the Spanish population in this city was also of Galician origin (out of 12,000). The next group in numbers would be the Asturians (17%) (Rueda 1993, pp. 63–64). Emilio González López, a Galician exile who arrived in New York in 1939, goes even further: he estimates that approximately 15,000 Spaniards were living in the city in the late 1930s and argues that 90% were Galician (González López, E. (with the collaboration of A. Ricón) 2000, p. 69). Although migration to the USA was a considerably smaller part of the overall migratory movement from Galicia to the American continent—only 3.75% between 1921 and 1930, according to Alonso (2006, p. 18)—, it was particularly prominent in certain areas. As García-Rodeja and Pérez Rey have shown, from 1917 to 1941, New York was the main destination for migrants from several coastal towns (for example Bueu, Boiro, Muros, Carnota, Bergondo and Sada) (García-Rodeja and Pérez Rey 2007, p. 429). Together with the relevance that Galicians had within the Spanish community of New York, this gives greater importance to a small migratory movement that has captured a wider attention from Galician Academia (Pérez Rey 2001, 2008; Mejía Ruiz 2004; Alonso 2006; García-Rodeja and Pérez Rey 2007; Varela Lago 2008 and Vilar Álvarez 2009).

¹Unless stated otherwise, citations originally in Galician or Spanish have been translated by the author.

Kirsty Hooper argues that due to Galicia’s ‘long history of emigration [...] in much of the world, especially but not only in Latin America, Galicia is the public face of Spain: today, more than 27% of Spaniards registered overseas are Galicians’ (Hooper 2011, p. 1). As it is well known, the word *gallego* [Galician] is used in Latin American countries to refer to all Spaniards. In the case of the USA, and especially of New York—being the focus of the present study—, this seems to be reversed: for those from outside Galicia, a *gallego* is ‘simply’ another Spaniard. Borrowing Fernández and Argeo’s (2014) term, New York Galicians suffer therefore from a ‘double invisibility’. Firstly, as members of a minority in the USA, and secondly, due to their identity being simplified as ‘merely’ Spanish.

Given the importance of the Galician migrants within the Spanish community in New York and their tendency for ‘invisibilisation’, this chapter sets out to examine the representation of New York Galicians in the work of several Galician exiles who lived in this city at some point during the first half of the twentieth century: especially Alfonso Daniel Rodríguez Castelao, but also Luís Seoane and Ernesto Guerra da Cal. The main questions that will be addressed are: has literature reflected the existence of different competing identities (Galician, Spanish, Hispanic, migrant) in New York?; have New York Galicians been ‘visibilised’ or ‘invisibilised’ in Galician literature in the first half of the twentieth century? In this regard, this chapter is concerned not only with what is said about Galician migrants, but especially with what remains unsaid, therefore looking at the tension between presence and absence in these texts. The narrative thread of this chapter will follow Castelao’s stay in New York from 1938 to 1940, in the context of his contributions to the Republic during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939).

3.2 Galician New York in the Work of the Exiles

As shown by several studies (for example Rey García 1994, 1997; Carroll and Fernández 2007), the Spanish Civil War was passionately followed in New York. The American press, writers, politicians and different organisations of civilians took part in campaigns for the support of both sides, but mostly for the Republicans. Economic and technological aid was sent to Spain, and thousands of Americans joined the International Brigades. Similarly, the Spanish community in New York took sides and created pro-Republican and pro-Francoist organisations. Marta Rey García points out that ‘from the analysis of newspapers and documents it can be inferred that practically all [of the Spanish community] supported the Republican side’ (Rey García 1994, p. 108). The Galicians of New York played an active role in this fight, especially through the *Fronte Popular Antifascista Galega* [Galician Anti-Fascist Popular Front] created in 1937:—‘from the first day of its creation [...] it was the most active society in the fight against fascism and the Francoist rebels [...] it was the one that, both individually and collectively, stirred up the most solidarity from the people of New York and from the Spanish and Galician colony in favour of the Republic [...]’ (González López 2000, p. 58). As part of their

propaganda campaigns to gain support for the Republicans and raise funds for their cause, the FPAG invited three Galician politicians to the United States in 1938. The most well known was Castelao, leader of the Galicianist Party, considered to be one of the founders of Galician Nationalism, and also celebrated as both an artist and as a writer.² His visit to New York created a great expectation in the Galician community, as shown by several articles from *La Voz*, an anti-Fascist Spanish newspaper published in New York and founded by the Galician Ceferino Barbanzán. One of these, from July 15th, 1938 reads:

the announcement of the forthcoming arrival in this city of the illustrious member of parliament and famous Galician artist, Alfonso R. Castelao, has awoken in me and many others born in Galicia the eternal hope, the natural and logical wish of seeing the great Galician family of New York and all America united in one single and powerful organisation [...] so once and for all our personality as a colony might be recognised and the movement started by the Galician Anti-fascist Popular Front can gather momentum in its close cooperation with the whole of the Spanish colony for the liberation of Spain and of Galicia within the National Unity. (González López 2000, p. 101)

Castelao was aware of the existence of this Galician community in the city, and prior to his arrival wrote a letter ‘To the Anti-fascist Galicians of New York’, which was read by another guest of the FPAG, Bibiano Fernández Osorio-Tafall, in a talk delivered on March 21st, 1938 (González López 2000, pp. 29–31).

Castelao’s visit to New York lived up to the expectations. As announced by their own newspaper, *Frente Popular*, the FPAG organised a fundraiser ‘festival’ together with the *Sociedades Gallegas Unidas* [United Galician Societies],³ held August 14th, 1938 at the now defunct Ulmer Park. The festival included football games, music and dancing. The highlight of the day was a speech delivered by Castelao. The success of the ‘*Festival Gallego*’ [Galician Festival] was echoed in *La Voz* and in *Frente Popular* in the following days (González López 2000), pp. 107–110.⁴ An article published in the former highlights the emotion felt by the audience when Castelao finished his speech in Galician: ‘in the last minutes of his

²There are contradicting views about the organisation of Castelao’s visit to New York. In his *Memorias*, Luis Soto (who accompanied Castelao during his Republican tour in the USA), argues that the visit was an initiative of the president of the Republic at the time, Juan Negrín, to promote the Republican cause in North America (Soto, quoted in González López (with the collaboration of A. Ricón) 2000, p. 49). This is the same version given for example by Paz-Andrade (2012, p. 439). However, González López claims to have first-hand testimonies stating that the visit was organised by the FPAG (González López (with the collaboration of A. Ricón) 2000, p. 49).

³The societies of migrants proliferated at the beginning of the twentieth century. In the Galician context, this phenomenon started in Cuba and Argentina. In the 1920s, there were at least four of them in New York. The societies provided medical and economic aid to the migrants, and were funded thanks to the organisation of recreational events that sometimes coincided with the local festivities celebrated in Galicia (Fernández Santiago 2008, pp. 219–222).

⁴González López’s book includes a lengthy appendix containing articles from the newspapers *La Voz*, *Frente Popular* and *España Libre*, published in New York, documenting the visit of Galician politicians, the development of the FPAG and the activities of the Spanish and Galician communities.

speech he spoke to his fellow countrymen in their vernacular language and at that moment they were brimming with enthusiasm' (González López 2000, p. 108).

From August to November 1938, this Galician intellectual and politician toured the United States delivering similar speeches to gain support for the Republic. He then did the same in Cuba from November 1938 to February 1939. After that, Castelao spent July and August in California and returned to New York, where he lived until June 1940 (Fandiño 2000, p. 7). A few months before leaving the country, he began the second volume of his seminal work *Sempre en Galiza*,⁵ with this now well-known opening:

I write in the light of a window darkened by some skyscrapers. In the many windows that I can make out from my own, I see dramas, comedies and sketches that prevent me from shaping my ideas. There are perhaps before me Czechs, Austrians, Poles, Finns, Jews, Germans and other peoples and races [...]. Yet I am sure that they cannot guess that in the light of this window an exiled Galician works away with greater right than they to protest. None of my neighbours opposite know that there is a country that is called Galicia, and I cannot expect them to guess at my existence. I am the child of an unknown country because no-one could give international repute and credibility to our patriotic grievances. It made us lose our modesty and the desire to be upstanding with other Spaniards who never wanted to understand us. (Rodríguez Castelao 2016a, pp. 147–148)

Given Castelao's contact with the Galician community of New York from his arrival in 1938, the isolation and incomprehension conveyed by these words does not seem to reflect the reality that he encountered in this city. As stated by González López, Castelao's first residence in New York was the hotel Alamak, in Broadway, 'not too far from the home of the FPAG [...] The hotel was located [...] in a neighbourhood where Galicians lived and gathered in cafes and restaurants' (González López, E. (with the collaboration of A. Ricón) 2000, p. 36). González López's book also includes a letter written by Castelao on November 2nd, 1939, whose signature shows his address at the time: 141 West –85 Street, in Manhattan (González López (with the collaboration of A. Ricón) 2000, p. 45). Since he started the second volume of *Sempre en Galiza* 'during the first days of 1940' (Rodríguez Castelao 2004, p. 195), it is quite likely that this was his residence when he wrote the aforementioned extract. Although Castelao's immediate neighbours at the time might not have included any Galicians, he was not too far from some of the main areas of the city where Spaniards had established themselves. According to Rueda, two of these were also in Manhattan: Cherry Street (home of several Galician societies, such as *Sociedad Cultural Gallega*, *Bergondo y sus contornos* and *Unión Cultural Bueu*, amongst others)⁶ and 14th Street (the heart of 'Little Spain', where several shops and restaurants were owned by Galicians). Moreover, on the other side of the East River

⁵Castelao started *Sempre en Galiza* (2004 [1944]) in 1935. It is divided into four volumes, which include several heterogeneous pieces (articles, essays and political speeches, for example) and condenses Castelao's nationalist and democratic ideology (for an extensive analysis see Monteagudo 1998).

⁶For an analysis of the role played by Galician and Spanish societies in the USA see Pérez Rey (2008) and Rueda (2008).

there were Spaniards (many of whom were probably Galicians) in Brooklyn (between five and six thousand in the 1930s) and in Astoria (where a Spanish Centre was founded in the same decade) (Rueda 1993, pp. 85–89). Castelao himself briefly mentions the Galician community of New York at the end of the volume:

Let them go to New York, Havana and Buenos Aires and be convinced of who we are: loyal and noble, and unmistakable. (Rodríguez Castelao 2016b, p. 244)

I began to write this book after travelling across the island of Cuba from point to point, and from crossing the United States from Niagara to Miami and from New York to California. [...] I retain on my right hand the grip of thousands of Galician hands, hardened by work and many softened by dreadful unemployment. I saw the triumph and the defeat of many Galicians, but I never saw their happiness. My hand shook those of the stokers, labourers, barmen, factory workers and dishwashers of New York. (Rodríguez Castelao 2016b, p. 260)

There is an evident discrepancy between the invisibility attributed to Galicians in the opening of the book and the emphasis on the number of fellow countrymen that he met during his journeys across the United States. Furthermore, the absence of a Galician community suggested at the beginning of the book also contrasts with the emphasis on a distinct Galician identity ('who we are'; 'unmistakable') that can be found in New York. Why is there such an inconsistency in this text, and what does this say about Castelao's relationship with the Galician community of New York?

To start answering this question, it must be considered that Castelao's main concern when writing the second volume of *Sempre en Galiza* was not what was in front of him. This is a text rather based on his memories of the Second Republic, in which he vehemently expresses his dissatisfaction with the government's treatment of the Galicianist cause. As Víctor Fuentes has shown, the focus on the homeland rather than on the country of residence is a common characteristic of the writings by Galician exiles, and therefore, 'the settling in American society, the changes undergone by the exile in this new daily life are absent in much of the literature of exile, in which a new interior exile is lived or the exile lives with one foot in the homeland' (Fuentes 2000, p. 82).⁷ In his analysis of the poetry written in New York by another Galician exile, Ernesto Guerra da Cal, Fuentes argues that it conforms to 'something typical of the literature of exile and very distinctive in the work of Galician exiles: they live in the country where they are exiled but they narrate what happens in their native Galicia' (2004, p. 46). Although he lived in the USA from 1939 to 1977, Guerra da Cal's poetry only includes four pieces located in this country: 'Negro Spiritual' and 'Nocturno de Nova-Iorque' [New York's Nocturne], in his book *Lua de alén-mar* (Guerra da Cal 1959) [Moon beyond the Sea] and 'Côr de outono en Connecticut' [Autumn Colour in Connecticut] and 'Broadway Very Late', in the volume *Rio de sonho e tempo* (Guerra da Cal 1963) [River of time and dream]. Galicians are also absent from these poems. In fact, 'Broadway very late'

⁷Galician exile in New York has been studied by Fuentes (2000, 2003 and 2004) and mentioned in studies of Galician emigration such as Martínez López (1987), Alonso Montero (1995) and González López (1991, 2000).

conveys strong sense of isolation and loneliness reminiscent of the opening of *Sempre en Galiza*, and which also contrasts with the existence of a Galician community in the city:

quê diabos fago eu eiquí? Se ao menos fose xudéu ou lampantín irlandes ou un louro luterán [...] Mas eu sou Peninsular [...] e católico apostólico compostelán Quê pinto eu por estas ruas só no asfalto a caminar? (1963, p. 49)	[What the hell am I doing here? If I least I were Jewish or a lazy Irish or a blond Lutheran [...] But I am peninsular [...] Roman Catholic from Compostela What am I doing in these streets alone walking the sidewalk?]
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The absence of substantial references to this community in the work of the exiles might also respond to the tendency for Galician identity to become dissolved in wider identities in New York: not only the Spanish one, but also that of the migrant in a more general sense. Bieto Alonso argues that, in comparison with the wider opportunities that Galician migrants found in Latin America, ‘Galician men were limited to marginal jobs—the sea, mining, the hospitality sector...—in the Anglophone world’ (Alonso 2006, p. 52). As we have seen, this was also reflected in Castelao’s book. Two poems set in New York, ‘*O ponte de Brooklyn*’ [‘Brooklyn Bridge’] and ‘Building Castles in Spain’, included in the collection *Fardel de eisilado* (1952) [An Exile’s Knapsack] by Luís Seoane, also revolve around the precarious working conditions endured by the emigrants, presented as unsuccessful and wrecked individuals. In ‘*O ponte de Brooklyn*’, Galicians are part of a wider group of ‘foreigners’ who gave their health, and even their lives, to build the bridge:

Algúen dixo: ¡Ouh, cantos rexos emigrantes sofridos
fican pra sempre baixo as correntes deste río marelado,
polo grande ponte de Brooklyn, orgullo dos Estados
Unidos!
[...]
Érguese sobor do xiado East River este maior
ponte, din, do mundo, construído por extranxeiros
emigrantes de Europa. Algúns galegos senlleiros
traballamos nel. [...] (2002 [1952], pp. 44-45)

Someone said: Oh, how many fine and suffering mi-
grants
remain forever under the current of this yellowish river,
because of the great Brooklyn bridge, pride of the Unit-
ed States!
[...]
It rises above the iced East River, this bridge,
the biggest in the world, so they say, built by foreigners
who migrated from Europe. We, some remarkable
Galicians,
worked there [...]

In his comparison of Galician and Irish migration, Xosé M. Núñez Seixas argues that ‘ethno-nationalism’ or the affirmation of an Irish identity, helped this community to become more integrated in American society (Núñez Seixas 2010, p. 102). It does not seem that this was the case for New York Galicians. Not only would Galician identity have had to compete with two encompassing and more easily recognisable identities (Hispanic and Spanish), but it is likely that a great part of the Galician community identified themselves mainly as Spanish and had little interest in Galician nationalism. That was the case in Latin America, where as Núñez Seixas points out, ‘their feeling of national loyalty was fundamentally Spanish, read or interpreted, however, through regional or local symbols and images’ (Núñez Seixas 2010, p. 102). Most exiles, as Fuentes has shown, also considered themselves both Galician and Republican Spanish (Fuentes 2004, p. 40), as the following quote from González López illustrates: ‘every Galician has the duty of rescuing the true voice of his heart, of his homeland, since this is the only way he can do worthwhile work, which is good for his land and for Spain. Because one is only a good Spaniard as long as he is a good Galician’ (quoted in Fuentes 2004, p. 217). This is, in fact, a recurrent theme in Castelao’s personal correspondence, where he strongly criticises the divisions and tensions within anti-fascist groups in New York (especially in the *Sociedades Hispanas Confederadas* [Hispanic Confederate Societies], which integrated a variety of pro-Republican organisations such as the FPAG, and the weakness of Galician nationalism in the city.⁸ In a letter to the ‘galeguistas de interior’ [Galicianists in the mainland] written in 1946, he states:

In America, those Galicians who came together in the cities of the Atlantic coast were mixed with Spaniards and incorporated into the two main factions that divided Spain [...] The huge mass of Galician migrants supported the proselytising campaigns of both sides with their money and efforts, but it was a ‘Spanish’ job, not a Galician one. Galicia did not exist in America [...] when I arrived, New York, Havana, Montevideo and almost all of Buenos Aires was a pure *españolada* [Spanish stereotypical image]. (Rodríguez Castelao 2000, p. 602)

In his letters, Castelao provides a mixed opinion of New York Galicians, which he describes in 1939, for example, in the following terms: ‘the Galicians who live here are very good, but too crazy. Most of them are sailors and have a huge heart, but they only listen to cheap demagogues who live at the expense of their ignorance. Bars are their favourite places. Little can be done in these circumstances’ (Rodríguez Castelao 2000, pp. 327–328). Contrary to the practical subsumption of Galicia’s national claims to the overarching cause of the Republic during the war, one of the key themes of Castelao’s second volume of *Sempre en Galiza* (written

⁸For a study of the *Sociedades Hispanas Confederadas* (SHC) and their internal disputes see Ordaz Romay (2006). As Castelao argues in one of his letters, the anarchists had a strong influence on the SHC (Rodríguez Castelao 2000, p. 339). Given that many of the Galicians who worked in the USA were close to unionism and anarchism or were members of anarchist groups (see Fernández and Pereira 2004 and Alonso 2006), it is not surprising that anarchists received great support from them inside the SHC.

after the fascist victory) is precisely his discontent with the unitarian view of the Spanish state promoted not only by the rebels, but also by the Republicans: ‘it is clear that the patriots of the unitary state, whether they are from the right or left, agree in their wish to support Castilian despotism, and it was not worth them insulting each other. It was more than enough for one or the other to insult us, the separatists of the sole and indivisible Spain’ (Rodríguez Castelao 2016a, p. 167). The scarce presence of New York Galicians in this text could therefore reflect the same lack of visibility that Galician identity had been given by Galicians themselves, or at least a lack of national consciousness, although years later Castelao will write proudly about the results of his work in the city, as in the aforementioned letter from 1946: ‘those people seemed not to understand me, but now I am convinced that they did, since Galicianist ideas flourished there, and I saw the emblem of the [Galicianist] Party, with the star and the sickle, on the façade of Casa de Galicia [Galician House]’ (Rodríguez Castelao 2000, p. 602).

Castelao also gave some attention to New York Galicians in his personal notebooks, published posthumously in 1993. These include an extensive glossary entitled ‘Language of Galicians in North America’, which reflects a linguistic hybridity reminiscent of what nowadays we call ‘Spanglish’, but mixing Galician and English instead. He alludes for example to expressions such as ‘esa rapaza está nais’ [that girl is beautiful], ‘boteille un *espiche*’ [I gave him a speech], ‘ti non *driveas* ben’ [you are not a good driver] and ‘cando chegamos ô Unai Estei’ [when we arrived in the United States], which gives its title to this chapter, among many others (see Rodríguez Castelao 1993, pp. 17–19). The use of this Galician-English shows the adaptation of Galicians to their adopted land (the progressive integration of Galician migrants to American society has been pointed out by Varela Lago 2008, p. 77), but could also be seen as a loss of their language, and hence of their identity. As stated by Cochón et al., Castelao shows a strong dislike for American society in his notebooks, based on his rejection of cosmopolitanism and of cultural hybridity (Rodríguez Castelao 1993, p. XXII). Pages later, in fact, he jots down an idea for one of his famous ‘Things’⁹ that suggests such a worldview: ‘the Galician who suffered a brain injury and only spoke English because he recovered his speech before his intelligence’ (Rodríguez Castelao 1993, p. 27). Similarly, another sketch found in the notebooks shows a criticism of the assimilation to American consumerist society by Galicians: ‘when a Galician died in New York. Embalmed and painted. One of his sons when he saw me, exclaimed with joy: “Father has died”’ (Rodríguez Castelao 1993, p. 27).

After his propagandistic mission for the Republic ended, Castelao struggled to find a stable job, due to his limited knowledge of English and not having legally formalised his residency in the USA. As shown in many of the letters he wrote in New York, the precarious situation he endured, together with the loss of the war and his disappointment with the Republican exile, had a profound effect on his mood (see for example his letter to Luís Soto on September 18th, 1939, in

⁹Genre created by Castelao that combines text (either a short story or a caption) and illustration.

Rodríguez Castelao 2000, pp. 310–313). Overwhelmed by his personal circumstances and devoted to the task of ‘re-Galicianising’ New York, his writings show little interest in the daily life of his fellow countrymen in this city. Moreover, with the end of the war, the cultural activity of the Galician diaspora in New York seemed to have faded away. In a letter from 1939, he openly states: ‘if I found a paid job here, I would live well and would be able to devote myself to our politics with absolute freedom; but I would have to give up everything related to Galician culture, because there isn’t a scene here’ (González López 2000, p. 45). His hopes for the flourishing of Galician culture overseas would then be placed in Latin America, especially in Argentina (Rodríguez Castelao 2004, p. 294).

Before his departure in 1940, Castelao made one last effort to strengthen Galician identity in New York. The FPAG changed its name to *Unidad Gallega* [Galician Unity] after Castelao’s suggestion, and left the *Sociedades Hispanas Confederadas*. As Pérez Rey has pointed out, this move was criticised by some of its Galician members (Pérez Rey 2001, p. 613), showing again the internal discrepancies with regard to the identity of the Galician community of New York. *Unidad Gallega* founded *Casa Galicia* [Galician House], a Galician centre that still exists today, which included many of the Galician exiles among its members, and provided a space for Galicians to meet and keep their language and culture alive in New York (Gómez 2015, p. 47). Moreover, and although New York’s Galician community is mostly absent from their literary works, in the following decades the academic work of exiles such as Guerra da Cal gave more visibility to Galician culture in the USA (Gómez 2015, p. 74), especially to Rosalía de Castro’s poetry (see Fuentes 2003). Castelao returned to New York in 1945, and was honoured at *Casa Galicia*, which he compared in importance to other Galician centres in Latin America. During its early years, *Casa Galicia* not only showed its commitment to the Spanish Republic, but also to claims for the autonomy of Galicia within the Spanish state (Gómez 2015, p. 54).

3.3 Conclusion

In spite of having found some succinct references to New York Galicians in the literary work written during the first half of the twentieth century by the exiles, the presence and the role played by this community remains largely invisible in these texts. In their published writings, the impact of the Civil War and the individual feeling of solitude caused by the experience of exile prevail over the references to the life of the migrants. Moreover, Castelao’s emphasis on Galician nationalism was not generally paralleled by the self-perception that Galician migrants had of their own identity. As the least internationally recognisable of a set of competing identities and therefore less visible in American society, New York Galicians also probably experienced difficulty in publicly visibilising their identity, although it was privately celebrated at their centres and societies. As a result, the invisibility of New York Galicians in the texts by the exiles reflects the challenges posed to

Galician identity by the migrants’ adaptation to US society as well as the political tensions experienced within their community in the first half of the twentieth century.

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Chapter 4

The Ties and Emotions of Emigration: An Analysis of Personal Correspondence

María Liliana Da Orden

Abstract Through the written correspondence of a Galician who migrated to Mar del Plata, Argentina, I analyze the relationship maintained with his mother in Spain and the ties established in the new country through the initial settlement process, the relationships involved, and the emotions that came into play. The letters sent and received demonstrate that he participated in different emotional codes, depending on whether they were related to the place of origin or destination. The contrast between the two suggests that feelings and emotional expressions involved in newly formed relationships played an important role in this migrant's process of adaptation to the destination country and his decision to stay.

4.1 Introduction

Between the era of massive migration (1880–1930) and its resurgence in the middle of the last century, nearly half a million Galicians emigrated to Argentina (Villares 1996), with a special concentration in cities like Buenos Aires, Rosario, Córdoba, and Mar del Plata. Personal social networks influenced the decision to migrate, as well as key factors such as finding housing, work, and forming families. Social organizations also played an important role in people's adaptation to new conditions and cultural codes (see Fariás this volume). While these aspects are relatively well understood, less attention has been paid to the individual and subjective perspectives. We know little or nothing about the emotions produced by leaving one's parents behind on the Spanish peninsula, which was the situation in most cases. Neither do we know how new relationships—friends, spouses, children—transformed existing emotional ties.

Exploring these issues can help us understand emotional management on an individual level and also provide insight into both societies. The configuration of this destination society owes a great deal to the migratory movements of the time.

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My own research on Spanish migrants in Argentina has centered on the analysis of social networks and has helped me to realize the importance of kinship ties over friendship and neighborhood groups. The family exerted considerable centripetal force, both in the country of origin and, later, through marriages that took place in the destination country (Da Orden 2005). In order to fully understand the influence of these relationships, personal testimonies via photographs and personal letters must be included. Argentinian historians have been relatively slow to consider these sources, but they have greatly enriched our understanding of how Galicians and other Spaniards managed their homeland ties (Núñez Seixas and Soutelo Vázquez 2005; Núñez Seixas 2011; Soutelo Vázquez 2012; Martínez Martín 2012).

My interest in exploring the emotions and feelings transmitted by written correspondence has emerged in this context and can be seen to form part of a recent trend in historiography that focuses on the affective (Lara and Enciso Domínguez 2013). These investigations assume that the emotional values and expressions have a history, that is, they are socially encoded. Their analysis provides insight into the existence and diversity of emotional communities (or regimes, depending on one's perspective) that are socially conditioned while at the same time contributing to social changes and shaping the ways in which people experience feelings.

In this chapter, I investigate a single personal history framed within the wave of massive emigration to Argentina during the agro-export expansion period. This procedure raises the usual question of representative sampling, but I remain inspired by the idea that this story can shed light on aspects of migration that have been under-investigated—especially the complex process of adaptation involved. The rich epistolary production of Diego, the Galician emigrant subject of my analysis, provides an ideal opportunity. Unlike other collections, his letters include not only those sent by his sister and mother from A Coruña (Galicia), but also photographs and other documents sent by relatives, friends, and acquaintances in the destination country, including those received by his wife in Argentina. The data set consists of 183 letters, most of which were sent in the 1920s, and involves four correspondents on the Iberian peninsula, eight in the Argentinian cities of Mar del Plata and Buenos Aires, and Diego himself.¹ These data are complemented by information found in Diego's parish baptismal records, marriage records from Mar del Plata, and interviews with Diego's daughter (also in Mar del Plata) and two women living in the town where he was born. However, because of the limited space available, I will present only some of the findings from this material.

Through Diego's history, I will analyze his relationship with his Galician family, especially with his mother, as well as the relationships that he established in the city of Mar del Plata. What were the exchanges, tensions, and negotiations involved, and what emotions came into play? Although few of Diego's own letters remain, I am confident that the letters he received provide insight into the various emotional

¹I'd like to thank Marcelo López, of the *Asociación Marplatense de Anticuarios* (Association of Antiquarians of Mar de Plata), for providing this important material and Vilma, Diego's daughter, for authorizing its use.

codes in which he participated, both in his country of origin and destination. The contrast between the two suggests that feelings and emotional expressions involved in the new relationships played an important role in his adaptation to and decision to remain in the destination country.

4.2 Emigration and Early Period in Mar del Plata (Argentina)

Diego was born in a parish made up of three villages and fewer than 200 inhabitants, in the municipality of Abegondo in A Coruña province (Institute for Geography and Statistics 1892). His mother had him baptized in the winter of 1892, registering him as a “natural son.” A similar procedure was carried out for his sister, Ermita, in 1895. According to informant testimony, they shared the same father, a married laborer with a large family. In this sense, the two belonged to the “wild branch” of the family, which was how children born out of wedlock were described at the time.

Although the number of single mothers had diminished somewhat by the end of the nineteenth century, this was not a particularly unusual or even socially unacceptable situation in Galicia (Kelley 1991; Saavedra 1994). Thus, while the mother María had been born into a marriage sanctioned by the Catholic Church, neither she nor her sister Nicolasa followed this model. This sister migrated to Argentina with her son and daughter. A decade later, in 1906, when Diego had not yet turned 14, these family ties helped him to emigrate as well.

Given the expense of the journey, we can assume that Diego’s family was not extremely poor. The mother and her 11-year-old daughter must have been able to support themselves, since they could not have expected that a child of Diego’s age would be able to save enough money to send home remittances or to provide funding for them to join him. In rural areas, where parents expected their children to provide for them in their old age, the departure of a son constituted a potential risk. All in all, Diego’s emigration to Mar del Plata, a city on the Atlantic coast of Argentina in the province of Buenos Aires, was the result of a decision that took into account the available family support, a search for a better future, and, in all probability, the tension produced by being the son of a single mother.

Mar del Plata, established in 1874, was experiencing a period of accelerated change when Diego arrived at the end of 1906. Earlier, with the arrival of his cousin Antonio, the settlement of about 4000 residents had been barely distinguishable from other rural areas. But in the first two decades of the twentieth century, the city became known as the site of an exclusive summer holiday resort for the Buenos Aires upper class—comparable to European beaches like Biarritz or Trouville. Thousands of Spaniards, Italians, and other Europeans were attracted by the employment possibilities this generated, so that according to the 1914 national census, these immigrants made up 47% of the 32,000 inhabitants. Many of these

arrived by way of the capital city or other areas of the province, but many, like Diego, arrived directly to stay with previously established relatives. Mar del Plata was the destination point of dense migratory chains, most of which originated in the northern Spanish province of León (neighboring on Galicia). Galicians made up 13% of all Spaniards in Mar del Plata and included small family groups rather than large chains migrations (Da Orden 2005). Since Galicians in Mar del Plata did not make up the majority of Spanish immigrants, as they did in the city of Buenos Aires (Núñez Seixas 2001), Diego would have found a more diverse group of Spaniards, in terms of region and social composition.

As was usually the case, these relatives provided him with housing and assistance in finding work. The cousin was 31 years old at the time, twice Diego's age, and was married to a Spanish woman from León. His job as a blacksmith, supplemented by that of day laborer, would have barely provided for a family that increased with the birth of a new child every two years. Therefore, although Diego would have contributed something of his earnings, it could not have been easy to put him up for long. The needs of a large family and the complications of shared housing compelled him to seek farming work, a trade he knew reasonably well but which did not yield him much success, according to his daughter's account.

At the same time, these relatives gave him the opportunity to forge new relationships. Through his cousin's wife, he formed ties with people from León that opened up new social networks: the couple Isidoro and Jesusa had 16 children, several of whom were married. The family's financial stability, and perhaps also the presence of young people, helped Diego establish important ties. When Diego moved in with this family at the age of 17, six of the children had already formed their own households and the rest were contributing to the household finances. He formed new emotional relationships—a paternal relationship with Isidoro and Jesusa and friendships with several of their children. As a result, 10 years after arriving in the new country, Diego became a godfather, affirming through symbolic family membership a set of relationships that would last throughout the years (Fig. 4.1).

The family's contacts in the construction sector helped Diego find work, so that in the early years he was able to support himself through jobs that required no special training. The remittances he sent home to his mother during this period must not have amounted to much. However, in 1920, his professional life took a turn for the better when he was hired by a newly opened casino in the city. Since Argentinian natives were given preference for these kinds of jobs, people like Diego needed contacts. It was not his cousin, as might be expected, who facilitated this highly desirable employment contract, but one of the children of his substitute family (Da Orden 2011). It was at this moment, when his "luck" began to change (as he put it in his own correspondence), that his family in Galicia suffered a crisis.



Fig. 4.1 Diego, *third from the right in the back row*, with Jesusa and her family in Mar del Plata, *circa 1923*

4.3 Relationships in the Country of Origin

When Diego left for Argentina, his mother remained in her village home. While the decision to emigrate suggests a certain confidence in the family's future, the situation 10 years later seems to have been shakier. While Diego was moving from job to job, his mother began to make demands through her daughter. We do not know what kind of written contact existed to this date, but it must not have been very frequent. In 1916, Diego's sister Ermita made reference to this lack of communication, "So my dear brother, this is to convey the great sadness produced by not receiving any letter from you, since we no not know if this is because you are ill or because you have lost affection for us."² A year later, the situation does not appear to have changed, judging from her sarcastic response to Diego's explications:

So dear brother you say that you have sent four letters [...] none have reached our hands those that you have sent must have arrived but it is impossible for those that you have not sent to arrive.

²Translator's note: These letters have been translated to preserve as much as possible their original style, including peculiar phrasing and missing punctuation.

Diego's sister goes on to declare that their mother has been forced to sell the house, from which they have been evicted, "We are very unhappy that we have nowhere to go with our things where God will open a door for us but well this is not caused by the son and brother that we have in America." Ermita succinctly expresses their insecurity as well as Diego's guilt. The severity of the reproach did little to sustain a relationship already strained by distance. The time that passed between this communication and the letters that followed highlights the tension surrounding the loss of the family holdings: the "sad news" of having to move to the town of Betanzos. Everything in the sister's letters refers to the figure of the mother. Her own shameful employment ("I must become a servant") and her request for help from the brother revolve around the "adored", "beloved," and "extremely kind" mother—terms that embellish a relationship that, evidently, does not appear to be emotionally close.

In 1920, the sister's illness made matters worse, forcing María to request a "handout" from the son:

I have no strength left to bear such misfortune [...] they ask what family I have and some know that I have a son in America and since I have a son in America they tell me I must receive a lot of money and all they need is to know that you are in America to think that every letter I receive includes a card with thousands of pesetas so that I don't dare ask anything of anybody.

The message conveys the need for assistance, along with the neighbors' (and possibly her own) perception of what the son's emigration entails: a prosperity that contrasts with her own need.

Months later, the money and photograph sent by Diego, who by then had spent half of his life in Mar del Plata, inspired a response accompanied by an obituary. Ermita's death was described concisely, while the mother's situation received more extensive attention:

So you can imagine how I am a poor old woman without *protection* from anyone since the one who earned money for me is now gone. What will I do now what path will I take if you don't come to *protect me* I have to go to a charity residence something that I never liked [...] so I ask you in the name of what you love the most to *protect* this poor old woman that God knows whether it will be for long and I don't wish to die without seeing you so I ask you urgently since your sister had no other worry than to leave me alone and old without any kind of resources (my emphasis).³

These kinds of expressions are repeated in subsequent letters: the request for protection and the responsibility of caring for parents in their old age. That is what Ermita would have done and that is what the mother expects from the one child she has left. The circumstances that had allowed Diego to leave had changed, and the risks involved in this earlier decision were now dramatically evident. Unexpected

³The Spanish noun "amparo" and the verb "amparar" are key terms in these letters, and may lose something in the translation to English. Translated here as "protection" and "protect," they also include connotations of harbor and shelter.

events—the loss of the family home, the death of a child in her twenties—disrupted the life of this woman at the age of 68.

Nevertheless, judging from comments made in letters from some thirty people, including the sister-in-law, nieces, and neighbors in the home village and in the town of Betanzos, María was not helpless. In fact, she was able to maintain communication with her absent son despite her own illiteracy by getting other women to read and write for her, so that the exchange of letters actually increased over the following two years. It's true that this intervention limits our analysis, but it also offers insight into her closest relationships. Indeed, the letters indicate that aside from the daughter and a niece, at least two of María's neighbors wrote these letters. A comparison reveals the social and cultural proximity of the women who wrote these messages for Diego's mother, and invites the interpretation that emotions and affective experiences were also shared. Eventually, the conflict with her son caused María to "change writers" due to her suspicion that the earlier ones did not faithfully transmit her statements. These later missives are characterized by an expressive consistency that distinguishes them from the earlier ones, which were much more attentive and affectionate toward the son, but also more formal.

Despite the resources at her command, the mother was faced with a terrible situation. She was forced to leave her house and move to another city. She had to deal with her own aging as well as the pain inflicted by the death of her daughter, along with the yearly threat of winter cold. In this subsistence economy, fear was embodied by being left alone in one's elder years, and Galician rural communities responded to this fear by having many children who were expected to take care of their parents in their later years. One of these children was to take over "the house" when the time came (Saavedra 1994; Dubert 2008). The power and cultural reproduction involved is apparent in these letters:

I must lose the hope that I had in you that you would be my protector in my old age [...] from what I can see I think that I was wrong since I believed that you would send me something for Christmas and poor me in this cold I have to go out on such memorable days to beg for alms, so even if you were to send me a little it's enough that these days are coming and I have to spend them alone and it would be a great satisfaction for me to see that although my son is far away he remembers me, your poor departed sister never forgot anything, so I'm always remembering and shedding abundant tears for her.

The crude writing reveals the underlying suffering and fear, emotions that can help contextualize the cruelty of comparing her son with his dead sister.

The anger and lack of trust can be glimpsed in the omissions: there is no reference to the son's childhood in any of these letters. There are no stories of pranks, games, or childhood incidents that might involve the sister, and that might have moved him to remember a more affectionate and sensitive mother. Such written memories might also have provided her some happiness and consolation. Nevertheless, the women who belonged to the mother's close family circle did not see the need for these kinds of expression. In the rural Galicia of the day, characterized by scarcity, parents were less likely to express affection than fear and suffering. They exercised an authority that combined respect and obedience with a certain distancing. Using informal language, kissing, hugging, and expressing

affection were generally considered signs of weakness, as Barbagli (1984) found among rural families in central Italy. María and the woman whose “voices” are expressed in the first 10 letters seem to share this notion.

The son’s lack of response suggests that he too was angry, as evidenced by the following letter from María:

You have not responded to my last letter in nearly four months so it makes me very unhappy not to know the cause of your silence if it’s because you are ill or what is happening with you [...] don’t keep me suffering with your silence so even if you don’t send me money I want you to write I want a letter from you since as you can understand I am a poor old woman with her feet in the grave don’t make me unhappy this way don’t deprive me of the consolation of the joy of receiving a letter from you since you are the only person that I hold most dear in this world.

While still applying pressure by describing her difficult situation, her demands are softened here by affection for her son. Sure enough, Diego broke his silence soon afterwards, explaining that he did not have money to send her. Her need for money was a consistent theme of María’s communications, but she becomes less insistent when confronted with the possibility of losing contact with him:

I won’t require this of you since it has to be your own choice it’s true that I need it as you well know but at the same time I don’t want to go without news from you just because you don’t send me money well money doesn’t mean total happiness in life.

A comforting tone, but at the same time with references to poverty and death, demonstrates the various modalities employed by María—and/or the neighbor writing the letter—to keep the attention of the son who has been absent for so many years.

4.4 The Relational and Affective World of Migration

It was around this time that Diego’s situation took an important turn as a result of his employment at one of Mar del Plata’s casinos. Although the position was not entirely stable, it probably had some impact on the sentimental relationship that was beginning while the letters from Betanzos proposed that Diego return home. This situation probably contributed to his anger and at the very least was one of the things he was hiding from his mother.

Love and work were the two most significant topics in letters he received from within the country. These letters express important discrepancies with respect to the mother’s expectations. Through his adopted family, headed by Isidoro and Jesusa, he began a relationship with Atilia, the sister-in-law of one of their children. The daughter of Italians, Atilia was born in Mar del Plata and would go on to marry Diego. The letters exchanged by the couple on the occasions that Diego had to travel for work express a mutual affection. The enthusiasm of love can be glimpsed through the use of pet names and diminutives, terms of possession (yours/mine),



Fig. 4.2 Card sent by Diego to Atilia on January 1, 1924. The inscription, written with some spelling errors, may be translated as “To my little one, I wish you a Happy New Year in the company of your family. Your Diego.”

and word plays that were subtly erotic on his part and sparing but promising on hers.

New Year’s parties, birthdays, and reunions show Diego to be an attentive suitor. His post cards reflected the “empire of emotions” and romantic love that was expressed by the melodramatic novels of the time (Fig. 4.2).

Nevertheless, the lack of job security and the resulting wedding delay resulted in tensions that were expressed in these writings. Some of these were apparent in attempts to reassure the bride (“Don’t be distressed my love that your Diego is working unceasingly to conquer our happiness”), while others express anxiety and confirm promises:

Little one I write this card without having had a response to my last one but this does not prevent my writing with all my love these lines to the Atilia of my soul and to tell you once again how much I love you.

The godmother of Diego’s godchild also served as mediator. Once a week over the course of three months, Christina wrote to Diego while he was working for a short time in Buenos Aires:

I see that you are planning soon to make your dreams come true that’s good and let it be soon. Then all will be over and you will be more relaxed as well [...] Regarding what you say about Atilia don’t worry I am doing all I can but the poor thing has suffered enough.

This theme emerges over and over: a description of the bride's sadness, but also her forbearance and patience. The emotional support of this friendship is clearly evident in these letters.

At the same time as he was receiving his mother's dramatic requests, Diego was beginning a relationship that, three years later in 1924, resulted in marriage. Compared with the anger and suspicion of the demanding letters from Betanzos, his future bride and his friend inspire the written expression of love.

Whether in the form of letters or their absence, and whether exchanged with his mother or with friends and acquaintances in the new country, these writings express annoyance and separation, but also consolation and different forms of love. Finally, after turning to women who were culturally and socially distant in order to establish a relationship with her son, Diego's mother managed to assure that regular letters were accompanied by regular remittances. She thus avoided her greatest fear, that of ending her days in a charity residence, and died at home in 1931. The need to beg for alms, the shame of Diego that she had so often mentioned, was also eliminated. By including her daughter-in-law in her salutations ("Dear children"), she expressed her acceptance of the situation, as well as the tact of the women who wrote the later correspondence. The new tone reestablished trust. After seven years working in the casino, the son was able to reveal his profession. The new closeness was apparent in references to pregnancies, miscarriages, and the eventual birth of a son. Diego's mother's letters make references to the detail with which Diego himself described the boy: the cute things he did, his childlike speech patterns, birthdays, etc. Photographs were also exchanged with considerably more frequency.

These letters present a tender and joyful Diego who watches his son "Osvadito" grow up. Although the tone of María's later letters has softened, the writings of this period demonstrate in another way how her perspective on parenting contrasts with that of her son, "[...] I expect that you Atilia will raise him very well since although right now he is just a little one, you will have to contradict him repeatedly so that later he has less trouble with life's demands." The poverty suffered by this woman in the Galicia countryside manifests itself in restrictions imposed on even the youngest children. Only with the intervention of women from a different social sphere did the letters begin to adopt a more affectionate tone. There is a clear contrast with the writing of Diego's friends in Argentina, men and women alike. They also wrote about their children's games and pampering and the "spoiled behavior"—from María's perspective—that they had to put up with, clearly expressing feelings of affection that the mother, as well as other members of her social circle, did not manage to convey.

4.5 By Way of a Conclusion

Correspondence permits us to analyze aspects of personal lives that other sources cannot access. When we can review the letters produced on both sides of the migration, the strong parental influence is undermined by new relationships with

actual or symbolic family and friends. As a chorus of multiple voices, the various writings examined here provide insight into a world of relations that have so far been relatively unknown. But also, and this is the area I wanted to explore, these letters provide evidence for the expression of emotions and feelings (both present and absent) and the ways in which it was possible to communicate them.

The letters from Betanzos openly express fear, suffering, and sadness, but loving feelings only begin to appear when women from a different social position become involved. We can infer the anger and shame that they inspire in Diego, and the written negotiation finally achieves some equilibrium. The rebirth of this trust allows him to be more open and direct and express affection in terms of the parental love for his son. How much of this expression was made possible by the migration? The letters from Diego's friends and the few that we have from Diego himself transmit an echo of the feelings that it was possible to communicate—love, joy, trust—and their associated gestures—hugs, kisses, glances. The discrepancy of these with the more negative emotions, still present, is striking.

Instead of the nostalgia generally associated with migration, this personal history allows us to observe other kinds of feelings. The brief analysis presented here suggests a more complex reality—new and old values and affections must have interacted in complicated ways. I hope to have presented some insight into the ways in which countries of origin and destination, in this case separated by an ocean, can differ even in terms of emotions. It is worth exploring feelings as yet another factor in individual adaptation, but also as a way to understand emotional codes that inspire and express social changes on both sides of the Atlantic.

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Chapter 5

Galician Political Refugees in Portugal During the Civil War and Post-Civil War Era (1936–1945)

Ángel Rodríguez Gallardo

Abstract The Spanish autonomous community of Galicia shares certain cultural and linguistic affinities with Portugal. Currently, as member states of the European Union, Portugal, and Spain share a border that is relatively porous and easily traversed. Nevertheless, movements across the *raia* (a local term shared by Galician and Portuguese languages for the division between northern Portugal and southern Galicia) have not always been so fluid and easily traversed, giving rise to a history of clandestine movements, in terms of both undocumented people and contraband merchandise. During the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) and the ensuing Fascist dictatorship (1939–1978), many Spanish citizens sought refuge with their neighbors to the south. For Galicians, the civil war simply added an element of political persecution to the consecutive waves of economic migration, which had been underway for about a century. In this chapter, I will analyze the complex history of Galician–Portuguese border relations, with a particular emphasis on their roots in the economic and political conditions of the early twentieth century. The Portuguese–Galician case should provide some insights into how, in more general terms, geopolitical divisions and conflicts can shape human relations and movements.

5.1 Introduction

In the beginning of 2016, a new wave of refugees is sweeping through the European continent. Most of these are Syrians or Afghans who, like Spaniards between 1936 and 1939, flee from civil war. History repeats itself through cycles of violence and catastrophe and the migratory processes they produce. When these sudden population movements occur, territories both far and near become the destination of forced migrations—an anomalous phenomenon that cannot really be contained in what we understand in legal and administrative terms as *refugees*. This term is both

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inclusive and exclusive in characterizing a forced movement from one's place of origin as a consequence of the vulnerability produced by war and violence (Yarris and Castaneda 2015), to potentially end up stateless and without protection due to persecution on the basis of race, religion, nationality, social group, or political beliefs.

Refugee Studies, a field of study adopted by the United Nations since the Geneva Convention (July 28, 1951) employs interdisciplinary methodologies that approach the issue from below (anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, geographers) and from above (lawyers, economists, and politicians). The importance of the field is illustrated by the *Journal of Refugee Studies*, which has been published since 1988 in association with the Refugee Studies Centre of the University of Oxford. I adopt both perspectives in this chapter.

The Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) began with a military coup and was an ideological conflict between the right wing (military personnel and *falangistas*, or Spanish fascists) and the left wing (moderate liberals, republicans, socialists, communists, and labor unions) that culminated in a terrifying series of socioeconomic, political, and cultural crises that left a decade-long legacy of instability. The number of deaths is estimated at 500,000 and displacements produced by various battles exceeded 700,000. When the civil war ended on April 1, 1939, there were more than 400,000 Spaniards exiled in neighboring France, while some 450,000 were distributed across countries in northern Africa, the Soviet Union, the Americas, and Europe.

The displacement of perhaps about 200,000 persons, including ex-soldiers and civilians, continued into the 1939–1944 period. Most were destined for France, but also for northern Africa, Europe, and the Americas, especially Mexico. This period of generalized exile extended to 1953, when the Franco dictatorship established external relations.

5.2 The Spanish Civil War in Portugal

The political emigration of Spaniards to Portugal has been largely ignored in studies of civil war and post-war refugees, disappearing into the general category of “other European countries” and into the overall history of massive refugee movements.

The Portuguese Salazar dictatorship was deeply involved in the 1936 Spanish military coup, not only at its point of origin but also in the immediate and ongoing refusal of entry to Spanish political refugees (Alpert 2004; Stelmach 2014). During the Spanish Second Republic (1931–1936), thousands of Spanish members of centrist and right wing political parties took up residence in Lisbon and Estoril in Portugal and established one of the military conspiracy centers, which was supported by Salazar (Oliveira 1988, p. 141; Rosas 1990, p. 33; Gómez de las Heras 1992, p. 275; Martin 1995) and by Portuguese leaders of business and industry (Oliveira 1988, pp. 146–150; Vicente and Vicente 1995, pp. 25–26; Louça 2005). During the decisive phase of the Spanish Civil War—between the northward

military march of coup supporters from Sevilla to the battle of Madrid in the autumn of 1939—Portugal’s support of rebel leader General Francisco Franco was crucial, at a time when the war was becoming an irreversibly international affair. The Spanish republican resistance press itself considered Portuguese logistical aid to be one of the deciding factors in the direction eventually taken by the war. The military participation of Germany and Italy turned an internal conflict into an international aggression, and the Portuguese diplomatic process blocked the formulation of a Non-Intervention Treaty (Rosas 2006).

Aside from diplomatic and logistical support, the Portuguese dictatorship collaborated in the persecution, arrest, and return of Spanish political refugees—those republicans and leftists who had managed to hide and seek “protection” in Portugal. These refugee movements responded mainly to the repression suffered in the Spanish territories bordering Portugal (Galicia, Castilla-León, Extremadura, and western Andalusia), where it is estimated that around 60,000 people were killed.¹ These intense repressions inspired thousands to flee in fear of the threat of persecution and violence.²

Crossing the Portuguese border, reinforced with tighter controls and surveillance, was complicated. On October 23, 1936, just over three months after rebel Nationalist forces declared their opposition to the Spanish Republican government, Portugal cut off relations with the Spanish state. Support for the rebel forces, the refugee problem, the attitude of the Portuguese and Spanish press, and the Portuguese opposition operating from within Spain all played a part in this decision (Oliveira 1988, p. 194). The Portuguese dictatorship kept abreast of wartime migrations of Spanish refugees through police and consular reports. In certain cases, these described problems in keeping tabs on the 1,214 km of the oldest border in Europe (established in 1143): most of the Spanish refugees in Portugal settled near the border, with the hope of eventually returning home, in much the same way people have done throughout history.

5.3 The *Raia*

The notion of the *Raia* it goes beyond the border itself to include the geographic area where the Spanish and Portuguese border populations (*raianas*) share a common history, culture, and economy. They have received special attention within the field of Refugee Studies: a well-established hypothesis posits that under

¹Specifically, these included approximately 4,619 in Galicia; 8,000 in Castilla-León (provinces of Ávila, León, Salamanca and Zamora); 31,176 in Andalusia (Huelva, Seville, Córdoba and Cádiz); and 13,203 in Extremadura (Preston 2011).

²According to the statements made by refugees arrested by the Portuguese PIDE-DGS (International and State Defense Police, or Directorate-General of Security after 1968), the main reason for flight was fear of fascist persecution (40%), followed by wartime incidents (35%) and military movements (20%).

conditions of real or imagined aggression, the people of these borderland settlements forget their differences and respond with solidarity in the face of a common enemy (Melón Jiménez 2014).

The Luso-Hispanic border has always been an autonomous space with influence over people's movements, at least from a political, military, economic, religious, cultural, linguistic, and ideological perspective (Menjot 1996). This autonomy is related to the convergence of several national identities, interactions among different border populations (Marcheuta 2002, p. 9; Valcuende del Río 2008, p. 63), and the characteristic dynamic resulting from these realities (Choza Armenta 2008, pp. 77–92). The border space is usually considered to be under relatively little state control, with an undefined policy structure that eases the movement of goods and humans, a view that seems to be confirmed by micro-level studies of dense illegal networks (Capela 1992; Rodríguez Gallardo 2004). Nevertheless, the dynamics and structures of observation and control over the Luso-Hispanic border, in particular the register of foreigners by means of passport visas and residency permits, have increased since the nineteenth century, with the increase in migratory movements, especially during economic crises and wars (i.e., the first and second World Wars and the Spanish Civil War). Letters of safe passage for business reasons have been utilized since 1863.

The symbolic and imaginary construction of the autonomous Luso-Hispanic border zone inspired Spanish Civil War refugees to seek refuge in this territory. The multiple historic relations existing on both sides of the *raia* allowed people displaced by sudden population shifts, in this case resulting from civil war, to disappear into the zone. The protection of political refugees in border areas far from central state control forms part of the range of opposition activities, along with smuggling, that characterize the peripheral consciousness of the human groups that populate these areas, activities which serve to construct a particular identity (Scott 1976, 1990; Fonseca and Freire 2003; Godinho 2009, p. 33).

The Luso-Hispanic border served a stable function for Spanish Civil War refugees. It provided a sense of collectivity based on the relationship between the Galician and Portuguese languages,³ a nationalist consciousness, and the construction of similar ideologies. In other words, the stability of this border inspired Spanish refugees to cross it as a consequence of the forced migratory movement provoked by the civil war. Luis Soto, a teacher who sought refuge in northern Portugal, wrote in his memoir, "I never noticed any difference in psychological reactions or different sociological elements when I crossed the border. The north of Portugal, as far as Porto, is Galicia" (Soto 1983, p. 15).

No border space is ever uniform; Portuguese–Spanish relations have always been complex and changing over time, so that subspaces have emerged as a result of certain political circumstances. Population density, the intensity of municipal

³The Galician and Portuguese languages stem from common linguistic roots that date back at least to the tenth century. The resulting cultural proximity has been interrupted in many cases by political decisions that have separated what was once a single cultural-linguistic entity.

relations, the number of roads and paths crossing the border, and personal and commercial relations (especially involving cultural events such as festivals and religious ceremonies) have historically and sociologically influenced some of these subspaces (de Basto Magalhães 1923, pp. 9–35).

These ancient border relations rendered the inhabitants of both countries as equals, and therefore, the Spanish refugees considered Portugal to be a valid choice despite unfavorable political conditions. It was an alternative supported by the nature of the space itself, the social networks, the economic and commercial relations, the proximity, and the particular legislative situation. Godinho (2009, p. 35) points out that the natives had relatives on both sides of the *raia*, which facilitated circulation in a territory that for centuries had remained far removed from nationalization processes. The artifice of the border was never completely internalized by *raia* residents, who preferred to respond to the “deep whispers of the border” which, in this case, manifested themselves in the fear of violence and repression shared by the native population when the undocumented Spanish refugees arrived in search of safety to a place where people refrained from asking questions, because everyone had something to hide (Melón Jiménez 2014, p. 24).

Furthermore, Luso-Hispanic relations have historically been affected by the significant presence of Spanish immigrants, especially Galicians, in Portugal. This Galician community goes back to the fourteenth century (Moreno 1990, pp. 35–36; Alves 1997, 2001) and was especially important after the second half of the sixteenth century (Gándara Feijóo 1981, p. 66). In the eighteenth century, there were 80,000 Galicians in Portugal, and by the end of the nineteenth century they comprised 97% of the Spanish population settled in Portugal. These figures dropped by a quarter at the beginning of the twentieth century. When the civil war broke out, Spaniards numbered between 10,000 and 15,000 (60% Galicians), almost entirely concentrated in the Lisbon area, although they were also present in Oporto, Viana do Castelo, Coimbra and Braga. Nevertheless, there was a constant migratory flow from Galicia to Portugal, responding to economic necessities and, in the nineteenth century, to avoid military obligations (30% of males between 14 and 30 years of age were fleeing from forced recruitment).

The Galician emigrants were “work pilgrims” (Meijide 1960, p. 546). They lived a marginal existence, moving constantly to find the most profitable occupations, and they were known for their tendency to save money in hope of returning home. They were mostly men from rural areas, who worked in food service, as field hands, or as servants. These pathways established by economic movements would be used as protection for political refugees. In certain border territories, Spanish and Portuguese workers shared migratory work substitution routes based on similar economic realities (Alves 1997, pp. 70–71). This substitution migration also supported the protection of political refugees during the civil war.

Everyday existence along the border suffered several changes as a result of the Spanish Civil War. What had traditionally been a peripheral and secondary territory was now situated on the front lines of national defense. Salazar and the military rebels made efforts to tighten security throughout this space with a variety of military, police, and civil personnel. The traditional dynamic of the local border

context was transformed by the presence of so many state agents, oppressors who enforced a series of regulations imposed by the capitol that were accompanied by a political discourse heretofore unknown to the borderland inhabitants: the borderland as the site of battle against the “communist threat” coming from Spain.

When the civil war broke out, this area was flooded with refugees who whose lives were in serious danger, who hid out in the forests and towns and, in some cases, traveled to other parts of the country. The Portuguese government tried to limit the border’s permeability through control and restriction of passage. The border became a violent space, first through its proximity to the war zone (bombings, shootings, destruction of roadways and bridges, blackouts, mines), and later because of attacks on natives in the mountains and deaths in the bordering rivers. It should come as no surprise, then, that cross-border social, familial, cultural, and economic relationships were completely transformed or interrupted.

5.4 Political Refugees in Portugal

In order to better understand these changed border relationships along the *raia*, I have reviewed data from the PIDE-DGS Criminal Proceedings, as well as personal interviews with political refugees conducted in Portugal. With the military coup of July 17, 1936, land- and sea-based movements from Spain to Portugal dropped from the usual three or four thousand per month to less than a thousand, especially after the autumn of 1936, when the civil war was in full swing.⁴ This reduction in Spaniards’ legal crossing of the Portuguese border was accompanied by an increase in “illegal” entries, as a significant number of Spanish republicans and those with other leftist political affiliations took refuge in the neighboring country. This rate was especially high between August and December 1936. They were referred to as “refugees” in the discourse of the local Portuguese communities that took them in, and this is also what they called themselves, despite the fact that the Salazar regime never legally afforded them this designation. Media and police reports also referred to them as “war refugees” and “political refugees.”

Before entering Portugal, these refugees had been “fugitives,” since they had been forced to abandon their homes through political persecution, fearing for their lives. Many hid out in the forests or lived in false walls or *hórreos* (traditional agricultural grain-storage structures). Some of them were eventually driven by extreme survival conditions to move on to Portugal, availing themselves of direct or indirect social networks. At times, these fugitives crossed the border in clandestine groups. Many knew that it was possible to make it over the border without documentation or by buying a Portuguese birth certificate.

⁴These data come from reports from *Land Movements across the Border*, PIDE-DGS, 1934–39, National Archives Institute, Lisbon, Portugal.

The situations of these Spanish refugees in Portugal varied greatly. It was different for those who fled with their families. For them, living conditions were harder, because of the need to walk by night to avoid being discovered and because it was hard to find work that would support a family, which was further complicated by lack of the necessary documentation.

The refugees' entry into Portugal was facilitated by an established network of paths that date back to the twelfth century (Domingues 2007). Dozens of these pathways crossed the border and were commonly used by inhabitants of the shared region. Direct or indirect knowledge of these paths must have influenced many fugitives to choose Portugal as their place of protection from the violence of Franco's troops. Many clandestine emigrants also adopted the neighboring country to escape from economic misery, lack of employment, and the demands of the occupying forces.

Many refugees entered Portugal illegally, without documentation, a violation subject to criminal penalty (by order of the 1927 and 1928 decrees concerning the presence of foreigners in Portugal). A special registry was established for them. They could not remain in the country for more than 48 h unless they had a "residence certificate." In addition, they had to make their presence known to the civil governors or the municipal administration within 24 h of arrival. Foreigners who failed to meet these conditions were imprisoned or deported. Foreigners who appeared suspicious were prohibited from crossing the border. Fines were heavy, especially for repeat offenders. It was also difficult to leave Portugal, whether having entered legally or illegally, especially via Portuguese seaports. Due to the Portuguese "anti-communist hysteria" (Rodríguez Gallardo 2004), detained refugees tried to avoid revealing their political affiliation. Between the persistent political persecution and the cost of living in Portugal, many were forced to return to Spain.

The length of the Luso-Hispanic border provided many opportunities for collaboration and assistance. Two points of tension remained in play through the war and post-war period: police and institutional cooperation on the one hand, and the collaboration among refugees, natives, and human smuggling networks. Many of these involved contraband smugglers, who participated in an established infrastructure that yielded small or mid-level earnings to complement peasant incomes on both sides of the border. The people and contraband smugglers responded to a well-known "subsistence ethic" (Scott 1976), through which human settlements were financially supported according to a series of moral behaviors relating to a particular lifestyle (Sahlins 1996, p. 144). They knew the borderland terrain better than the police, whose routine movements they followed. They charged the refugees for the crossing, which included protection in Portuguese homes and, in many cases, false documentation (passports and letters of safe passage) to enable them to travel in country. These border crossing networks connected Spaniards and Portuguese. For those with financial means, there was the possibility to sail from a Portuguese seaport, especially Lisbon and Porto, to the Americas.

The wartime refugee migration to Portugal shifted over time and was related to social and political events. The various military bands and the coup leaders

produced a primary and significant migration of refugees to Portugal as a result of a systematic blind repression of political enemies that extended from July 17, 1936, to February 1937, with the advent of institutionalized repression in the form of military trials. This first wartime migration was perhaps the largest, resulting in geographic pockets of relative crowding, particularly in the southern area of Alentejo as well as some northern regions where makeshift concentration camps were set up. There was probably a certain degree of tolerance toward these first refugees, especially on the part of Portuguese natives, but even, in certain locations, on the part of some authorities who shared links with them through community relations characteristic of the “border culture.” During the first month of the Spanish Civil War, until August 1936, these migrations were facilitated by the power vacuum in consulates and other administrative services. After this date, when these administrations fell under the control of the military rebels, such movements were enormously restricted. The repatriation from Lisbon to Tarragona, Spain, of a large group of Spanish refugees aboard the ship *Nyassa* brought an end to the first great wave of Spanish refugees to Portugal.

By March 31, 1939, Franco’s nationalist forces had taken all of Spain, and a state of civil war was replaced by a repressive dictatorship. When the Franco regime was institutionalized through summary war councils (1937–1945), a second wave of political refugee migration began to cross on a continual basis, but in lesser numbers (Oliveira 1988, pp. 155–157), especially after 1937. This was related to improvements in military and police border control that focused on a class of refugees who had not previously managed or wanted to cross the *raia*, as well as on others who fled in the face of troop movements.

A third phase of repression (1945–1953) opened a restrictive period of refugee entry into Portugal that, in reality, consisted of political dissenters and guerilla fighters who used the neighboring territory as a base of operation for the resistance movement (Rodríguez Gallardo 2008; Lanero, Míguez and Rodríguez Gallardo 2009). The refugee levels were reduced once the rebel army gained control of the entire border and, with the help of Portuguese authorities, reduced or eliminated the possibility of crossing the border. At the same time, the establishment of a new policy of repressive operations reduced these population movements. Nevertheless, this flow continued until the beginning of the 1950s.

The Portuguese government determined the rhythm and content of the wartime migrations originating from Spain. As a function of their political preferences and the international polarization of the between-war period, residency permits were issued to those Spaniards who were considered supportive of the “Nationalist” cause, facilitating passage once the necessary confirmations were made. At the same time, leftist exiles, republicans, and military deserters were denied refugee status. The Republican government brought several complaints before the League of Nations involving abuse of refugees imprisoned in Portugal (Delgado 1980, p. 94). These refugees were unable to exercise their right to asylum or to defend themselves from the human rights violations and persecutions perpetrated by military coup supporters (Ruipérez 1995, p. 72) and by the Salazar dictatorship. In the eyes of the Portuguese authorities, they were “illegals” or “runaways.”

By the end of September 1936, there were 400 Spanish prisoners in Portuguese prisons, especially in the Northern Fortification of the *Forte de Caxias* in Lisbon. These figures continued to rise over the following months with the arrival of detainees from the Coitadinha and Choça de Sardineiro concentration camps in Portuguese Alentejo (Oliveira 1988, p. 158; Espinosa 2003, pp. 109–124). Detainees piled up in other military installations, reaching an initial count of 1,350. All in all, adding to these figures the number of unregistered or unofficial cases, there may have been an estimated 3,000 refugees imprisoned in the first wave. In the *Nyassa* alone, 1,500 refugees were sent back to the Republican territory of Spain in October 1936, many of whom were soldiers and members of the Assault Guard, a Republican urban police force formed to curb street violence.

In Castro Laboreiro, a small border parish in northern Portugal, there were between 400 and 800 refugees settled during the first semester of the civil war.⁵ This number must have been a source of concern, especially for Spanish fascists and Portuguese authorities (Rodríguez Gallardo 2004, p. 31), who carried out sanction campaigns to eliminate the continuous refugee presence along the *raia*.

The Galician refugees were mainly young men between 20 and 40 years old, usually single, who had worked in their home country as peasant farmers, day workers, small-business employees, stonemasons, knife-grinders, street vendors, sailors, cooks, bakers, and shoemakers. This had to do with certain economic and social characteristics of the border territories. There were relatively few women refugees; most were wives, girlfriends, or family members, although some were members of leftist political organizations.

5.5 Conclusion

The data described here coincide with the overall pattern of refugee migratory movements dating from the 1880s, when migrations started to cross with massive refugee movements. The refugees and migrants were increasingly intermixed after this date (Sassen 2013, p. 115).

Refugees were typically single men at the age of active military and police service who shared a kind of “migrant living condition” (Alves 1997, p. 74), characterized by lower social and professional classes. In fact, many adapted themselves to the stratified Portuguese labor structure, with forms of self-regulation that allowed them to continue to operate with a semi-clandestine status, supported by group mobility networks. Many Portuguese sugar refineries were controlled by Galicians, who also replaced Portuguese workers in professions such as water-carriers, knife-sharpeners, and *stevedores*. Some also took on seasonal work

⁵Interview with Américo Rodrigues in Castro Laboreiro, Portugal, on August 22, 2003, August 14, 2004, and August 17, 2005; interview with Román Alonso Santos in Entrimo, Ourense (Galicia) on August 21, 2003; interview with Julio Vaz in Melgaço, Portugal, August 12, 2003.

in vineyards in the Douro region. Those with more education and training tended to migrate to the cities, while the rest remained in the rural areas.

There was a clear Spanish (especially Galician) presence in the city of Lisbon, which hosted a center for refugee reception and departure. This center served as a fundamental link in the refugee network of movements, room, and board, a complicated process that started at the border and involved truck drivers and document forgers. There was also some involvement from members of the Portuguese chapter of International Red Aid, a humanitarian aid organization related to the Communist party, and humanitarian aid organizations that were linked to American Quakers (See Kershner 2011, for more details on the assistance of the Quakers in the Spanish Civil War). The process sometimes ended with leaving the country, usually by ship from Lisbon or Porto. To this end, there was also a network of shipping agents, captains, and family members who collaborated to send Spanish refugees, usually by direct voyage, to the Americas (Mexico, Cuba, Dominican Republic) or northern Africa.

The forced displacement of these refugees compares with similar ones in other war situations, which are always characterized by their exceptionality. The destiny of war victims is always the same: wait patiently to return to their home country, always at the mercy of military and economic powers. In some contexts, countries refuse to accord permanent rights to the foreigners. There may be an initial passive reaction to the entry of refugees, which may eventually develop into policies of restrictions and expulsions. In the Portuguese case analyzed here, an antidemocratic context fueled xenophobia and the refusal of asylum to political refugees from the Spanish Civil War—a shared feature of the fascist dictatorships of the twentieth century.

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Chapter 6

A Theme Park in Early twentieth Century Galicia: A Case Study on the Globalized Visions of “*Indianos*”

Jose María Cardesín Díaz

Abstract Memories of Galician migration to America feature the image of *Indianos*, those who returned wealthy. What they lacked in terms of cultural and symbolic capital, they made up for in terms of a globalized vision. Some promoted philanthropic enterprises in their homeland, including hundreds of schools. Our study focuses on two of them, the brothers Juan and Jesús García Naveira, who returned to Galicia in 1893. In the small town of Betanzos they financed the construction of schools, trade union centres and hospices. Moreover, they built a theme park, the *Pasatiempo* (Leisure Gardens). The *Pasatiempo* was an act of self-affirmation, a compilation of the learning accumulated through their travels through America, Europe and North Africa. It also documented their faith in the capacity of technology and education to support human progress.

6.1 Indianos and Philanthropists: The Naveira Brothers, Emigrants Returning from America

The study of Galician migration to America has generated a rich historiographical literature (Cagiao 2013). It stands as one more example of the series of migratory flows from Europe to America, from India to the Indian Ocean, from China to the Pacific. These migrants bore witness to the development of a world market between 1840 and 1930 and, ultimately, the transformation of labour into merchandise on a global scale, and labour’s subjection to capital accumulation processes (Davis 2006). Nevertheless, Galician migration stands out even among other European small farmer regions called upon to star in the American adventure, given the capacity of small property family farming to not only generate a surplus of labour, but also to finance the trek across the ocean (Cardesín Díaz 1999).

Galicia, a territory spanning approximately 30,000 km², which as of the year 1900 had 2 million inhabitants, was the source of just over 1.4 million migrants to

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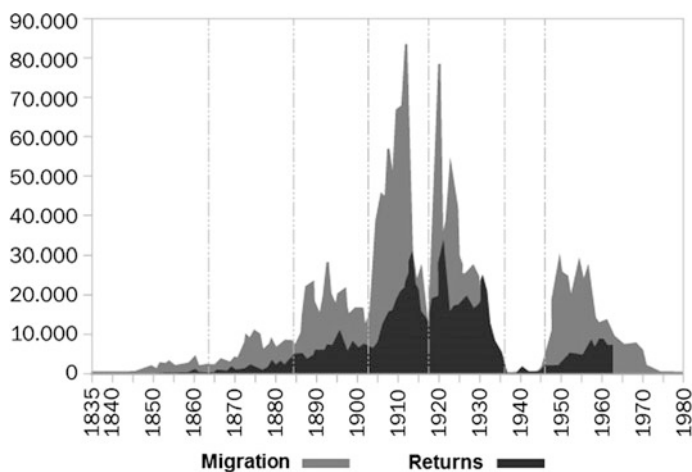


Fig. 6.1 Galician migratory flows to America and returns (1835–1980). *Source* Vázquez (2013, p. 40), slightly modified by the author

America between 1840 and 1930 (Eiras and Rey 1992). Given the Galician population in 1900, this amounted to a rate of 700 emigrants per 1000, a percentage barely surpassed by Ireland, 2.5 times the rate for Italy or Portugal and 3.5 times the rate for Spain. In fact, Galician migration represented around 40% of Spanish migration throughout the entire period contemplated here, increasing to 60% in the decade after the Great War, with annual rates equivalent to 4% of the Galician population in some years.

Galician migration fluctuated due to changes in labour demand in the Latin American territories, changes connected with shifts in the global market (Fig. 6.1): growth in the first half of the 1870s and 1890s, an incredibly strong expansion in the years prior to the Great War and the 1920s; drops during recessions, such as the Great Depression at the turn of the century or the Great Depression of 1929, already linked to the effects of the Civil War and the World War II (Vázquez 2008). Returns also reached significant numbers, relating both to individual failures and to hundreds of thousands of people returning after a few years with some savings, which would give a boost to the Galician economy (Villares 2004).

A minority of these returning immigrants had made great fortunes, which would sometimes finance industrial activities or services, but more often were directed to housing construction in the urban centres of Galicia. Popularly known as *Indianos* (from the term West Indies, as the Americas were originally called), these men of fortune became an icon of success and an example for their countrymen. Lacking cultural and symbolic capital, many of them had a globalized vision of the world and would go on to sponsor philanthropic initiatives in their birthplaces (Núñez

Table 6.1 Foundations established by the García Naveira brothers in Betanzos

Foundations	Year	Sponsor
Public laundry	1902	Jesús and Juan
First home for the elderly and school	1908–1914	Jesús and Juan
“Pasatiempo” Park	1895–1914	Juan
Second school	1917	Jesús
“Casa del Pueblo”	1919	Jesús
Shelter for girls with physical abnormalities	1923	Juan
San Miguel Sanatorium	1930	Juan

Source Author’s design

Seixas 1998); in particular, building and financing hundreds of schools, where they would reflect their faith in progress through education (Peña 2013). In the process, these men would attempt to build a constituency among their neighbours, which they would leverage for example, when they would run for municipal governments at the beginning of the twentieth century.

This image of the *Indiano* corresponds with the protagonists in our story, the brothers Juan and Jesús García Naveira. Born in the town of Betanzos¹ around 1840, they left for Argentina around 1870, and quickly made a fortune by opening commercial establishments, creating a textile importing firm and making profitable housing investments in Bahía Blanca, achievements crowned with appointments as banking advisors and other important ventures (Rodríguez Crespo 1983). They returned to Galicia permanently in 1893 and built a sumptuous home for their two families in the Main Square of Betanzos. From there, they took to financing a series of foundations in their native town (Table 6.1). They sponsored together a large public laundry, a home for the elderly and a school. Jesus’ death in 1912 interrupted this joint work, although it did not prevent him from financing additional schools after death through his will, as well as, the *Casa del Pueblo* (People’s House), a building dedicated to the local Labour Associations Federation. Finally, after the Great War, Juan sponsored the construction of two facilities: a shelter for girls with physical “abnormalities” and a “sanatorium” (a home for elderly women). And spanning more than 20 years, starting in 1895, Juan himself developed his most personal venture: the *Jardines del Pasatiempo* (Leisure Gardens), a theme park that became highly successful.

The Naveira brothers’ multiple foundations suffered serious difficulties after the death of the second brother in 1933. These difficulties were due to the devaluation of their funding investments with the 1929 Depression, the Spanish Civil War and World War II, later compounded by Franco’s dictatorship, which seized some assets and left the *Pasatiempo* Gardens without funding. The Gardens were later

¹The challenges of the Galician economy at the time, and in particular the agricultural sector, were increased in this case by the effect of the Spanish administration reform in 1833, which eliminated the province of Betanzos (and deprived that urban centre of the government functions it had been carrying out through the entire modern age).

sacked and stripped of anything that could be transported. With the return of democracy, the Betanzos city council promoted a functional rehabilitation process during the 1980's, focusing on 10% of the Garden's grounds—the Encyclopaedic Park, which was the best preserved area and possessed the highest iconographic density. At the same time, several local scholars and the management of the newly established Mariñas Museum worked on unearthing the Naveira brothers' biography (Rodríguez Crespo 1983), their work (De la Fuente 1999), and in particular the *Pasatiempo* Gardens and their Encyclopaedic Park (Cabano et al. 1991; Mariño 1999). Our analysis is based on these works.

6.2 The *Pasatiempo* Gardens: A Recreational Park in Galicia

The design and construction of the *Pasatiempo* Gardens took up a great deal of Juan García Naveira's time throughout more than 20 years, starting in 1895. In the outskirts of the town of Betanzos, on 9 ha of old marshlands, this public park was developed as a recreational and amusement space. Although it has been in a state of ruin for decades, Cabano et al.'s efforts (1991) have made it possible to reconstruct a sketch of the 8 ha that made up 90% of the Gardens.

Over the sketch I have superimposed a series of images, which make it possible to visualize the layout of this space—see Fig. 6.2. After passing through a monumental entrance (1), the visitor would come upon the statue of the Naveira brothers (2) standing on a pedestal, in a style similar to the monuments erected in public plazas in the name of other *Indianos* of the time. The statue was related to another statue dedicated to “The Charity” (3), which stood on a similar pedestal at the centre of the Gardens. This was surrounded by a series of large ponds adorned with statues. Of particular interest is the *Estanque de los Papas* (Popes' Pond) (4), surrounded by a wall crowned with more than 200 busts corresponding to all those who occupied the seat of Saint Peter, with a great statue of the Sacred Heart as a focal point.

A series of tree-lined roads were adorned with reproductions of statues and sculptures, reminiscent of classical iconography but also of the industrial decor of the nineteenth century: the *Fuente de las Cuatro Estaciones* (Four Seasons Fountain), the statue of Mercury (god of commerce, an activity that had allowed Don Juan to make his fortune); and the 12 busts that decorated the “Walk of the Roman Emperors”. Finally, the edges of the Gardens boasted other recreational spaces: at the end there were a small zoo (7) and a box tree labyrinth (8) and next to the entrance there was a House of Mirrors (9), a souvenir of the one that so delighted him on his visit to the Universal Exposition in Paris.

The Gardens were intended as an amusement and recreational space, but also, similarly to other public parks of the time, they had an educational role. This was evident in the accumulation of statues, which manifested the iconography of

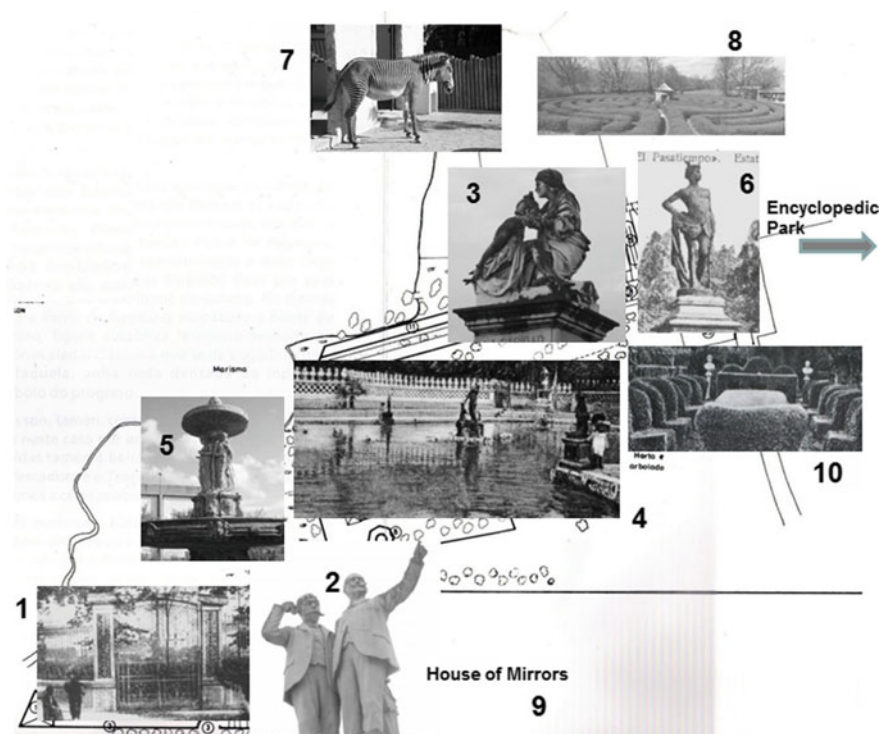


Fig. 6.2 Sketch of the *Pasatiempo* Gardens, with some of its attractions. *Source* Author’s design, based on the sketch of Cabano et al. (1991). Superimposed images are the author’s photographs (no. 2, 3, 5 and 7) or were obtained from the *Album de Postales a beneficio del Asilo García Hermanos* (Postcard Album in Benefit of the García Brothers’ Hospice), housed at the Municipal Archive of Betanzos

Western art, the virtues of individual effort—commerce—and the role of religious and political hierarchy throughout history. In order to gather ideas the Naveira brothers travelled by train to visit several European cities during November and December of 1899: first Paris (where they visited the Universal Exposition at the Trocadero Gardens), then Switzerland (where they stopped at Lucerne), and then some of the main tourist attractions in Italy: Turin, Milan, Venice, Bologna, Rome, Naples, La Spezia, Pisa and Geneva.

The “Grand Tour” of Italy constituted an integral part of the education of the English and European nobility of the eighteenth century, providing youth from the richest families with the opportunity to become immersed in the cultural and artistic heritage of the Italian peninsula. During the mid-nineteenth century, this grand tour was opened to the middle classes as a tourist experience. The Naveira brothers transformed the journey into an opportunity to acquire the rudiments of education that they lacked, but whose importance their experience as immigrants had taught them to value. They acquired an education in taste, purchased furniture and curios

to decorate their homes, and above all, reproductions of sculptures to populate the Gardens as well as a collection of illustrations that would inspire ideas for years to come.

The Naveira brothers, who throughout their travels relied on guides and publications for tourists, were accompanied by a neighbour, Rogelio Borondo, who aside from serving as a guide, was tasked with writing a diary of the travels, which he published upon their return to Betanzos (Borondo 2010 [1900]). Intended to legitimize them in their native town as persons bestowed with good taste and culture, these Memoirs provide insight into their greatest interests: palaces, churches and, of course, museums. But these also included leisure spaces such as elegant walkways, theatres, gardens and public parks, where they found many of their ideas for the *Pasatiempo* Gardens of Betanzos. More than the sculptures of the “great Western tradition” it was the reproductions in the public parks that attracted their interest, an interest also captured by the funerary sculptures of the cemeteries they visited.

With these preferences, our travellers did not greatly differ in taste from the Spanish bourgeoisie, more moneyed than cultured. These tastes acquired a “kitsch” character, and they served to organize some of the areas of the Gardens, which seem to reflect the mission of a personality cult. Sculpted from trimmed box trees, visitors could enjoy life-sized reproductions, flanked by busts of Don Juan and his wife, of the “dining hall” (numbered 10 at the right of Fig. 6.2) and the “bedroom” from the home of the Betanzos couple: even though only the guests to their home could appreciate them directly, the box scenarios allowed others to confirm that these were people with taste and money.

This “kitsch” character was reinforced by a central element of the Gardens. The statues of the Naveira brothers and The Charity were not only the central focus of the Gardens (Fig. 6.2), but were also talking with each other over the phone! (Fig. 6.3). The Charity (left) holds a speaker on which she communicates to Juan

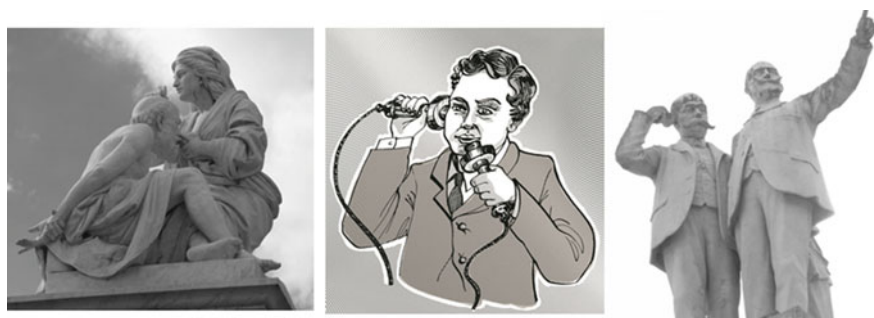


Fig. 6.3 Statues of The Charity (*left*) and the García Naveira brothers (*right*). *Centre*, image of a telephone c. 1900. *Source* Photography by the author, 2016 (for the images to the *right* and *left*) and drawing by Samuel Fernández Ignacio (for the image in the *centre*)

(at the right of Fig. 6.3, holding a receiver to his ear) the dire nature of the social problems affecting Betanzos. Juan communicates the news to his brother Jesús, who points with his hand in the direction of the schools and the home for the elderly: the brothers' personal solution to these social issues.²

6.3 The Encyclopaedic Park: Scientific and Political Pedagogy

To the right of the sketch in Fig. 6.2 we can see an arrow showing the entrance to a different part of the Gardens: the "Encyclopaedic Park". Over 1 ha of grounds, taking advantage of the natural slope of a hill, five levels or terraces were laid out, about 120 m wide by 20 m deep. Built at a later time period, in the years before the Great War, it represented the space of highest iconographic density in the Gardens. Figure 6.4 reconstructs the original appearance of the lower Terrace.

This Terrace boasted several ponds, including the *Estanque del Retiro* (Retiro Pond, numbered 1 in Fig. 6.4). This construction is an unambiguous allusion to what had become an emblematic space of leisure for the middle and popular classes of Madrid once the Revolution of 1868 opened up the *Jardines del Retiro* (Retiro Gardens), property of the Crown, to all the people. Figure 6.5 shows us the pond of the same name in Betanzos, representing the leisure activity of about a dozen women.

Here again recreational purposes combine with educational ones. Flanking the pond, with high reliefs in cement attached to the walls, there are reproductions of marine animals and modes of transportation including sea vessels, automobiles and airships. An outdoor museum featuring the new transportation and war technologies at the beginning of the twentieth century, it demonstrated a particular interest of the Naveira brothers, who dedicated part of their Italian Grand Tour to visiting museums and naval arsenals, navy factories and several seaports.

This Terrace was closed on either side by stretches of wall adorned with large high reliefs in cement, establishing three iconographic themes that were subtly interconnected. At the end (no. 2 in Fig. 6.4), there was large stretch of wall with the coats of arms of the Argentinean provinces, and a miniature copy of the obelisk that adorns the 9 de Julio Avenue in Buenos Aires: an homage to the land that took him in. Coinciding with the centenary of Argentina's independence, this image provides a positive allusion to the republican regime as a form of constitutional government. This reference was made explicit in the wall erected to the left of Fig. 6.4 (number 3). There, new panels displayed the coats of arms of the Hispanic American republics, among various sculptures under the slogan: "The Spanish monarchy and her 18 republican daughters."

²From the beginning, Juan attempted to make the interpretation of this iconographic programme explicit, and this is demonstrated in several news reports of the time.

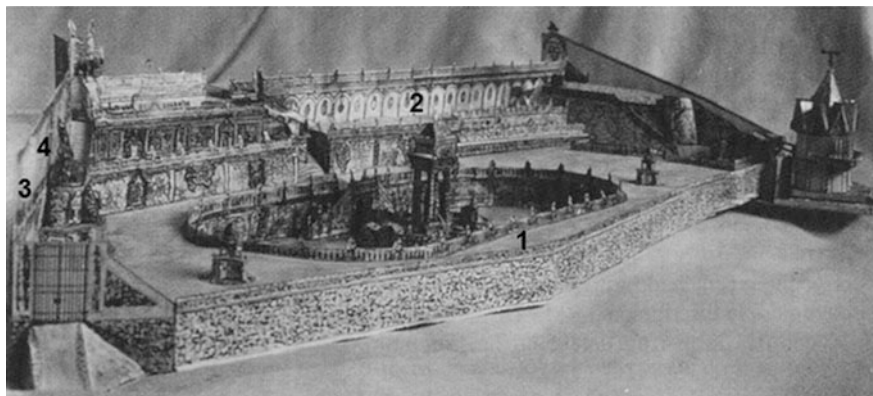


Fig. 6.4 Model by Delfin Mariño of the lower part of the Encyclopaedic Park (*Pasatiempo* Gardens). *Source* Mariñas Museum, Betanzos (photograph by the author)



Fig. 6.5 Retiro Pond at the Encyclopaedic Park (*Pasatiempo* Gardens), 1905. *Source* Municipal Archive of Betanzos

Finally, the decoration of the wall to the left of Fig. 6.4 (number 4) includes several large format high reliefs alluding to historical scenes, among which the following four stand out: the first one is the “Execution of Torrijos”, a tribute to the liberal general that revolted in 1831 against the Spanish king Ferdinand VII, and was executed along with his followers without trial on the coast of Malaga.³

The second scene is “The Execution and Quartering of Tupac Amaru”, the leader of the most important Native American rebellion in Spanish America, who was

³The high relief reproduced a famous oil painting by A. Gisbert: the “Execution of Torrijos” (1887), housed at the Prado Museum in Madrid.

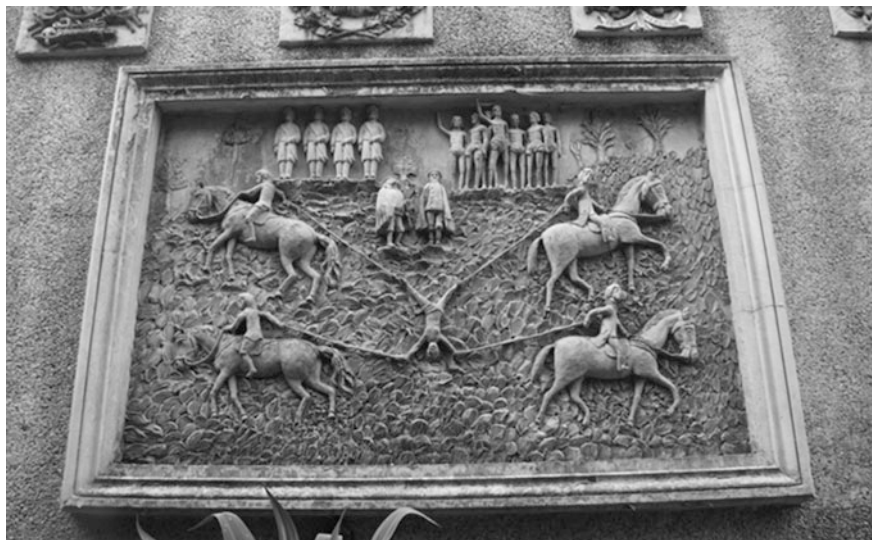


Fig. 6.6 Panel of the *Suplicio de Tupac Amaru* (Execution and Quartering of Tupac Amaru), Terrace 1, Encyclopaedic Park (*Pasatiempo* Gardens). *Source* Photograph by the author, 2008

condemned to quartering by four horses at the Cuzco Plaza in 1781: the scene is reproduced here with a realism that is almost naive (see Fig. 6.6).

The third scene leaps back to antiquity. “Christians at the Roman Circus” represents the martyrdom of countless Christians at the Coliseum, a few privileged ones burning on crosses, another lot piled up to the right, awaiting the lions, the first of which is walking out through a trapdoor at the left of Fig. 6.7. The relief once more was a literal reproduction of a recent oil painting that was very popular,⁴ a reproduction of which the Naveira brothers acquired during their Grand Tour of 1899. Finally, the fourth scene abandons the high relief format to adopt the format of a free-standing group looking over a balcony: it reproduces the announcement of “Jesus’ sentence” before Pilate (Fig. 6.8), after the layout of some Holy Week processional floats of the time.

Once more, Juan Naveira’s tastes moved away from the classical cannon to approach popular sculpture and the historicist painting of the time. Developing historical scenes in high relief is a practice with a long tradition that dates back to ancient civilisations; on their first trip to Rome, the Naveira brothers admired the reliefs of the Arch of Constantine. However, I think there is a closer link to the practice of representing historical scenes through “tableaux” built with wax statues:

⁴“The Last Prayer of Our Christian Martyrs”, oil painting by J.L. Gerome (1883) is housed in the Walters Arts Museum of Baltimore.

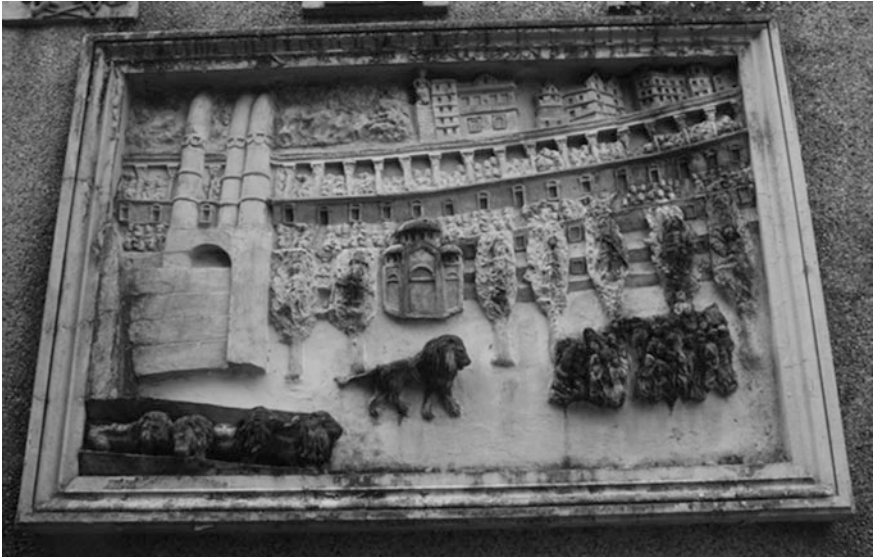


Fig. 6.7 Panel of the “Christians at the Roman Circus”, Terrace 1, Encyclopaedic Park (“Pasatiempo” Gardens). *Source* Photograph by the author, 2008



Fig. 6.8 Panel of “Jesus’ Sentence”, Terrace 1, Encyclopaedic Park (*Pasatiempo* Gardens), c. 1910. *Source* Municipal Archive of Betanzos

I am thinking of the Panorama of the Bastille, or the Grévin Wax Museum in Paris, which the brothers visited in 1899 during their Grand Tour and which left a lasting impact on them.

But even more meaningful seems to me the originality with which the four scenes trace analogies, implicitly, between the execution of a Spanish liberal general that faced absolutism, the torturing and execution of an indigenous leader that rebelled against colonial order, the martyrdom of the first Christians in the Roman Empire and the execution and torturing that the son of God was subjected to. A common theme across all four scenes is a denunciation of intolerance and violence as response to private and public disputes, born of the inability to respect the diversity of ideas. This does not seem to me an excessive analogy. First, because the idea of tolerance—especially understood as respect for the plurality of religious beliefs—was central in the curriculum of the “Institución de Enseñanza Libre” (“Free Educational Institution”) that had so influenced the approach of the Encyclopaedic Park—see below. But also because this same idea was a central element in the ideological debate of the time and had managed to filter through to the new mass media, such as cinema. Around this time, in the midst of the Great War, the American David Griffith premiered his 1916 masterpiece *Intolerance*, a film that is inspired by a similar notion. In four scenarios corresponding to different historical times, from Antiquity to our days, the film presents social ruin exemplified in many other episodes of intolerance: the fall of Babylon, the death of Jesus Christ, the killing of the French Huguenots on the night of Saint Bartholomew and the clashes between employers and workers in the contemporary USA.⁵

We end here the description of the Encyclopaedic Park with the Second Terrace, taller than the first one, and closed off at the end by a large stretch of wall 100 m long, the Wall of the Colossal Lion (see Fig. 6.9). In the form of gigantic panels in colourful cement, similar to those adorning the yards of the most progressive schools, some of the greatest feats of engineering and architecture are represented, a key aspect of human progress. To the right and left of the image there is, respectively, a sketch of the Great Wall of China (number 4) and a map of the Panama Canal (1), recently inaugurated at the time.⁶ In the centre of the wall is the Muhammad Ali Mosque in Cairo (2) and the Giza Pyramids (3), which Juan Naveira visited on a trip to Egypt he had just completed with his family in 1910.

The personality cult is once again intermingled with didactic purposes, and kitsch taste with a declaration of faith in technology. Juan Naveira, his wife and his daughter appear represented in colourful high reliefs, mounted on camels held by indigenous people and overflowed by a small airplane, in the same pose that they had had their photographs taken before the aforementioned pyramids (Figs. 6.9 and 6.10). These were the times of mass tourism, fuelled by the unification of the world under the aegis of Imperialism and technological innovations in transportation and communications. Testimony of the pioneering achievements of this process is the “Excursion to the Holy Land, Egypt, the Crimea, Greece and Intermediate Points of

⁵The parallels seem evident, especially keeping in mind that this part of the Park was created around the time of the movie's premier; however, I have not been able to document through my research that the Naveira brothers or their advisors had watched the film.

⁶In Fig. 6.9, the sketch of the wall is not visible, since it is covered by a tree. Only a fragment of the Panama Canal map, occupying more than 30 m to the left, is visible.



Fig. 6.9 Wall of the Colossal Lion, Encyclopaedic Park (*Pasatiempo* Gardens). *Source* Photograph by the author, 2008



Fig. 6.10 Juan Naveira and his family on their visit to the Pyramids of Giza in 1912, Encyclopaedic Park (*Pasatiempo* Gardens). *Source* Photograph by the author, 2008

Interest”⁷ (Italy and Paris), sponsored in 1867 by a series of American newspapers, with Mark Twain (1869) serving as one of its most noted chroniclers.

6.4 Conclusions

The *Pasatiempo* Gardens are descendants of a great heritage. On one side there is the Pleasure Garden, reaching its maturity with the palaces of the princes of the Italian Renaissance, from Bomarzo and Boboli (Medri and Galletti 1998) to the Vatican Gardens (Campitelli 2009); reaching its maximum expression with the summer palaces erected by the monarchs of the Rococo period, from Sans-Souci in Brandenburg to the Lisboan Queluz (Cordeiro 2003). With the arrival of modern times these parks were opened to the public; they became the basis for inspiration for new parks designed ex-novo, such as the Palermo Park in Buenos Aires or the Güell Park in Barcelona, created between 1900 and 1914. In line with these events, starting in the mid-eighteenth century, there had been a rise in France and England of the “pleasure garden”, commercialized leisure spaces that offered a plethora of recreational activities (Conlin 2013); in the second half of the nineteenth century, their example spread to the main Spanish cities (Cruz 2015).

Most of the examples cited were visited by Juan Naveira, who was inspired by the Güell Park to design the grottos that made up the Third Terrace of the Encyclopaedic Park (Cabano et al. 1991), and whose entrance opened under the statue of the “Colossal Lion” (centre of Fig. 6.9). Juan Naveira’s eclectic talent is much distanced from the artistic genius of Gaudi, the renowned Catalan “Art Nouveau” architect that designed the Güell Park of Barcelona, which he transformed into one of the city’s emblematic spaces. The *Pasatiempo* Gardens seem to be related to less talented and more personal creations, such as the “Palais Idéal” that the mailman Ferdinand Cheval built in Hautes-rives in the proximities of Lyon (France) between 1872 and 1912, inspired by the photographs of Oriental temples printed in illustrated magazines (Seoane 1957).

During those years that make up the prehistory of mass culture and the birth of the Theme Park, Universal Expositions, from London in 1851 to Paris in 1900, provided models for condensing scientific and technological knowledge, but also artistic, cultural and ethnographic knowledge through the creation of scenarios (Mariño 1999). Museums, Panoramas and Theme Parks became further fields for experimentation, in particular in the USA. If we were to walk through the mansions and wax museums that Californian magnates began to erect during that time, we would perhaps find similar enterprises (although much more generously financed), where this mixture of globalism and provincialism, high culture and kitsch taste, philanthropy and exaltation of the ego comes to the surface (Eco 2012).

⁷With this title the expedition was publicized in the American newspapers of the time.



Fig. 6.11 Girls' classroom at the García Naveira brothers' schools, c. 1915. *Source* Publication "1916–1918: Centenario de San Roque", available at the Municipal Archive of Betanzos

Yet the most interesting aspect of the *Pasatiempo* Gardens lies in its emphasis on education. Its design and construction was developed along with the first and second school promoted by the Naveira brothers in Betanzos, where they not only built facilities but also provided qualified teachers, with advanced educational material and curricula (Fig. 6.11). The first school had separate classrooms for boys and girls, and a pedagogical museum. The playground walls were decorated with cement high reliefs similar to those populating the Encyclopaedic Garden. There was also a free school canteen, since the brothers espoused the belief that an empty stomach is not a good base on which to learn. The design of the schools and the Encyclopaedic Park seems to have boasted the counsel of Juan García Niebla, a primary teacher and director of a public school in the nearby city of Ferrol, and a follower of the new pedagogical ideas of Pestalozzi and Fröbel (Cabano et al. 1991). He had received these ideas through the Free Educational Institution⁸ (Llorca 2000): the “intuitive method”, an approach concerned with providing students contact with the real world; the rejection of rote memorization of textbooks and the slogan known as “objects instead of words”, the emphasis being on the importance of field trips. The Gardens were, in any case, a place regularly visited by the students of the schools founded by the Naveira brothers as well as other schools in the area. In them they

⁸The *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (Free Educational Institution) had been founded in 1876 by the Spanish pedagogue Francisco Giner de los Ríos, striving towards revitalizing pedagogical ideas and practices. Juan García Niebla personally knew Francisco Giner de los Ríos: he had been introduced to him by another one of the Institution's founders, Bartolomé Cossío, whose family home (where he vacationed) was in Vixoi (Bergondo), a few kilometres from Betanzos.



Fig. 6.12 Main locations represented in the *Pasatiempo* Gardens (marked with an arrow). Source Author's production

could learn practical lessons in natural history, geography, zoology, history and ethics, not through memorization but through direct observation of the images.

This story is a testimony to the malleability of mindsets: the migratory experience did not simply relate two static worlds (Galicia and Argentina), but opened minds to the exchange of ideas. These two men had left to “do the Americas” with a bare minimum of literacy and numeracy education. They acquired through immigration not only the basic skills for managing companies, but also and above all the awareness of their importance in individual and social progress. The Gardens are a testimony to the construction of a global awareness. As is shown in Fig. 6.12, the main locations represented refer to the four continents, providing an original lesson in world geography: America (Buenos Aires and Tandil in Argentina, Mexico, Panama), Europe (Spain, France, Italy), Africa (Egypt) and Asia (China).

The enterprises of the Naveira brothers were tributaries of the patronage current that had been undertaken decades ago by some of the greatest American fortunes, such as the Rockefellers', the Gettys', the Doheneys' or the Stanfords', who strived to build great cultural and educational institutions that might halt the effects of the Sherman antitrust legislation, and in the process legitimise their careers as nouveau riches. Our heroes from Betanzos also sought recognition from their countrymen, a recognition that the “local elites” tried in vain to deny them.

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Chapter 7

The Grandchildren of Galicia: Lived and Imagined Citizenship

Montserrat Golías

Abstract The Spanish Law of Historical Memory, approved in 2007, included a specific provision (the seventh additional provision) that granted Spanish citizenship to “persons whose father or mother was originally Spanish and grandchildren of those who lost or had to renounce Spanish citizenship as a result of exile”. The aim of this chapter is to analyse the motivations behind these applications for citizenship in the case of the descendants of Galician emigrants. Are these reasons primarily related to identity in terms of recognition of family roots, or to pragmatic concerns derived from the opportunities offered by possession of a European nationality? To answer these questions I have draw upon qualitative research methods including life stories, in-depth interviews and participant observation. This analysis sheds light on the complex factors that influence the intergenerational transmission of identity and the experiences of family migration.

7.1 Introduction

In the absence of a nationality law in Spain, the Civil Code establishes rules with regards Spanish citizenship. With respect to the descendants of Spanish emigrants abroad, article 20.1b stipulates that “those whose father or mother were originally Spanish and born in Spain have the right to opt for the Spanish nationality.”

This situation has generated a popular outcry, the demand for the recognition of the “right of blood”, not only for the children but also for the grandchildren of Spaniards abroad. In response, the seventh additional provision (AD7) of the Historical Memory Act conferred the nationality of origin for a period of 3 years (between December 2008 and December 2011), to “persons whose father or mother were originally Spanish and the grandchildren of those who lost or had to give up the Spanish nationality as a result of exile”. What was conceived as legislation to support victims of the Civil war and Franco’s dictatorship, expanded rights to the

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descendants of all Spaniards, including economic migrants. According to available data,¹ 90% of all applicants from the two countries analyzed here who applied for Spanish nationality were “persons whose father or mother was originally Spanish”.

This observation inspired the beginning of an investigation (Golias 2014), carried out during the 3 years that the 7th Additional Provision was applied, and whose main goal has been to unravel the reasons for the request of Spanish nationality of origin by the descendants of emigrants from the countries with the greatest volume of requests; Cuba and Argentina.

The fieldwork for this research includes comments of 98 respondents, through biographical narratives and in-depth interviews. Two families of Galician origin in the targeted countries of Cuba and Argentina have been selected for the purpose of this chapter: The Oteros and the Castros. The construction of memory (Judt 2011), from a biographical perspective requires a chronological journey, so that the members of each of the families tells us their story and that of their ancestors, not only recalling family events but also those related to the historical period, including those who have claimed Spanish citizenship, those who have applied for it and those who, despite meeting all of the requirements, have been unwilling to carry out the necessary procedures. This review allows us to see the evolution of Spanish identity: how ties with Spain have continued, been lost or recovered. The results have allowed us to read and interpret the changes in the society of which they are a part (Ferrarotti 2007).

7.2 The Grandchildren of Galicia

It is necessary to understand the history of Galicia to understand why the descendants of its emigrants deserve special attention. In the case of Cuba, despite the inaccuracy of the records, the volume of arrivals after independence (1898) and the year after the revolution (1960) is of 377.929 Galicians, 45% of the total Spanish immigration to the island (Vidal 2005, pp. 87–88). In Argentina, it is estimated that close to 1,000,000 Galicians arrived between 1880 and 1930 (Núñez 2010, pp. 50–51), to which must be added the 111,000 admitted between 1946 and 1962 (Vázquez 2011, p. 43). Based on these estimates, we can calculate that 50% settled permanently in the country, approximately 600,000 Galicians (Farias 2011, p. 60).

With this information we can build the history of Galicia beyond its borders. The data from the Registry of Spanish Residents Abroad continues to demonstrate the scope of Galician emigration. Currently Spanish nationals linked to Galicia are the largest group, representing 21.85% of the Spanish residents abroad (INE 2016). With regard to the two countries analyzed, Galicians represent 38.85% of Spanish nationals living in Argentina and 30.39% of those living in Cuba.

¹Data provided by the Spanish Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation (MAEC).

If we focus on those born in Galicia these figures are reduced by the factor of time. In Argentina migratory flows continued beyond the decade of the 1950s, while in Cuba, the crisis of the 1930s slowed arrivals to the island. On the other hand the rest of the nationals, those with ties to Galicia but born abroad, have experienced a reverse evolution, which leads us to think about the importance of the protagonists of this text, i.e. the descendants of the Galician exodus.

To some extent, the decline of those born in Galicia can be attributed to their decision to return to their home, but in most cases they disappear from these statistics because they have died. As for the “new Spaniards,” some have acquired Spanish citizenship by option, while many others have done so through the “right of blood” that the Civil Code recognises on a permanent basis and the seventh additional provision of law 52/2007 does on a temporary basis. The historical and empirical evidence in the specific case of Galicia, confirms that those who acquired nationality through these channels were the descendants of immigrants from this region. This is important to know because in some cases the nationality has been preserved and others not, to understand the increase in new naturalisations.

7.3 A Double Legacy and Two Scenarios

The motivations for the demand and application for Spanish nationality respond to the transmission of a double heritage: material and also symbolic. Both are transmitted from generation to generation from the pioneer in the migration chain to their descendants, second generation (children) and third generation (grandchildren).

If we focus on the family and history, there are three generations that must be taken into account in the analysis of the transmission of memory and nationality.

Generation	Position in the family	Position in history	Nationality
First	Grandparents	Galician emigrants to Cuba and Argentina (1880–1955)	Born in Spain
Second	Fathers/mothers	Sons and daughters of Galician immigrants in Cuba and Argentina	Bearers of Spanish nationality
Third	Grandchildren	Argentiniens and Cubans, grandchildren of Galician immigrants	Claimants to Spanish nationality

Nevertheless, legal and identity issues don't always coincide. In the Argentinian case studied here, citizenship was passed on to successive generations (children and grandchildren of Galicians) to a greater extent than in Cuba. The differences between the two scenarios respond to two issues: the relationship with Spain and family ties, and legislation regarding nationality.

Table 7.1 Galicians (Spanish nationals registered in Galician provinces) born in Cuba and Argentina

	Total	Argentina	Cuba
2009	218,401	84,802	11,888
2010	239,898	91,706	14,993
2011	267,034	99,292	22,308
2012	288,135	106,860	26,606
2013	306,184	112,563	29,469
2014	321,627	117,315	32,696
2015	336,210	122,493	35,922
2016	348,037	126,409	38,607

Source Author's elaboration based on the Registry of Spanish Residents Abroad (PERE) 2009–2016. National Institute of Statistics

In other words, the transmission of identity, but also the socio-political contexts in which the Galician immigrants and their descendants are living, can either favour or hamper the transmission of the material legacy of nationality. This difference becomes evident if we take into account the increase in Argentinians and Cubans with ties to Galicia that have acquired Spanish citizenship, as shown in the Table 7.1.

On January 1, 2009, when the he AD7 came into force, there were 300.376 Spaniards residing in Argentina, of which 133.561 were registered in Galician provinces. Thirty six percent (47,930) were born in Galicia, while 63% (84,802) were born abroad. In Cuba, the figures were lower, with 12,601 nationals registered as Galicians, of which 94% (11,888) were born outside of Spain and only 711 had been born in a Galician province. At present, of the total number of Galicians residing abroad, 74% of those in Argentina were not born in Spain, while in the case of Cuba this figure is 99%.

Although in absolute numbers, there are more Spanish nationals living in Argentina than in Cuba, in relative terms the number of Spanish nationals registered in Galician provinces born on the island has increased sharply, especially in the years of the AD7 (2009–2011). This is confirmed by the data from the processing of claims under this legislative opportunity: of a total of 524.000, 40.75% (213.669) were from Cuba and 25% (133.886) from Argentina.

7.3.1 The Castro Family in Argentina. To Be or Not to Be Spanish

If we take into account the first generation, there are several factors that have influenced the preservation and subsequent transmission of Spanish nationality and identity. With regard to the material or formal appearance of nationality, Argentina has allowed dual citizenship under the protection of the Convention signed in 1969 (Boletín Oficial del Estado, 1971). Therefore, the transmission of the Spanish

nationality was truncated in the first generation only in those cases in which prior to this date the migrants had to renounce their nationality before the birth of their children. It was mainly Galicians that adopted Argentinian citizenship (and therefore waived Spanish citizenship) in order to gain access to public employment. Nevertheless, the nationality chain was often broken in the case of all descendants of Galician women, because before the Spanish Constitution came into force on December 29, 1978, women could not pass on their nationality to their children. (Álvarez 2012, p. 70).

The responsibility for the continuation of the condition of being Spanish rested with the son (second generation) who, according to Spanish legislation, only had to ratify it before the age of 21 and in the case of failure to do so, renounced it, by what is known as “voluntary consent” (article 24 of the Civil Code), thus breaking its transmission to the next generations.

In the area of identity, time plays an important factor, since the inflows of Galicians into this country were maintained until the mid-50s. It is for this reason that in the construction of this narrative, unlike the Cuban one, we have been able to rely on the living testimony of the roots of the family tree. In addition, the characteristic features of the Galician settlements in Argentina, their endogamy and close knit communities, have kept the Galician identity alive in the context in which the second generations have been raised and socialised. This is the case of the children of A1 and his cousin.

In the Castro family, none of the rupture situations with the Spanish legacy have occurred. The founders of this family in Argentina (A1) and his brother lived as foreigners (Spaniards) in the country that welcomed them. However their descendants have not attributed to citizenship the same meaning, despite having been socialised in an identical scenario. In the second generation comprised of the sons and nephews of A1, we find two different positions toward the nationality of origin, which directly affect the decision of the third generation, the grandchildren (Fig. 7.1).

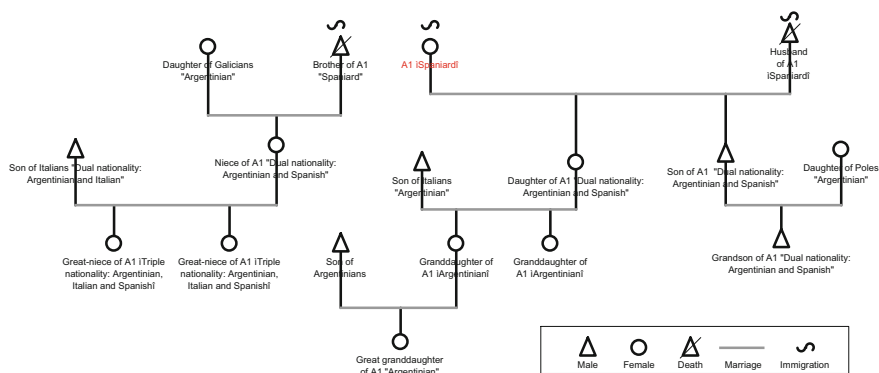


Fig. 7.1 Castro family tree. *Source* Author's design

I Have It, But Not My Children

The daughter of A1 was born as a Spanish national, as both her parents possessed Spanish nationality at the time of her birth. However, due to disinterest or rebellion she refused to ratify it at the age of majority as required by the Spanish civil code. It is here where we see the first break in the line of citizenship transmission. Family pressure eventually forced her to recuperate it. But this daughter of Galicians did not make her own daughters beneficiaries, as she did not enter them as such in the consular registry when they were minors. Her husband explains the reasons: "My girls do not need Spanish nationality." For this son of Italians born in Buenos Aires, his daughters were Argentinian, daughters of Argentinians. They had to respect and know about their roots, both Spanish and Italian, but this had nothing to do with citizenship. His argument was quite logical, "why should the third generation of those coming from another country have to bear the nationality of their grandparents or great-grandparents?" It was a topic discussed within the family. The first-generation maintained a sentimental relationship with their Spanish passport and dreamed that it would bring them closer to the land they loved. But one of the main advantages was "the possibility of beginning a life in another European country when things went wrong" (A1). This turned into the main disadvantage in their eyes of this father. He would resolve the debates by arguing that "if they want to know their roots then they can go as tourists!" (Son-in-law of A1). The daunting possibility of his daughters leaving Argentina was the reason he discounted the acquisition of any other nationality, Spanish or Italian.

For the daughters themselves, their own comments reflected a constant struggle between opportunity and affection. Although their mother was a nationalised Spanish citizen, this was not a requirement for them. There were advantages to having a European passport, but there was also a fear of disappointing their father, and their love for their grandmother was also involved. Both confessed to having considered embarking on the process of claiming Spanish citizenship. This would not have been a problem, as they had all the information and documentation. For the elder daughter, who was a mother, the incentive was the future of her daughter; while her younger sister considered the possibility of education. Both planned to remain in Buenos Aires; there was no other link to Galicia than the affection for their grandparents, without any element of identity.

European Nationalities: Tribute or an Opportunity for the Future

The youngest sons of A1 narrated the life of his family as closely integrated in the history of Argentina. He remembered everything that he had gladly done to keep his parents happy, meeting up with Galicians, the reunions, "At my wedding there were more guests from the Galician community than not" (son of A1). He joined the elders of the community from his father's hometown, "to keep him company" (son of A1). As if it were a rite of passage, when he turned 18 he reaffirmed the citizenship of his parents' country to make them happy, "You had to do it". Now in his old age, he has fled from all of that. He dreamt of discovering Galicia, but thought of the land of his ancestors as a place to visit "without telling anyone."

His son (4th generation, great-grandson of A1) had just been born when the latest economic crisis happened in Argentina. Without hesitation, he went to the consulate and registered his baby, thinking that one day he might need it. Nevertheless, this pragmatic motivation may have had further significance: the little one had inherited the name of his grandfather as well as his features.

Similar views were expressed by the niece of A1 and her family, the second and third generations of another branch of the family tree. Here we have a mixed family, descendants of Galicians and Italians with two daughters. In this case the presence of Italian roots is as strong as the Galician ones, well into the third generations, because their parents wanted it that way. This pragmatic married couple always had their eyes on Europe as an alternative for the future for their children, especially since “*the corralito*”² (2001), in which Argentinians could not access their own money. They applied for Spanish citizenship for their daughters when they were minors.

The descendants of A1 and his brother, provide a clear example of the different value given to identity and nationality, even from the same branch of the family. Each has offered us a different view on the history of their parents, about the value of tradition and of the nation, that which has been experienced (Argentina) and that which has been imagined (Galicia).

7.3.2 The Otero Family in Cuba. “Nationality as a Tool”

In the Cuban case more time has passed since the initial migration, since migratory flows slowed during the 30s. Integration and mixing with other nationalities and cultures had blurred both Spanish and Galician identities. If to this we also add the homogenization policy of the communist regime, in which the children of emigrants have been mostly raised, we are not only faced with a weakening of identity, but also an annulment of any other identity other than the Cuban one.

The Galicians residing in Cuba, encountered various nationalization processes. The “Cuban law of nationalization of the workforce”, known as the 50% law, required that at least half of all employees had to be Cuban nationals. This law was ratified in the Constitution of 1940, during the Batista government, and lasted until the triumph of the revolution (1959). Few Galicians, especially small business owners, resisted the pressure to abandon their Spanish citizenship.

The Cuban Constitution is very clear on the matter of nationality: “Dual citizenship will not be accepted. Consequently, when someone acquires a foreign nationality, the Cuban nationality will be lost” (article 32. Chapter II. Citizenship. Constitution of the Republic of Cuba). The Oteros have been lucky: the second generation informant (A2), the starting point of this family biography, was

²Restrictions to the right to withdraw cash from fixed interest accounts, current accounts and saving accounts.

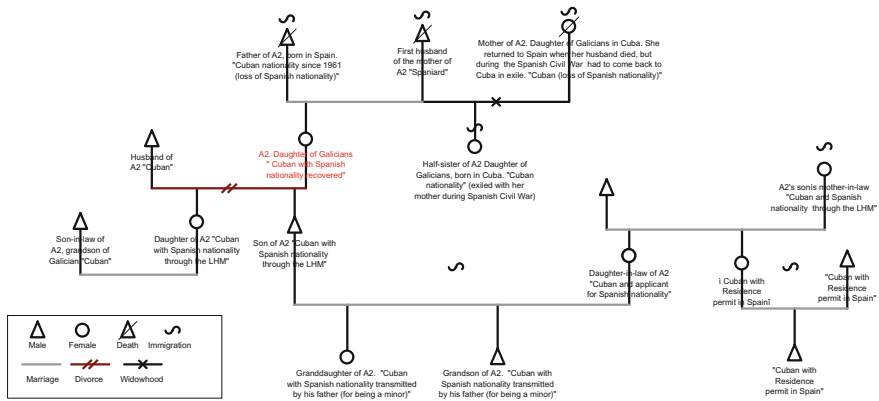


Fig. 7.2 Otero family tree. Source Author’s design

born before her father renounced his Spanish nationality. In this case we do not find multiple motivations as in the case of Argentina, here everybody was on the same page. A2 claimed Spanish citizenship through the Spanish Civil Code, and was planning to do the same for her descendants through the AD7 (Fig. 7.2).

In this family biography, Spanish heritage is passed through private, intimate, and sometimes inter-family relationships: these processes occur more by chance than by community. A2 weeps as she recalls her father and the suffering caused by emigrating and leaving his roots: “it was in Cuba in 1933 and he lost everything, it was a devastating bankruptcy, he lost cars, he lost everything and his life here wasn’t very nice. When he was comfortable enough to be able to return to Spain, he never did.”

In the family history, cruel memories of a country and Cuba, as a safeguard. A2’s mother of Galician origin, also the widow of a Galician, returned to Galicia after the crisis of the 1930s to a place she barely knew, even though it was her birthplace. She went in search of the protection of her own family and that of her in-laws, with the hope of a better life for her and her newborn daughter. However, with the outbreak of the Civil War, this young woman was pursued, harassed and tortured for her beliefs. The fact that she was the mother of a Cuban and thus could be repatriated served as a lifeline. Her daughter relates the story:

They detained her, she told us that they shaved her head, so they tortured her in a time when Franco (...) but the consul told her that she had to return because she had my sister who was born in Cuba, my sister was 10 years old at the time, he then prepared the paperwork and she came back repatriated (A2)

Back in Cuba, this courageous woman rebuilt her life with a Galician immigrant, and A2 was born from this relationship.

Broken Branches, “The Domino Effect”

The daughter of A2, far removed from the trials of her grandparents, laughs as she recalls meals, expressions and folklore, but recognises that there may be some Galician idiosyncrasies in her way of seeing life. From a young age she had wanted to leave Cuba, and instead stayed. Now Spanish citizenship would let her escape from her “bubble” to discover many of the places that she has dreamt of. Her priority is a visit to the USA to visit her cousins and uncles. The second planned destination is Spain, mainly to be reunited with her brother and her nephews who were already settled in the country, and although they planned to visit together their grandparents ancestral home in the Galician region of Ferrol, this was not a priority.

Her partner (son-in-law of A2), grandson of a man from the Galician region of Lugo his father’s side, was possibly eligible for Spanish citizenship, but there were some issues that first would have to be resolved. It remained unclear whether his grandfather had become a nationalised Cuban before the birth of his father. Secondly, and more importantly for him, he was not sure if he could skip the closest link (his father) to directly apply for citizenship. As part of the application process, he would need to complete his Spanish lineage, from the Galician grandfather, to his father, to the applicant himself. Due to disagreements with his father, he was prepared to renounce this right if he needed to seek his help; “I want to do the procedure directly from my grandfather, without my father getting involved” (son-in-law of A2).

Another narrative comes from the perspective of A2’s son’s mother-in-law. She had just been granted Spanish citizenship in July of 2010. This 70 year-old woman, granddaughter of an Asturian³ and Cuban, was motivated not by heritage but by opportunity. Her eldest daughter had emigrated to Spain, and she had visited her on several occasions. Her youngest daughter (daughter-in-law of A2), had also decided to settle in Spain with her husband and their children, so this elderly Cuban woman without any remaining family in Cuba insisted; “I’m not staying here alone!”

The process of applying for Spanish citizenship in this family occurred through a kind of “domino effect”. The mother (A2) recovered her nationality shortly after the law came into force, to open the opportunity for her children. Her son, who had always refused to leave the island, suddenly decided to do so, and the explanations for this sudden decision have been expressed off the record:

Everyone always wanted to leave, except him, everyone had always wanted to leave except him, always. Then one fine day he suddenly tells me, “sit down I want to talk to you, I’ve decided that I have to get away from here” (A2).

Then his sister applied for Spanish citizenship as she could not imagine life without her brother and, although she would never abandon her mother, she wanted the freedom to go and visit him. She was followed in the process by A2’s son’s mother-in-law, who did not want to lose the remaining family that she had, as her only daughters were already in Spain; “My home is where my family is”.

³Asturias is another autonomous community that borders Galicia to the northeast.

And finally the fourth generation (the two grandsons of A2), once their parents had been granted citizenship, were eligible to be entered as Spaniards in the consular register, as they were minors.

7.4 Identity Causes Confusion, While Its Absence Provides Clarity

For the Castros in Argentina, the pursuit of the recognition of their ancestors is so strong because they had built their identity from immigrant communities, strengthened through the maintenance of their roots. Given the host country's political policies and the particular characteristics of the Galician settlement in this country, this case study might be extrapolated to the whole collective. However, putting aside arguments about whether these decisions were taken due to sentiment or opportunity, the intentions they have as to when to use this new status might provide some insight. The coming into force of the AD7 coincided with the Spanish economic crisis, a coincidence that does not seem to have affected the decision as to how to put the citizenship to use, but when. We can distinguish between immediate motivations (academic, professional, travel and the transmission of the Spanish nationality to descendants) and future opportunities (the possibility of emigrating for a longer period of time when faced with a possible personal, social or political difficulty in Argentina). Access to the Spanish passport opens doors to academic and professional training in Europe, degrees that along with the passport allow freedom of movement in a global labour market. This is the dominant choice among the under 40s (Golias 2016, p. 161) and suggests a fully utilitarian motivation: the possibility of emigrating permanently in the future to a new life and citizenship in the European Union. Older family members may contemplate such uses, but they are primarily thinking about their children, rendering theirs a less immediate and clearly intergenerational utilitarian strategy, that is, as a tool for their descendants.

The Castro family represents the transmission of a strong link with Spain, handed down to all of their offspring in terms of both the symbolic legacy of identity and the material legacy of citizenship. Second generations accept both aspects of their heritage with a different intensity, which is reflected in either rupture or continuity with respect to the following generations (the grandchildren and great-grandchildren): these are either Spanish or not because their parents have wanted it that way, in response to either sentimental or pragmatic motivations. For the nieces of A1, the more passports (Argentinian, Spanish and Italian) the greater the opportunity. For the daughters of his daughter, a single (Argentinian) nationality is best, due to the fear that they could leave. His only grandson seems to be the bearer of both the sentimental and legal connection: he shares both the name of his grandfather and his nationality. These motivations coexist and are not mutually exclusive, and it is impossible to determine exactly how each has contributed to people's life decisions.

In Cuba the reinforcement of one's roots as the motivation for wanting to be Spanish remains in the background. In the history of the Oteros, affection for the grandparents is expressed with different levels of intensity. Nevertheless, in response to the question about why they want to acquire Spanish citizenship, the answer is almost unanimous: to be able to leave. Not forever—plans include specific return trips visit or vague ideas. The two most-repeated answers can be summarized as (1) To temporarily travel to the United States or Spain and (2) So that their children and grandchildren have the opportunity to travel if they wish to in the future.

Travel in these cases signifies an improvement, but not in terms of professional advancement. These plans represent a purely economic calculation that will directly impact on their wealth and that of their family through access to money and consumer goods. The ability to visit relatives is a common motivation for applicants. Most of these plans are oriented toward the USA, especially among the oldest, who saw their families truncated with the onset of the revolution. The over 65s, already retired, have the time to be reunited with siblings, children and grandchildren; in some cases with people whom they barely know. A Spanish passport makes it easier for these transnational families to stay in touch. But these visits are not exclusively motivated by sentiment, interviewees also expressed some more pragmatic motives. Access to consumer goods as well as dollars and euros also provides an opportunity to improve the situation for those who remain on the island.

Spanish citizenship can make it easier to travel, as long as those who hold it follow the immigration laws of Cuba so as not to lose their Cuban citizenship and the rights that it accords. This means using the Cuban passport when leaving or entering the island. For those who choose to travel to the USA, a Spanish passport will facilitate their entry; for those whose destination is Spain, they will be treated as full-fledged citizens. The Otero family is a clear example that within the interference of symbolism, the decision is clear. The matriarch of this family claimed her citizenship right so that her family could benefit from the AD7, with a single objective; "The freedom to travel."

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Chapter 8

The Galician Diaspora in the Twenty-First Century: Demographic Renovation as a Response to the Economic Crisis

Andreu Domingo and Amand Blanes

Abstract With the dawn of the twenty-first century and the international immigration boom in Galicia, some considered the century-long Galician diaspora to have reached its end. Nevertheless, the dramatic outbreak of the 2008 economic crisis has reactivated outward migration, now in much more complex forms. The more recent flows of Galician emigration have been fed by return trajectories of previous immigrants, some of whom have become naturalized Spanish citizens, and some of whom are accompanied by Galician-born children and spouses. These flows also include re-immigration to third countries, a process that includes those who returned home during the bonanza period only to find themselves faced with the need to emigrate yet again, as well as a new wave of Galician youth emigration. These patterns of movement take advantage of family networks established during the twentieth-century diaspora and are revitalizing the exterior population with ties to Galicia as well as the geographic extension encompassed by the Galician diaspora. The relative importance of the countries included in this territory has shifted, as has the composition of the populations in flux. In this chapter, we will pay particular attention to analyzing these latest flows and the composition of the population of the Galician expatriate community.

8.1 Introduction: The New Galician Emigration

Like the rest of Spain, Galicia experienced a sharp reversal of the overall emigration trend at the end of the twentieth century (Izquierdo Escribano and Pérez Muñoz 1989). With the dawn of the twenty-first century and the international immigration boom in Galicia, some considered the century-long Galician diaspora to have reached its end. Drawing upon Safran's (1991) classic definition, we consider Galician emigration as a whole to be a diaspora, due to the intergenerational transmission of a collective sense of common origin, a sense of nationalism

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R. DePalma and A. Pérez-Caramés (eds.), *Galician Migrations: A Case Study of Emerging Super-diversity*, Migration, Minorities and Modernity 3,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-66305-0_8

regardless of whether Spanish nationality is acquired, a thriving network of community associations and ethnic businesses rooted in the country of origin, continued political participation, and some degree of return migration. While foreign nationals have undoubtedly played a significant role in immigration received by Galicia, there remains a persistent flow that is directly or indirectly related to Galician emigration from the end of the nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. These flows, which include returnees as well as their spouses and descendants, mean that Galicia's current international migrations remain strongly influenced by the migratory patterns of the earlier Galician diaspora.

At the same time, the dramatic outbreak of the 2008 economic crisis has reactivated outward migration, now with much more complex typologies. These include return trajectories of previous immigrants, some of whom have become naturalized Spanish citizens, and some of whom are accompanied by Galician-born children and spouses. These flows also include re-immigration to third countries, a process that includes those who returned home during the bonanza period only to find themselves faced with the need to emigrate yet again, and a new wave of Galician emigrant youth. These new emigrants take advantage of family networks established during the twentieth-century diaspora and are revitalizing the exterior population with ties to Galicia and extending the geographic range of the Galician diaspora. The relative weight of the countries included in this territory has shifted, as have the population demographics.

Across the Spanish state, much attention has been paid to the causes of this shift in migratory trends. Authors like Cachón (2012) and Sassen (2014) postulate that we are witnessing a population expulsion as a consequence of the structural changes resulting from Spanish austerity policies. Others have explored the extent to which these new emigrants include the highly educated, and thus constitute a Spanish "brain-drain" (Santos Ortega 2013). The Spanish government, on the contrary, has labeled this tendency as "external mobility," or cosmopolitan forms of education and training for emerging social classes linked to the Information Society. These discrepancies are not easily clarified by existing data, as the true extent of the phenomenon and the educational level of emigrants are difficult to estimate (González-Ferrer 2013a, b), and even more so people's intentions and the degree to which they correspond to the real market demands of their destination countries. Without denying that the economic crisis has had some influence, both kinds of movements undoubtedly exist (Domingo and Ortega 2015). That is, some people are emigrating because they can't find work, but some would have done so anyway. Migrating as a response to the crisis demonstrates resiliency (Izquierdo 2015), while at the same time the economic and political context and the narrative constructed around it may change the very nature of this migration (Domingo and Blanes 2015).

The Galician case adds further temporal and spatial complexity and therefore deserves special attention. It involves the expulsion of populations due to deepening economic crises. For example, some emigrants and their second- and even third-generation descendants returned from Argentina in the face of the 2001 "Corralito," only to emigrate again 10 years later as a result of Spain's economic

austerity program. The Galician case also reveals flexibility and adaptability in the face of change, and the importance of a previous diaspora. Overall, these processes reveal the increasing relevance of transnational spaces fueled by diverse migratory movements, both past and present.

8.2 Data Sources: Quantifying Size and Temporal Patterns of External Migration

One of the problems faced by external migration studies is the difficulty of capturing the phenomenon, particularly in terms of international external flows. Compiled from municipal registry data, the Residential Variation Statistics (RVS) has been the traditional data source of both interior and exterior migration studies. It has been subject to certain rectifications, such as the consideration as migrations of both default registration (after 2004) and withdrawal due to expiration (after 2006), both of which alter historical data series. Nevertheless, despite important conceptual and procedural modifications, the source data continue to present certain limitations. For this reason, the Spanish National Institute for Statistics has provided, since 2008, Migration Statistics, or MS (INE 2014). This database also uses municipal registry information, but subjects the source data to statistical procedures that include establishment of a temporality criterion, estimation of unregistered movements, and assignation of the country of citizenship, birth, origin, and destination in cases where these factors are not known.

These two data sources reflect relatively similar tendencies, but with certain differences: the RVS generates slightly higher immigration rates, while the MS reflects slightly higher rates of emigration. For the 2008–2014 period, the RVS registered almost 12 thousand more entries than the MS, which in turn estimated almost 1,000 more exits. The impact of the economic crisis also varies with the source consulted. The RVS estimates a net loss of 2000 migrants from 2012 to 2014, while the MS estimates just over 5,000. Both sources reflect one significant trend: 2013 saw the lowest immigration and highest emigration rates, while 2014 saw a slight recuperation of entries and a reduction in exits, resulting in a net exterior migration of almost 0.

Migration Statistics is currently the most widely consulted for Spain migrations, but we have opted here for Residential Variation Statistics. We base this decision on the fact that, for the most recent years, MS cannot be sufficiently broken down to permit the cross-tabulations necessary to understand the diversity and complexity of external migration, especially for a region like Galicia, whose migration history has influenced more recent migratory movements. More specifically, the RVS allows us to conduct a double-cross tabulation of the variables place of birth and nationality (see Table 8.1) and analyze origin and destination by country with a higher degree of breakdown.

Table 8.1 External migration by nationality and place of birth, 2008–2014

Flow	Nationality	Born in	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Immigrants	Spanish		4,087	3,232	3,298	3,708	3,065	2,918	3,425
		Spain	2,546	2,129	1,874	2,232	1,928	1,813	2,101
		Abroad	1,541	1,103	1,424	1,476	1,137	1,105	1,324
	Foreign		18,078	11,903	10,580	10,139	7257	6350	6952
		Spain	97	123	119	111	102	98	99
		Abroad	17,981	11,780	10,461	10,028	7,155	6,252	6,853
Total		22,165	15,135	13,878	13,847	10,322	9,268	10,377	
Emigrants	Spanish		2,971	3,084	3,122	4,323	3,980	4,801	4,542
		Spain	2,177	2,173	2,209	3,187	2,874	3,525	3,205
		Abroad	794	911	913	1,136	1,106	1,276	1,337
	Foreign		4,464	6,291	6,048	4,994	5,910	6,938	5,750
		Spain	77	115	117	126	139	176	159
		Abroad	4,387	6,176	5,931	4,868	5,771	6,762	5,591
Total		7,435	9,375	9,170	9,317	9,890	11,739	10,292	

Source Author's compilation, based on residential variation statistics

8.3 Immigration to Galicia Since 2008

Before analyzing recent Galician emigration, it is necessary to conduct a preliminary and cursory analysis of immigration flows, since some of these exits can be characterized as returns or re-emigrations. The Galician external immigration boom was more significant in terms of novelty than numbers. Between 2000 and 2007, 148 thousand foreign-born immigrants came to Galicia. Unlike in the rest of Spain, these included a high proportion of Spanish nationals, 35% compared to 6% for Spain as a whole. Furthermore, it is significant that the territorial distribution of these new European and Latin American immigrants initially coincided with the departure municipalities characteristic of the earlier Galician diaspora, suggesting a direct relationship between the two (Vono and Domingo 2007). With the onset of the economic crisis, immigration was reduced by half of the maximum level of 27 thousand entries registered in 2007, stabilizing to a rate of about 10 thousand per year in most recent years. Of these, around a third were Spanish nationals, a great deal of whom had been born in Spain, a percentage significantly higher than that for Spain as a whole. If we focus on 2012–2014, 18% of immigrants to Galicia were Spaniards born in Spain, compared to 5% of immigrants to Spain, where foreign immigrants have a relatively higher impact.

A comparison of patterns of age, sex, and nationality among immigrants to Spain and Galicia during the crisis leaves little room for doubt (see Fig. 8.1): The difference lies in Galician past emigration transformed into return immigration, along with a much lower presence of youth (which can be attributed to Spanish nationals born abroad). Immigrant profiles are similar if we concentrate on 25–30-year-olds, but men and women around retirement age have a particularly strong presence among immigrants to Galicia. Returnees play a strong role in these higher

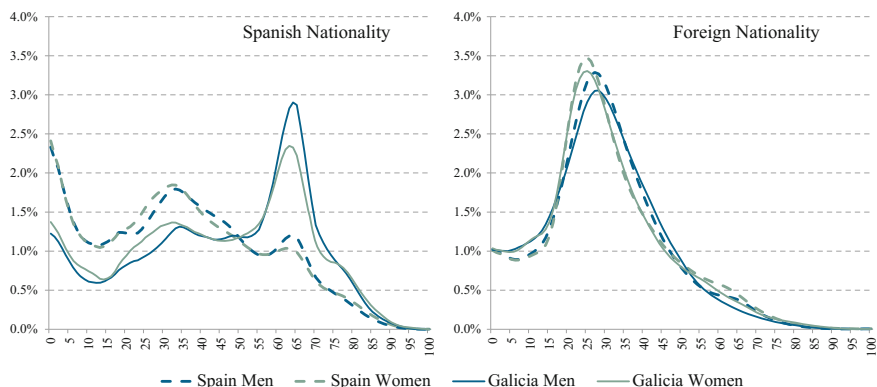


Fig. 8.1 Relative patterns of foreign immigration to Galicia and Spain as a whole by sex and nationality, 2008–2014. *Source* Author's compilation, based on residential variation statistics

age ranges: 86% of those 55–74 years old were born in Galicia, compared with just 9% who were born abroad.

Nevertheless, a review of the principal countries of origin reveals another discrepancy, particularly for foreign nationals, although we see the same patterns in terms of sex and age. If immigrants to Galicia tend to come from those same countries that had traditionally received the Spanish emigrants of the twentieth century, but in a different order of magnitude, these immigrant flows indicate a strong selectivity for origin. For Galicia, the largest flow comes from neighboring Portugal and the second largest from Brazil (part of which presumably also comes from Portugal). In Galicia, we also do not see retirement immigration such as that characterized by British nationals, who comprise the third highest nationality in the whole of Spain, or immigration from new countries of origin, such as China (Table 8.2).

8.4 The New Galician Emigration: The Impact of the Economic Crisis

Emigration abroad originating from Galicia, like that from the rest of Spain, has gradually increased over the course of this century, although part of the increase simply reflects an improvement in data collection techniques. During the post-2009 years of the economic crisis, the number of yearly exits varied from 9 to 12 thousand. As with the case of immigration, these included an important percentage of Spanish nationals, who accounted for 40% of the total exits, compared to 14% for the whole of Spain.

The absolute figures described earlier do little to shed light on a key question: Are Galicians more inclined to emigrate abroad than the rest of the Spanish

Table 8.2 Main countries of emigration to Galicia and Spain, 2008–2014

	Spanish nationality	Foreign nationality	Spanish nationality	Foreign nationality	Spanish nationality	Foreign nationality	Spanish nationality	Foreign nationality
	Spain	Galicia	Spain	Galicia	Spain	Galicia	Spain	Galicia
	Country	%	Country	%	Country	%	Country	%
1	Venezuela	10.0	Venezuela	16.5	Rumania	12.2	Portugal	13.3
2	Cuba	8.5	Switzerland	14.5	Morocco	8.9	Brazil	11.3
3	France	7.9	France	7.1	UK	5.2	Rumania	9.2
4	USA	7.0	USA	7.0	Colombia	4.5	Colombia	6.0
5	UK	6.9	Germany	6.7	Italy	3.6	Dominican Rep.	5.7
6	Germany	5.1	Cuba	6.4	China	3.0	Venezuela	5.5
7	Argentina	5.0	UK	6.1	Peru	3.0	Peru	4.8
8	Switzerland	3.6	Argentina	5.4	Dominican Rep.	2.8	Morocco	4.1
9	Ecuador	3.3	Brazil	4.3	Brazil	2.8	Cuba	4.0
10	Mexico	2.9	Mexico	4.0	Ecuador	2.8	Argentina	2.6

Note Percentages are calculated excluding immigrants whose country of origin is unknown. This is the case for 28% of foreign nationals, while for Spanish nationals this figure is less than 0.1%

Source Authors' compilation, based on residential variation statistics

Table 8.3 Emigration rates abroad from Galicia and Spain as a whole by nationality, 2008–2014 (rates per 10,000 residents)

	Both nationalities	Spanish nationality	Foreign nationality	Both nationalities	Spanish nationality	Foreign nationality
	Galicia	Spain	Galicia	Spain	Galicia	Spain
20–39 years	62.1	144.8	22.3	20.9	623.7	711.2
40–64 years	28.9	63.1	12.3	9.2	547.3	601.5
65+ years	13.8	23.3	9.7	4.2	581.6	556.5
Total	34.8	80.2	14.4	12.7	577.4	625.3

Source Author's compilation, based on residential variation statistics

population? To address this question, we have calculated the external emigration levels for the period 2008–2014, taking into consideration nationality as well as age range (see Table 8.3). This rate for Spain is more than double that for the specific Galician population: for every 10,000 people in the highest age range, we find about 80 from Spain and 35 from Galicia. However, these values are strongly conditioned by the unequal relative weight of foreign nationals, who are more likely to emigrate, and who constitute 3.7% of Galicians and 11.0% of Spaniards for the overall time period. When we introduce nationality as a variable, we see that the rate for Spanish nationals is higher for Galicia, a trend we see across all age groups, but with a more significant difference for the highest age range. Among foreign nationals, the rate of emigration is only higher for the Galician case among the 65+ age range. In other words, while in absolute numbers the emigration of Spanish nationals does not seem to have had much impact on emigration, a rate analysis that takes into account immigrant candidates reveals this migration to be more intense for Galicia than for Spain as a whole.

If we compare patterns of sex and age by nationality, we see the continued weight of the earlier Galician emigration reflected in the greater presence of older men and women, which may correspond to a re-emigration of former returnees, and the reduced weight of accompanying minors, which would explain the reduction in Spanish-born children of Spanish nationality among these external emigrants (see Fig. 8.2). Nevertheless, in terms of the impact on youth and on emigration abroad, the profiles are similar. It remains to be seen whether this pattern also applies to level of education. Is it true that all of these young migrants fit the generally assumed profile of high education level?

As with immigration, Galician emigration differs from that of Spain as a whole in terms of destination country selection, both for Spanish and foreign nationals (see Table 8.4). The receptor countries for the earlier waves of Galician emigration, where important Galician networks now exist, serve as destination countries for Spanish nationals. Among foreign nationals, who are basically initiating return migration or possibly re-emigration, we see countries of origin characteristic of earlier Galicia-bound migration, although in a different order, with Portugal and Brazil again topping the ranking. The destination country for foreign-bound Galician emigrants with Spanish citizenship differs with respect to their birthplace:

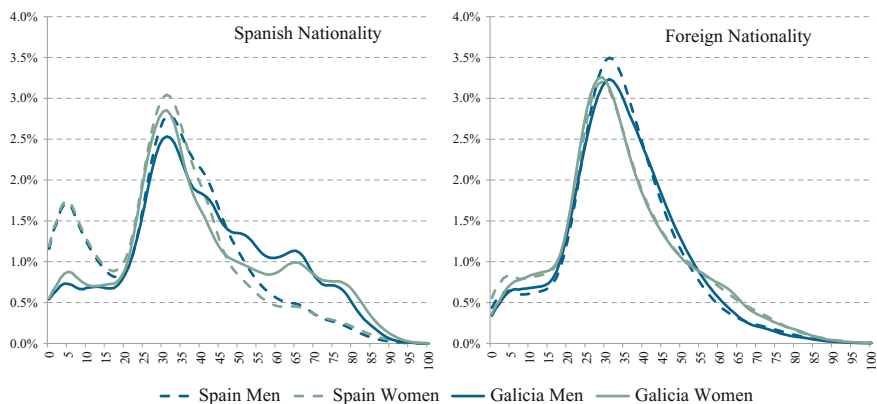


Fig. 8.2 Relative patterns of foreign emigration from Galicia and from Spain as a whole by sex and nationality, 2008–2014. *Source* Author’s compilation, based on residential variation statistics

56% of those born in Spain choose European and 28% choose Latin American countries, while Europe as a destination is reduced to 37% and Latin America increases to 54% among those born abroad.

We can indirectly estimate the importance of return migration by comparing the birthplace and destination country where these data are available, which for Galicia amounts to just over one out of every five individuals during the 2008–2015 time period. 83% of these emigrants returned to their country of birth. 77% of Spanish nationals returned to their country of birth, while this figure was 90% for foreign nationals.

8.5 The Galician Emigrant Population

The history of Galician migration is reflected in the relative percentage of Galicians in the total number of Spanish nationals living abroad. The Registry of Spanish Residents Abroad shows that in the beginning of 2015 there were just over 733 thousand Spanish-born Spaniards living outside of Spain, of whom 21.6%, or just over 158 thousand, were born in Galicia (see Table 8.5). The relative percent of Galicians increases with age, representing nearly one out of every three people over the age of 80—Galicia being one of the Spanish regions most strongly characterized by traditional large-scale emigration (see Fig. 8.3). A relatively low percentage of the children were born in Galicia, since the majority are children of the previous decade’s immigrants who are returning to their home countries, that is, the more recent and lesser immigration flows.

The median age for those foreign residents born in Galicia is 67.5 years, almost 14 less than that for those born elsewhere in Spain (53.6 years). Similarly, 8.9% of

Table 8.4 Principal destinations of emigration from Galicia and Spain as a whole by nationality, 2008–2014

	Spanish nationality	Foreign nationality	Spanish nationality	Foreign nationality	Spanish nationality	Foreign nationality	Spanish nationality	Foreign nationality
	Spain	Galicia	Spain	Galicia	Spain	Galicia	Spain	Galicia
	Country	%	Country	%	Country	%	Country	%
1	UK	11.5	Switzerland	17.5	Rumania	13.1	Portugal	28.9
2	France	9.7	Venezuela	10.6	Morocco	7.1	Brazil	13.6
3	Ecuador	8.3	UK	10.3	Ecuador	6.6	Colombia	5.0
4	USA	8.2	USA	8.4	UK	5.8	Rumania	4.7
5	Germany	8.0	Argentina	7.7	Bolivia	5.8	Argentina	4.5
6	Switzerland	4.5	Germany	6.4	Germany	5.5	Venezuela	4.0
7	Venezuela	4.1	France	5.3	Colombia	4.7	Morocco	3.9
8	Argentina	4.1	Brazil	4.6	France	3.6	Uruguay	3.7
9	Belgium	3.6	Portugal	2.8	Argentina	3.3	Peru	3.0
10	Colombia	2.9	Mexico	2.6	Brazil	3.3	France	2.5

Note Percentages are calculated excluding emigrants whose country of destination is unknown. This is the case for 82% of foreign nationals from Galicia and 87% of those from Spain as a whole

Source Author's compilation, based on residential variation statistics

Table 8.5 Spaniards born in Galicia and other autonomous communities who reside abroad, 2009–2015

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Galicia	0–19	1,229	1,336	1,340	1,427	1,539	1,749
	20–39	13,436	12,534	11,958	11,700	11,684	12,026
	40–59	43,640	40,727	38,337	36,438	34,806	33,365
	60–79	74,359	73,301	72,167	70,959	69,360	67,612
	80+	30,149	31,543	33,327	36,456	39,921	43,246
	Total	162,813	159,441	157,129	156,980	157,310	157,998
Spain	0–19	22,188	27,070	30,844	35,720	43,263	54,560
	20–39	97,409	94,340	93,502	96,040	100,733	109,084
	40–59	187,155	183,707	182,510	182,938	184,259	187,864
	60–79	234,941	232,450	230,016	226,855	222,895	219,569
	80+	92,057	97,249	104,250	112,842	122,512	131,657
	Total	633,750	634,816	641,122	654,395	673,662	702,734
%Galicia	0–19	5.5	4.9	4.3	4.0	3.6	3.2
	20–39	13.8	13.3	12.8	12.2	11.6	11.0
	40–59	23.3	22.2	21.0	19.9	18.9	17.8
	60–79	31.7	31.5	31.4	31.3	31.1	30.8
	80+	32.8	32.4	32.0	32.3	32.6	32.8
	Total	25.7	25.1	24.5	24.0	23.4	22.5

Source: Author's compilation, based on the Registry of Spanish Residents Abroad

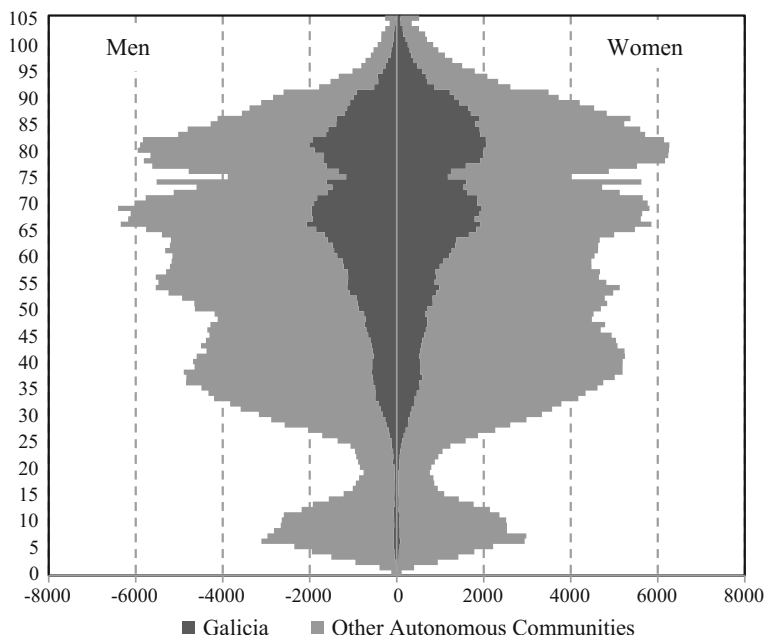


Fig. 8.3 Spaniards born in Galicia and other autonomous communities who reside abroad, 2015. *Source* Author's compilation, based on the Registry of Spanish Residents Abroad

foreign residents born in Galicia are less than 40 years old, compared to 29.8% of foreign residents born in other regions of Spain.

Finally, we will consider residents abroad who register to vote in Galicia, a group that includes twentieth- and twenty-first-century emigrants and involves Spanish nationals as well as their descendants. Of the nearly 2.2 million Spaniards registered abroad, about 494 thousand are registered in Galicia, of whom 31.5% were born in Spain, 64.8% in the country of residence, and the remaining 3.7% in other countries. The aging Spanish-born population is balanced out by the number of their descendants (see Fig. 8.4). These represent a young profile; more than half are less than 39 years old.

The structure of the Spanish population registered abroad who declare ties with Galicia is clearly diasporic: separated by time and massive in number, and most importantly, with a significant tendency among descendants to maintain ties to the homeland. This profile does not apply to Spain as a whole and even less so for certain Spanish regions. Among those foreign residents with ties to the Autonomous Community of Galicia, the percentage of those born in the same Autonomous Community is close to the Spanish average, about 30%, and consistent with the overall low percentage of people born in different Autonomous Communities. Also characteristic is a high percentage of those born in the country of residence, which at 65% is slightly below the percentage observed for people

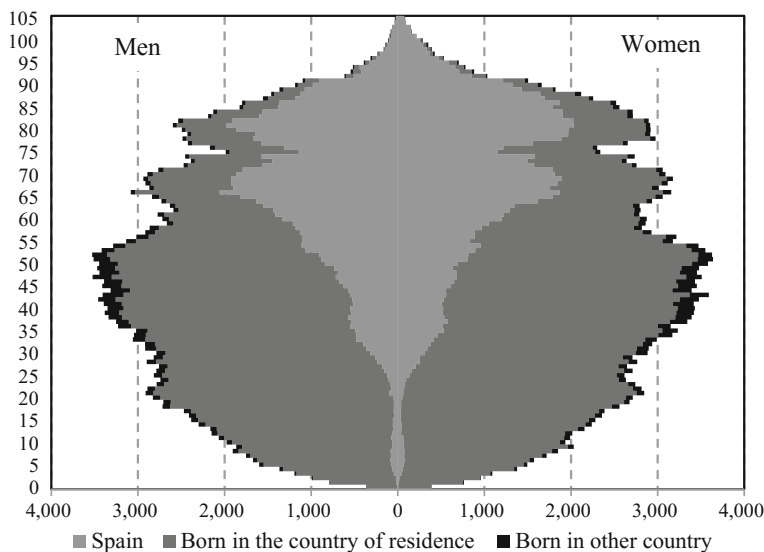


Fig. 8.4 Spaniards living abroad registered in Galicia by birthplace, 2014. *Source* Author's compilation, based on the Registry of Spanish Residents Abroad

with ties to the Autonomous Communities of Canarias and Cantabria and the Principality of Asturias. We should analyze this structure in terms of the potential it presents for future external immigration to Galicia and for an increase in future waves of emigration and their possible destination countries. We also need to take into account the effect of recent legislation; the Law of Historical Memory passed in 2007 (Izquierdo 2012; Izquierdo and Chao 2014; see also the chapter by Golías Pérez, this volume) will increase Spanish citizenship among descendants of those who emigrated from 1939 to 1955, which may have a significant impact on Galicia. In other words, we can expect in the near future to see an increase in the population of Spanish nationals living abroad with ties to Galicia. These populations will be associated with older emigration flows rather than more recent ones, and it would not be unreasonable to expect possible immigrations to Galicia from these New Spaniards.

Finally, we couldn't resist the temptation to examine variations in sex and age for the primary destination countries of this diasporic population (see Table 8.6 and Fig. 8.5). Although population aging is a common trend across countries, the structure of this process is not uniform. An analysis of the birthplace of these residents reveals what seem to be interesting emerging patterns. While most countries reflect the diaspora of the twentieth century, the USA and the UK represent exceptions, for different reasons. In the first case, we see a strong presence of residents born in a third country among Spaniards with ties to Galicia, possibly

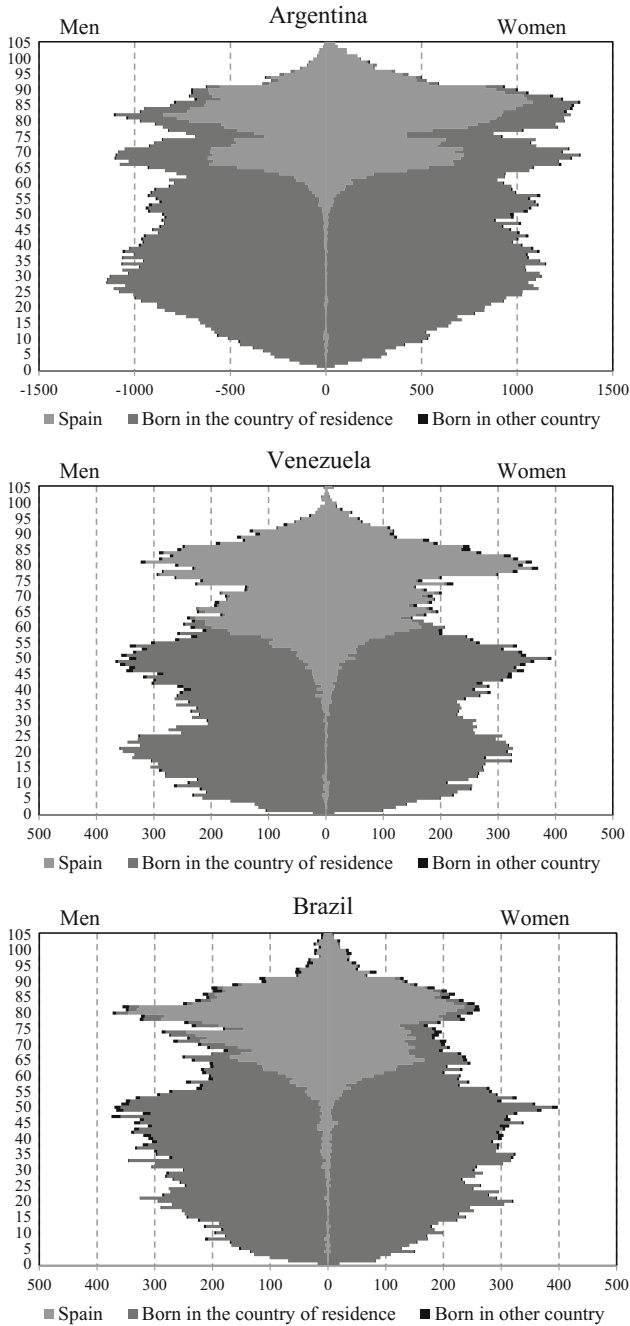


Fig. 8.5 Spaniards living abroad and registered in Galicia by birthplace. Main countries of residence in 2015. *Source* Author's compilation, based on Registry of Spanish Residents Abroad

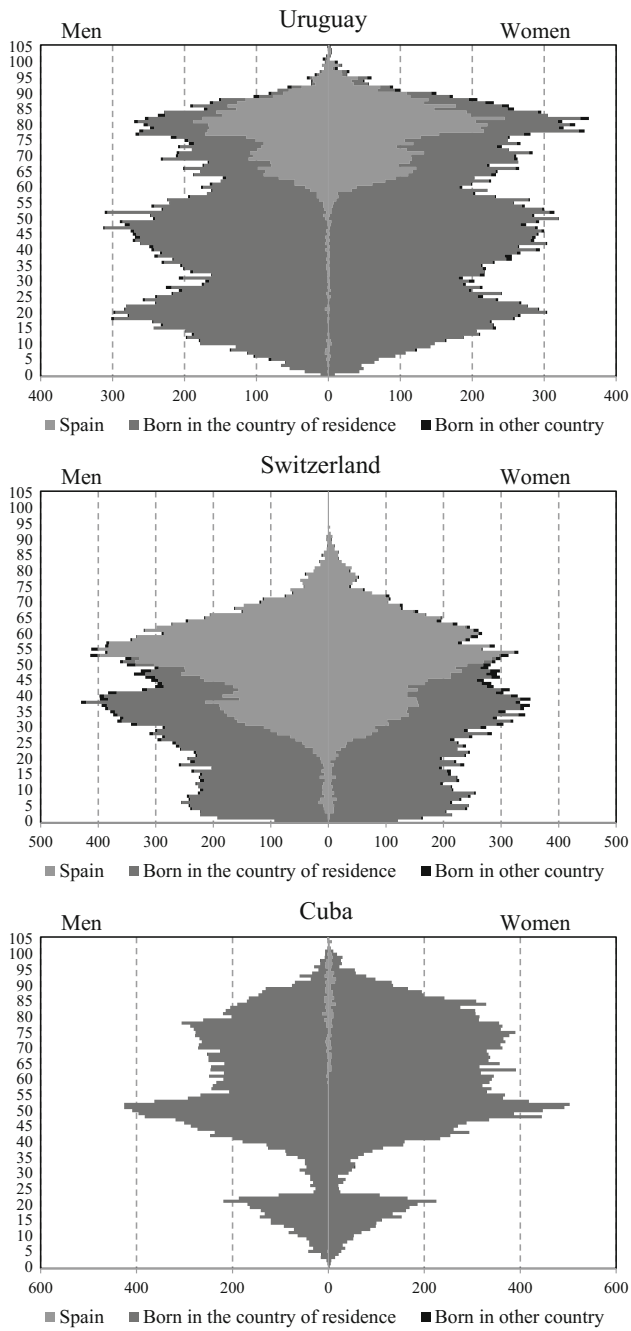


Fig. 8.5 (continued)

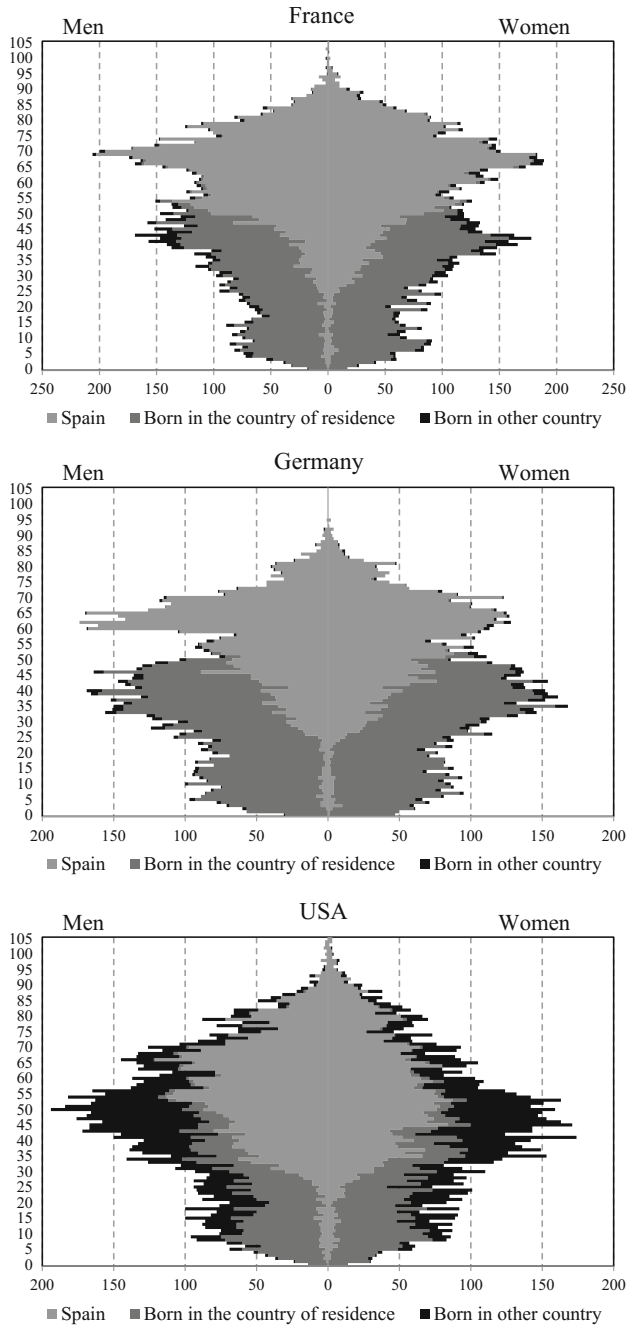


Fig. 8.5 (continued)

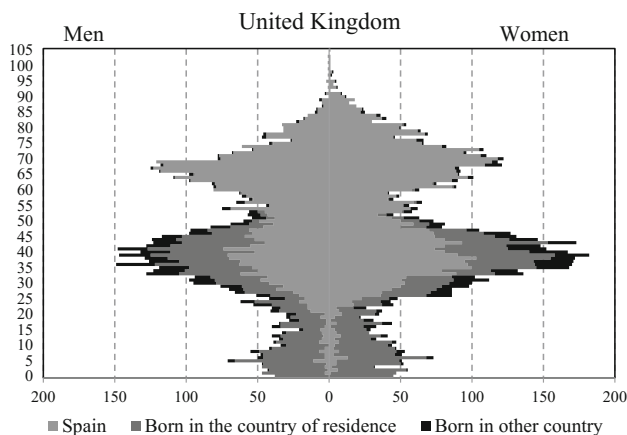


Fig. 8.5 (continued)

Table 8.6 Foreign residents registered in Galicia by the country of residence, 2015

20–49 years	65+ years	Total	20–49 years	65+ years	Total	20–49 years	65+ years	Total
Country	Absolute	%	Country	Absolute	%	Country	Absolute	%
Argentina	60,488	32.4	Argentina	61,438	43.2	Argentina	168,263	34.1
Switzerland	18,256	9.8	Cuba	14,793	10.4	Venezuela	46,882	9.5
Brazil	18,010	9.7	Brazil	13,088	9.2	Brazil	46,217	9.4
Venezuela	17,114	9.2	Uruguay	12,951	9.1	Uruguay	40,505	8.2
Uruguay	14,821	7.9	Venezuela	12,842	9.0	Switzerland	39,567	8.0
Cuba	8,965	4.8	France	5,535	3.9	Cuba	36,414	7.4
Germany	7,465	4.0	USA	3,641	2.6	France	18,649	3.8
USA	7,311	3.9	Switzerland	3,364	2.4	USA	17,678	3.6
France	6,812	3.7	UK	2,981	2.1	Germany	16,485	3.3
UK	6,202	3.3	Germany	2,684	1.9	UK	12,882	2.6
Other	21,153	11.3	Other	9,059	6.4	Other	50,428	10.2
Total	186,597	100.0	Total	142,376	100.0	Total	493,970	100.0

Source Author's compilation, based on the Registry of Spanish Residents Abroad

reflecting emigrants from (mostly Latin American) countries that previously had been receptors of Galician emigration. These flows also include those New Spaniards who were residing in Galicia, and who re-emigrated in more recent years. The UK, on the other hand, presents a clearly bimodal pyramid: a pattern representing Spanish-born protagonists of both the old and new waves of emigration.

8.6 Conclusion: The Diaspora Counts

What little data exist regarding emigration permits a dual interpretation: we can see the new Galician diaspora as an expulsion in the face of growing inequality exacerbated by imposed economic reforms and, at the same time, as proof of individual and family resilience in response to this situation. We cannot rule out the possibility that part of this youth emigration would have taken place even in the absence of an economic crisis. Nevertheless, without further information, the relative weight of other (and particularly the most advanced) age brackets, along with the higher intensity of Galician youth emigration compared with the rest of Spain, leads us to believe that voluntary migration has played a relatively minor role.

In the Galician case, the existence of a robust diasporic community beyond Spanish borders suggests a reading of emigration as resilience and suggests a relative advantage over other Spanish regions. The most disadvantaged would have been those who were not able to move despite being punished by the economic crisis, or those who were forced out, but who lacked transnational connections in the diasporic network. Galician youth would have had a broader range of geographic possibilities as well as more information at their disposal. This is particularly relevant if we consider that labor market demand among receptor countries was relatively low or, at least, was not the deciding factor in these migratory movements. With this in mind, we might expect some return migration once the initial illusion has worn off, not so much because living conditions in Spain will have improved dramatically, but because integration into the workforce of these receptor countries has not met the desired expectations. In such a context, remaining abroad should be considered a personal success.

What has the current economic crisis meant for Galicians abroad? As we have pointed out in our introduction, it has implied a renewal of the Galician expat population in terms of age as well as, in some cases, area of origin. It has also broadened the geographic range of the diaspora, in terms of receptor countries. Nevertheless, the impact of this new emigration, in absolute terms, has not been sufficient to substantially modify the demographic profile of Galician expatriates. It is especially worth noting certain trends in comparison with other Spanish regions: the singular phenomenon of Galician return immigration among the elderly and the fact that birth rather than emigration is the most significant demographic factor in the growth of the Galician expat community. Spanish and Galician authorities should pay attention to these realities. They reveal the diasporic nature of Galician emigration, in the sense of maintaining the homeland as a point of reference, a characteristic that explains the large-scale transmission of Spanish nationality to descendants of Galician emigrants. As such, the transnational structure of these communities will undoubtedly have a significant influence on twenty-first-century Galician society.

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Part II
Strangers Among us

Chapter 9

Migratory Trends and Their Relation to Specific Policy Regarding Migrations in Galicia

Belén Fernández-Suárez

Abstract Galicia is a territory where historical and contemporary migration processes intertwine. In this chapter, I first explore Galicia's position as a receiver of returnees, of those Galicians who had left for Latin America in the 1950s and for other European countries in the 1960s. I will also consider patterns of incoming migration by people who may or may not be related to these historic immigration ties, as well as the more recent trend in outgoing migration by Galicians as a result of the current economic crisis. This demographic analysis of population flows is accompanied by a study of the principal migration policies established by the autonomous Galician government. Each of the flows mentioned above can be specifically correlated with a particular policy. These are generally similar in form, but with differing target populations and relevant issues related to the time period involved. The time frame for this analysis includes the past 25 years (1990–2015).

9.1 Introduction: The Importance of Emigration in the Social Construction of Galician Identity

The social phenomenon of “the emigration” lies at the core of the identity constructed around Galicia (Nuñez Seixas 2002; Hooper 2006; Warf and Ferras 2015). It comprises a recurring theme in Galician politics, associated with concepts like roots, belonging, Galician-ness, and kinship; that is, conservative values. The statutes of the Galician Autonomous Community, which regulate the scope and responsibilities of self-governance, establish the rights accorded to the Galician diaspora and define the concept of emigrant in the following terms: “As Galicians, Spanish citizens living abroad whose last officially registered residence was in Galicia, and who can certify this with their corresponding Spanish consulate, enjoy the political rights defined by these statutes. Their descendants who are registered as

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Spaniards also enjoy these rights, as long as they so request in accordance with national law” (Ley Orgánica 1/1981).

The recuperation of Galician self-governance with the establishment of the autonomous government was accompanied by an increasing interest in reclaiming the region’s migratory history and in generating policy specific to this diaspora, including the Law Recognizing Galician-ness (Ley 4/1983), which was modified in 2013, and the creation in 1987 of the Council of Galician Communities, which was composed of foreign-based Galician emigrant organizations and awarded grants to participating entities (Núñez Seixas 2002). The Galician autonomous government pioneered the definition of rights for those living abroad, and it wasn’t until 2006 that similar policy was enacted at the national (Spanish) level. The creation of such policies has been justified on several grounds: the guarantee of political rights to Galician citizens that include both active and passive suffrage, demands made on their behalf by representative organizations, and the vision of emigration as a generator of well-being through the contribution of economic and social remittances.

In this chapter, I will analyze the main characteristics of and changes to migratory flows in Galician over the past 25 years, examine the most important policies designed to regulate these processes, and consider whether there is a good fit between migratory flows and their respective policies enacted on the regional level.

9.2 Shifting Galician Migratory Flows (1990–2015)

The Spanish autonomous community of Galicia has a population of 2.7 million, with a demographic characterized by a fertility rate far below the replacement level (in 2014 the average number of children per woman was 1.1) and an aging population (24% of the population in 2015 was 65 or older, while only 16% was under 20).

In the 1980 and 1990 s, Galician received a return migration as a result of the massive emigration of Spaniards to Latin–American (1940–1960) and European (1960–1974) countries. The notion of return migration applies to the definitive return of the emigrant to his or her country of origin (Bovenkerk 1974). Galician emigrants are more likely to return than those from other regions of Spain (Recaño 2004).

These people are usually at retirement age, and their journey has been described as the “final return.” In addition, “trans-generational return” refers to cases of second- or third-generation migrants, while “forced return” applies to those who are obliged to return earlier than expected for economic or family reasons (López de Lera 2010; Pino Juste and Verde Diego 2010).

These migratory movements have been tracked since 1985, when the first Immigration Law was enacted (Álvarez Silvar 1996). The measurement instruments are not precise enough to calculate these returns, and there is relatively little

research on this topic in the Galician context (Izquierdo Escribano and Álvarez Silvar 1997; Núñez Seixas 2000; Hernández Borge 2003; Izquierdo, Jimeno and Lacuesta 2015). Migration statistics are calculated based on changes in residence reflected by municipal and consular registrations (Hernández Borge 2003; López de Lera 2010; González-Ferrer 2013). Such changes of address are required, but are perceived as unnecessary. These data are relatively imprecise and can only serve to reflect overall trends, as they underestimate exit flows.

The migratory flows from the past 25 years can be divided into three phases: (a) 1985–2000 mainly characterized by return migration to Galicia; (b) 2001–2010 dominated by foreign nationals; and (c) 2011–2015 consisting mainly in outward migration by both foreign and Spanish nationals.

In the mid-1980s, the Galician migratory balance was reversed, with the number of immigrants exceeding the number of emigrants (Álvarez Silvar 1996; López de Lera 2005). The return migrants are Spanish citizens who were born in Galicia and had previously migrated to a foreign country. They can be characterized as “sojourners,” those who leave with the idea of coming back, and therefore maintain strong ties with home in order to facilitate this eventual return (Foner 2001). Also included in this definition are descendants of Galician migrants, those children or grandchildren born abroad who maintain Spanish citizenship (Lamela et al. 2005; Oso Casas et al. 2008; also see Golías Pérez, this volume). They have been called “false returnees” or “roots migration,” concepts which refer to migration to the place of family origin on the part of second-generation migrants (Wessendorf 2007). In the 1990s, this return migratory flow to Galicia averaged about six to seven million entries a year, about a third of these by persons who had been born abroad and were therefore second-generation returnees (López de Lera 2005). This phase was dominated by return migration of former Galician immigrants (to European and Latin–American countries) that lasted throughout the decade (1990–2000).

Between 2001 and 2010, there was an increase in the arrival of foreign immigrants to Galicia with and without ties to the destination countries of Galician emigration, as well as border immigration. Those immigrants who came with existing social and cultural ties with Galicia, but without family relations, came from countries that received earlier waves of Galician emigration, as is the case with Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. Immigrants without ties to Galicia came from countries such as Rumania, Morocco, or Columbia. To complete the scenario, Portuguese border immigrants drew upon their social, cultural, and familial contacts in the areas surrounding the border between the two countries (Lamela, López and Oso 2005; Oso Casas et al. 2008). Both entries by foreign immigrants and exits due to emigration continued to increase through this migratory cycle. Compared to the area of Madrid and the southern and eastern coastal regions of Spain, Galicia, with its sluggish economy, is a relatively unattractive destination, which means that it receives less immigration and at a later stage of the migratory process (Silvestre and Reher 2014). The effect of the 1980 economic crisis and its socioeconomic consequences was also slower in reaching Galicia, so that this migratory cycle was extended to 2010.

Migratory flows out of Spain at the end of 2008 reached the highest levels in Spanish history (Izquierdo et al. 2015). Data for emigrations between 2008 and 2014 demonstrate that seven out of ten migrants who left Spain were foreigners who went back to their country of origin, two out of ten were foreigners who re-immigrated to other foreign countries, and one out of ten was Spanish nationals (López de Lera 2016). This cycle of outward migration began to be perceived in Galicia in 2011 and became more pronounced in 2013 and 2014. During these years, the exit migration of foreigners and Spanish nationals resulted in a net loss of external migration beginning in 2013.

To measure and analyze these changes in migratory cycles, we draw upon the Galician net external migration (2002–2014) as a key indicator. During the 2002–2010 period, the migratory balance was also positive, reaching an average yearly level of 13 million entries. In Galicia, foreign immigrants exceeded Spanish immigrants returning from abroad for the first time in 2001 (González Pérez 2008). Finally, in the 2011–2014 time period, the balance was slightly positive, with an average of 235 entries. The balance was slightly negative in 2013 and 2014, producing a shift in the overall migratory balance (Fig. 9.1).

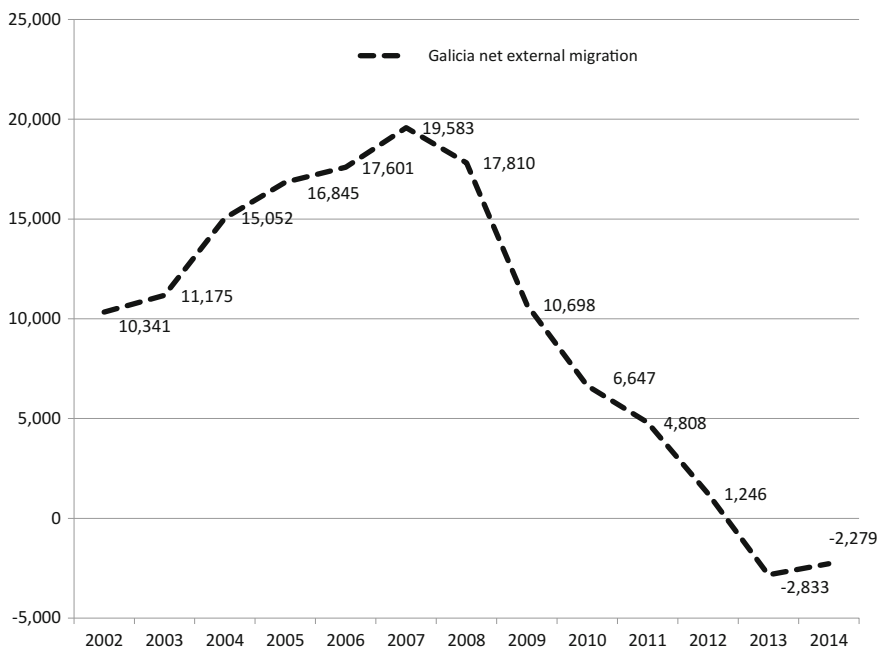


Fig. 9.1 Galician net external migration (2002–2014) (before 2002, migration to other countries was not included in external migration figures. After 2006, foreign emigration included withdrawals due to expiration, that is, the requirement to renew one’s registration in the municipal population registry) *Source* Author’s compilation, based on Residential Variation Statistics, Galician Institute of Statistics (IGE)

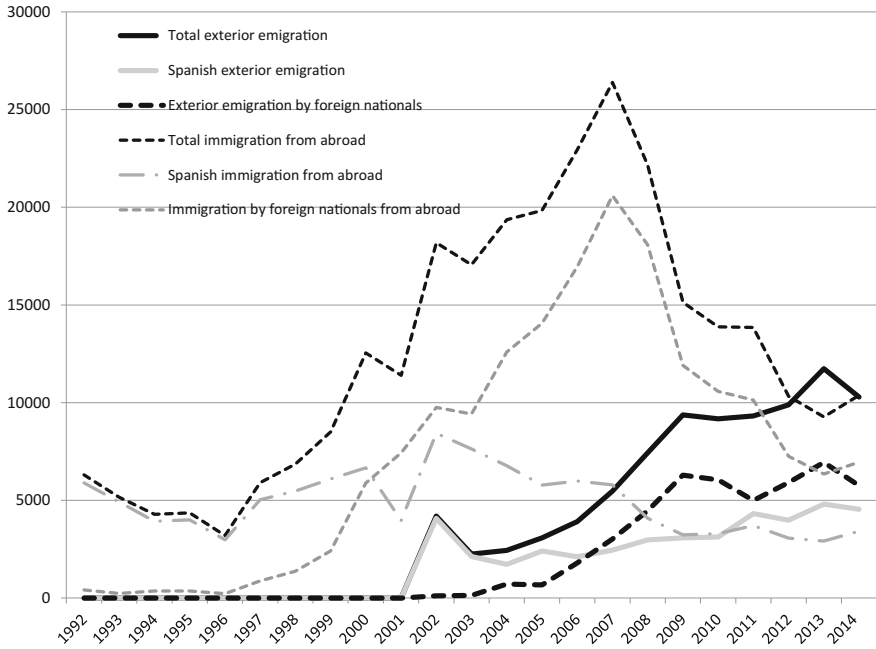


Fig. 9.2 Emigration and immigration by nationality in Galicia (1992–2014) *Source* Author’s compilation, based on Residential Variation Statistics, Galician Institute of Statistics (IGE)

Regarding migratory flows for the 1992–2014 period, the number of foreign citizens coming from foreign countries (foreign immigrants) first exceeded the number of Spanish citizens coming from foreign countries (returnees) in 2001, and this tendency continued until 2014. This paradigm shift has been referred to as the cancelation of the Galician migratory cycle (Bouzada Fernández et al. 2005). During these years, migration made a significant contribution to the overall population growth, accounting for 95% of total growth in 2002, while the natural increase was only 5% (Izquierdo and López de Lera 2005). By contrast, in 2014 migratory movements accounted for 40% of the population decline (Fig. 9.2).

Return migration during the early 1990s (1991–1993) originated from Europe (Germany, France, and Switzerland) and Latin America (Argentina, Venezuela, the USA, and Uruguay). The returns during this time period were related to issues specific to each context, such as economic decline or political instability (Venezuela and Argentina), tightening regulations concerning migration (Switzerland), as well as impending retirement in the case of employees nearing the end of their working lives (Germany and Switzerland) (Álvarez Silvar 1996). These “retired returnees” arrived mainly between 2000 and 2015 (Álvarez Silvar 1996; González Pérez 2008).

In the year 2015, 7.8% of the Galician population was born abroad, compared with 3.3% of people with foreign citizenship, according to Municipal Registry data.

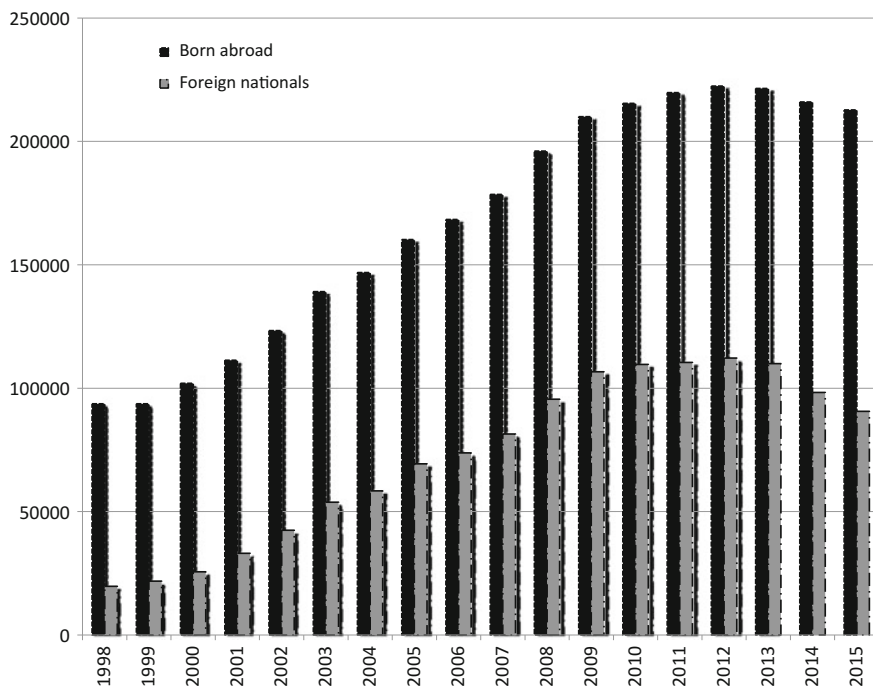


Fig. 9.3 Galician population born abroad and with foreign citizenship (1998–2015) *Source* Author's compilation, based on Municipal Register data, Galician Institute of Statistics (IGE)

That is, the population born outside of the Galician territory more than doubled the number of citizens of foreign countries. This difference continued from 1998 to 2015, with an increasing percentage gap, so that in 1998 the difference was 2.7 points and this number rose to 4.5 points in 2015. The increasing number of people born abroad is fueled to a large extent by the presence of naturalized citizens: between 2002 and 2014, 33 thousand people acquired Spanish citizenship, and these individuals subsequently disappeared from the statistic measuring foreign nationals.

The foreign population of Galicia continued to increase from almost 20 thousand people in 1998 to 112 thousand in 2012, according to Municipal Registry data. Between 2012 and 2015, there was an important decrease, leaving barely 90 thousand foreigners. Only three out of every 100 foreigners living in Spain were specifically attracted to Galicia. Nevertheless, 6 out of every 100 Spaniards live in this region (Fig. 9.3).

This decrease in foreign immigrants living in Galicia can be attributed to two main processes: (a) the acquisition of Spanish citizenship; and (b) the return of these immigrants to their countries of origin, or their re-migration to other locations, a trend which began to clearly manifest itself starting in 2013.

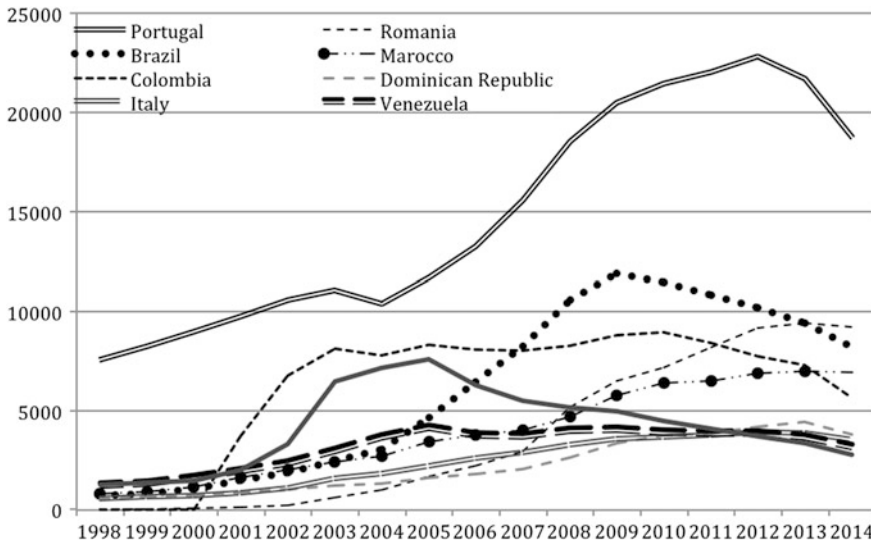


Fig. 9.4 Foreign population of Galicia by principal nationalities (1998–2015) *Source* Author’s compilation, based on Municipal Register data, Galician Institute of Statistics (IGE)

Foreign immigrants are usually broken down by principal nationalities. In 2015, border immigration from neighboring Portugal comprised 19% of the total, while Rumanians accounted for 10%, Brazilians 8%, Moroccans 7%, Colombians 5%, and Dominicans 4%. Italians also accounted for 4%, but it is important to keep in mind that a large number of these actually come from Argentina and have never actually lived in Italy. Finally, Venezuela and Argentina each contribute 3% to this total. To summarize, people seeking employment with no previous ties with Galicia (Rumanians, Moroccans, Colombians, and Dominicans), along with our Portuguese neighbors, made up the bulk of immigrants settled in Galicia in 2015 (Fig. 9.4).

Keeping in mind these characteristics and how they have evolved over time, I analyze in the following section the policies developed by the local Galician autonomous Government (*Xunta de Galicia*) to address these different migratory phenomena.

9.3 Have Public Policies Enacted in the Autonomous Community of Galicia Responded Adequately to the Various Migratory Flows?

The importance of policies regulating Galician emigration can be explained by the specific demographic context: In 2016 there were 503 thousand Galicians with Spanish citizenship residing outside the country, making up 22% of all Spaniards

living abroad. Policy revolves around two key concepts: Galician-ness and the Galician communities. Galician identity is defined in legal terms that include a sense of community belonging among all Galicians and their descendants, regardless of variables such as physical distance or time elapsed since the initial departure from the autonomous community.

As I have already mentioned, Galician self-governance stemming from the establishment of the autonomous community Statutes in 1981 included a range of policies created to support the diaspora (Argentina, Venezuela, Germany, the UK, France, etc.): legislation concerning the rights of these migrants (Law Recognizing Galician-ness (1983, modified in 2013); an organism to facilitate participation of Galician associations in foreign countries (Council of Galician Communities, 1987); an area of government to deal specifically with emigration (The Department of Relations with Galician communities, 1986¹ that reports directly to the President of the autonomous government, and which continues to function today); financing provided by the *Xunta* via the Galician centers for supporting association activity and developing cultural programs for the Galician community abroad; and programs designed to enable emigrants and their descendants to make brief visits to Galicia in order to maintain familial and sociocultural ties (Nuñez Seixas 2002; Fernández Souto 2008).

Policy regulating emigration has been a constant feature of the *Xunta* government, dating from the formation of the autonomous community to the present time. Updates have been added with respect to Galician return immigration and immigration by foreign nationals. For starters, the Law Recognizing Galician-ness of 2013 states in article 53 that the condition of return Galician migrant can be applied to “Galician people and those born in Galicia who, having resided outside of Spain, return to the Galician autonomous community.” This category also applies to “spouses or persons with analogous relationships and the children of Galician people born in Galicia with foreign residence, who having resided outside of Spain, take up residence in the Galician autonomous community.” To be considered a Galician return immigrant, a person must meet the following requirements: (a) be a Galician person born in Galicia or demonstrate a filial, spousal, or similar to spousal relationship; (b) possess Spanish citizenship and a link to a Galician municipality in the Register of Spanish Residents Abroad before returning²; and (c) be registered as a resident in a municipality within the Galician autonomous government.

The issue of immigration was first addressed in 2003 with the creation of a specific sub-area within the autonomous entity responsible for emigration, which was designed to be a “center of governance charged with executing autonomous

¹A precedent to this was the Department of Emigration within the Council of Employment, Social Security, and Immigration that was created in 1982.

²This means that these people would have been officially entered in the population registry of a Galician municipality; that is, they would have to be first-generation emigrants.

policy regarding national and international immigration in Galicia” (Jardiz and Lagares 2009; Fernández Suárez 2010).

One of the main programs developed in 2004 was the Galician Network for Attention to the Immigrant and the Return Migrant, which consisted of municipal offices that set out to provide advice and information for foreign immigrants as well as return migrants and those migrants remaining abroad (for example, regarding pension processing). With an autonomous investment of 800 thousand euros, the number of municipalities with these offices increased from 10 in 2004 to 100 in 2006. Most of the effort in terms of implementing integration policies and financial investment was concentrated in those municipalities with migrant groups who represented the most important linguistic and cultural differences. Less policy development was seen in those areas with higher concentration of Latin American immigrants, as these were perceived to be more easily “assimilable” (Fernández Suárez 2008). The same administrative structure developed for emigration was reused to address return migration and, at the same time, immigration (Fernández Suárez 2010). Around this time the Interdepartmental Committee for Immigration Support was also formed (Decreto 436/2003), an organism created to coordinate the work of the various autonomous departments regarding specific policies for foreign immigrants, and the Galician Observatory on Immigration and the Struggle against Racism and Xenophobia (Decreto 78/2004).

The year 2005 ushered in an important change in government, when a coalition between the socialists and Galician nationalists came into power. In the whole time since the autonomous government was created in Galicia in 1981, Galicia has been in the hands of socialist or regional-nationalist parties for a total of just 7 years (1987–1990 and 2005–2009). The autonomous government led by socialist president Emilio Pérez Touriño (2005–2009) coincided with the greatest influx of immigrants to the Galician territory. This period was characterized by a series of initiatives that served to consolidate immigration policy, such as the Galician Council on Immigration (Decreto 127/2006), whose aim was to formulate proposals for integration policies for immigrants settled in Galicia and create a nexus for participation among the administration, non-governmental organizations working with immigrants, and immigrant associations. During this time, the first Galician Plan for Citizenship, Social Cohesion, and Integration was approved (2008–2011), an instrument designed for planning policies aimed at immigrant people in Galicia. The most significant event of this phase was the creation at the national level of the Support Fund for the Reception and Integration of Immigrants and their Educational Support (FAAIIRE), by Ministry of Labor and Immigration, which was largely financed by the European Integration Fund, which added a total of 33 million euros to the autonomous community budget for programs serving immigrant populations at the municipal and school level from 2005 to 2011. This amounted to a strong surge in measures designed to support the incorporation of and provide services for the Galicia immigrant population.

From 2009 to 2015, the conservative Popular Party (PP) regained power in Galician. This period began with deep cuts to social spending and a turn toward austerity measures in Spanish economic policies, which established as a priority the

reduction in the national deficit. As a result, the vast majority of sectorial autonomic policies (gender equality, migrations, youth, etc.) were cut back to a bare minimum. In the area of immigration, this reduced investment is reflected in the fact that the Galician autonomous government budget for migrations fell from 20.7 million in 2009 down to 7.7 million in 2015. The area of the government dedicated to emigration continued to exist through this period, but the area specializing in immigration disappeared, and responsibility for these matters was shared with the Department for Social Policy. The priority shifted to the emigration and return migration, although some funding remained for programs run by NGO's and municipalities to meet immigrant needs. The most important developments during this time period were the new Law of Galician-ness (*Ley 7/2013*) and the approval of the General Emigration Plan (2014–2016), both of which were meant to guarantee the right of Galician communities abroad to share the social, cultural, and economic life of the Galician autonomous community, assist emigrants in situations of social exclusion, support Galician communities and their representation in the Council of Galician communities, and protect Galician historical, cultural, and material patrimony. A final goal was to strengthen the international image of the “economy, culture, and social values of Galician people abroad, by means of Galician communities and entities located outside of Galicia” (Secretaría Xeral de Emigración 2014).

9.4 The Strange Relation Between Migratory Flows and Politics: When “Galician-Ness” Is Added to the Electoral Equation

The institutionalization and strengthening of specific policies aimed at migration have been a significant symbol of identity for the Galician autonomous (*Xunta*) government, with a more intense effect on conservative administrations. This means that these programs are prioritized within the political platforms of conservative parties—which have been in power during the majority of the time period analyzed here. These involve a mixture of assistance measures for return migrants and those designed to cover basic necessities for migrants in their destination countries, as well as promotion of Galicia folk culture, support for Galician associations abroad, and maintenance of community ties on the part of emigrants and their descendants. The potential electorate among Galicians abroad rose to 443 thousand in 2016, according to data from the Electoral Census of Spaniards Resident Abroad (CERA). In the autonomous elections of 2001, it was the emigrant vote that cinched the election of the conservative PP government. The influence of the external vote has been undermined by the Spanish electoral reform passed in 2011, which requires voters living abroad to request the right to vote within an established time period, and which has resulted in some decrease in voter turnout among these sectors. Nevertheless, these events do not appear to have influenced policies aimed at the

Galician diaspora. These are perhaps more symbolically aimed at resident voters than at the electorate actually living abroad.

The policies directed at immigrants, considered to be a vulnerable group, also started to become evident during the golden years of Galician social spending, but always in relatively modest terms when compared with other nations that have a social support system and even with other Spanish Autonomous Communities. There has been, however, a strong tendency to imitate institutional structures, that is, to implement programs that were created in other regions of Spain without investigating the extent to which they are appropriate for local social realities, and to adopt programs financed at the European level. There has also been little reflection on limits imposed by capitalist rhythms that allow social spending to increase and decrease as a function of available funds and the economic cycle.

The current policies are characterized by a reaffirmation of emigration plans that were really designed for the earlier profile of Galician emigrants and their descendants, rather than the newer flows of younger, highly qualified emigrants who are leaving in search of better employment opportunities. These existing policies have not adapted to more recent developments, maybe because politicians see them as temporary work-related movements. As is the case with immigrants, perhaps these new emigrations are seen as short-term displacements. There does not seem to be anything in the making in terms of autonomous policy, although there have been considerable demands made on the part of opposition parties to develop programs to support the new return migrant, largely characterized by young educated people. Once again, policy lags far behind actual migratory movements.

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Chapter 10

The Changing Role of Women in Transnational Families Living in Senegal and Galicia

Iria Vázquez Silva

Abstract In this chapter, I present a transnational and gender analysis of the dynamics and strategies of Senegalese families with members living in Galicia. I examine the specific features of many Senegalese families, such as their extended and patrilocal structure, and take a longitudinal approach, which considers what occurs both before and after the migration takes place and explores the important role of the migrant son or daughter and the relevance of other family roles, such as women who care for children and older members of the family, including their in-laws. Data were collected in the form of extended semi-structured interviews with 18 men and 12 women living in Senegal and Galicia, representing 14 transnational families, as well as 21 key informants working in political, social, or academic contexts. There are still relatively few studies analyzing these kinds of processes in the context of Senegalese migration, perhaps because of a tendency to privilege monetary exchange (earnings and remittances) over non-remunerated domestic duties, which is usually a feminine domain. The characteristics and practices of these families are far from atypical and may be productively compared with transnational families in similar migration contexts.

10.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will provide an analysis of 14 transnational families living between Senegal and Galicia. The specific objective is to analyze the economic and care-taking reorganization of Senegalese families as they move between the country of origin and destination, with a particular emphasis on the transformation and

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adaptation of family and gender roles. Senegalese families tend to be patrilocal (married couples usually live with the man's family) and extended characteristics that render particularly interesting the analysis of their adaptation to the migratory process.

The concept of "transnational family" made a forceful entry onto the scene of migratory studies in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Bryceson and Vuorela (2002) define the term as a family whose members are divided among different states, but which maintains sufficient emotional, economic, and supportive unity to define itself as a family. In this sense, it is considered crucial to include in migration studies not only those who migrate, but those family members who remain in the country of origin (Baldassar et al. 2007, p. 14).

Despite the emergence of the transnational family as an important area of analysis, there are still very few studies of African transnational families from a perspective of gender, with a few interesting exceptions. Two pioneers in demonstrating specificities of African international migration are those of Findley (1999) and Adepoju and Mbugua (1999), both of which reveal the influence of the extended family on the migratory process. Findley (1999) argues that African migrations seem to prioritize alliance of the migrant with his or her own family lineage (mothers and brothers) over the marriage alliance. More recent publications have analyzed the dynamics of families from Senegal (Bledsoe and Sow 2013), Cabo Verde (Åkesson et al. 2012) and Ghana (Poeze and Mazzucato 2014). These studies demonstrate the need to take into account extended family structures and to reject reductionist analyses limited to immigrant parents and their children in countries of origin or destination, as these are not useful for understanding transnational West African family dynamics.

Research in other geographic contexts such as Mexican immigration to the USA (Pauli 2008; Oral 2006) has extended the analysis to relationships beyond the emigrant and spouse. This relationship is indeed central to the migratory process, but gender is a sociocultural construct involving ideals and practices that are negotiated in a context much broader than that of individual male–female relationships (Pauli 2008).

10.2 Migratory and Family Patterns in the New Senegalese Migration

Migration in Senegal, or rather the zone currently occupied by Senegal,¹ has involved four kinds of movements: internal (rural–urban), emigration to neighboring African countries, post-colonial movements to France, and the so-called new

¹Senegal achieved independence from France in 1960.

Senegalese migrations to the United State and various southern European countries (Portugal, Spain, and Italy). This most recent movement began at the end of the 1980s with the closing of the border with France and has involved mostly members of the Wolof ethnic group originating from the central-western region of the country and from major cities such as Dakar.

This is a male-dominated migration and does not tend to include processes of family reunification.² The MAFE (Migration between Africa and Europe) project provides data on Senegalese migrants in France, Italy, and Spain (n = 603) as well as non-immigrants and returnees residing in the Dakar region (n = 1,067). In their analysis of these data, González-Ferrer et al. (2012, p. 2) point out that approximately 16% of the sample of Senegalese children have a parent who emigrated to Europe for at least one year. These data indicate a high degree of separation between family members in Spain and Senegal.

There are two clearly distinguishable phases of Senegalese immigration to Spain: The first (1990) consisted of agricultural workers who migrated to the *Maresme* region of the Catalan Mediterranean coast, while the second (2000) expanded throughout the rest of the Iberian peninsula and has been associated mainly with street vending. In Galicia, as with the rest of Spain, the Senegalese migration remains a minority, although it constitutes the largest national group from sub-Saharan Africa. There are approximately 2,668 Senegalese immigrants in Galicia, representing 17.7% of the people originating from Africa (INE 2015). The Senegalese migrants living in Galicia tend to be male and quite young, with 32% ranging from 25 to 34 years of age, and only 14.3% are women (INE 2015).

10.3 Methodology

The study described here focused on 14 transnational families, with interviews of migrants residing in Galicia followed by interviews with their family members in Senegal, chiefly mothers, spouses, brothers, and, in some cases, aunts and cousins. The migrants themselves, by defining the family members most important to them, selected these relatives. In this way, I avoided preconceived, biological definitions of “family.”

In Galicia, I interviewed 30 immigrants (18 men and 12 women). Of these, I selected 14 whose sex, marital status, and migratory project represent the range of typologies characteristic of Senegalese migrants in Galicia. Since I set out to analyze the family transformations that resulted from the emigration, I was

²Camarero Rioja's (2010) analysis of National Immigrant Survey data shows the highest level of geographic separation with respect to spouses and children among sub-Saharan migrants (the majority of whom are Senegalese).

particularly interested in exploring results in terms of a migrant's marital status and migratory project, that is, whether the spouse, children, and or parents lived in the country of origin or destination. This would enable me to compare family changes for different kinds of transnational families.

Next I interviewed their family members in Senegal (a total of 19). Therefore, the data collection was divided into two phases: the first took place in Galicia (2008 and 2009) and the second consisted of two visits to Senegal (2009 and 2010) to conduct interviews in two urban areas (Dakar and Saint Louis) and one rural area in the country's interior (Louga). The 14 families included in the sample corresponded to a diverse family typology: married people with the entire family in Senegal (seven cases), married people who had engaged in some kind of family reunification (four cases), and single people (three cases).

In addition, in order to enrich the contextualization and analysis, I conducted several interviews with key informants in Galicia and in Senegal. These 21 individuals all shared a special relationship with Senegalese migration, representing a range of community, political, institutional, and academic agencies.

10.4 A Brief Characterization of Senegalese Families

Four elements summarize the characteristics of mainstream Senegalese/Wolof marriages and households. First, Senegalese (particularly women) marry early: The average marriage takes place shortly after the age of 22 for women, compared to 29 for men, with the age being significantly lower in rural areas, according to Senegal's National Agency for Statistics and Demographics (ANSD 2014). Second, these marriages are usually arranged within the extended family, usually between cousins (Dial 2008). The wife usually moves in with her husband's family following the wedding, making patrilocality the third characteristic of Senegalese families. Finally, about a quarter of the marriages in Senegal are polygamous (ANSD 2014).

The combination of early marriages, the coexistence of different generations under the same roof, and the extended practice of polygyny explain the large average size of eight members in the Senegalese household (ANSD 2014). Senegalese women have on average 5 children (World Bank n.d.). Consistent with the two core values of Wolof society (hierarchy and solidarity), households tend to be organized along age and gender lines. In Senegal, the head of the household is the older man; his mother, if present, also carries a great deal of authority, and the rest of the women in the household (wives, daughters, grandchildren, domestic workers) must show respect and care for her in every way possible (Potash 1993).

10.5 Family Roles in the Transnational Senegalese Migration in Galicia

A longitudinal perspective that took into consideration the family situation before and after the migratory process³ provided evidence that family roles were reinforced through emigration, in terms of remittances as well as caretaking relationships among family members.

10.5.1 *The Reinforcement of the Child's Role*

One of the primary conclusions of this study is that the role of the child in terms of economic contribution and caretaking responsibilities was clearly reinforced in the transnational behavior of these Senegalese families. As we already know, Senegalese homes include extended families: seven or eight people typically live in the family home, typically representing three generations. Given these circumstances, my results showed that men and women alike sent of remittances to their parents as the priority (particularly widowed mothers), their spouses and children (if there were any), and also brothers and sisters in many cases. These findings support the importance of the “intergenerational upward wealth flow” (Baykara-Krumme 2008, p. 287) in the economic behavior of Senegalese migrants. Furthermore, for the men, these contributions continued over time and were barely affected by processes such as family reunification involving the spouse or children. This result challenges the “remittance decay” hypothesis, or the idea that migrants reduce the money they send home once they initiate the process of nuclear family reunification (Stark 1978; Rinken 2006).

Nevertheless, my results call into question aspects of Findley’s (1999) research that emphasized the importance of the alliance with one’s own family lineage over the spousal alliance. My data suggest that while money sent home to the mother remains important, some male migrants are beginning to prioritize the spousal relationship once the marriage has achieved certain stability, especially in urban contexts. Even in these cases, migrants are careful to avoid a total economic rupture with their own families, especially with their mothers. The case of Abdou is illustrative of this tendency: He is building a house in Saint Louis (Senegal) where he will live with his wife and children when he returns, but he plans to rent one floor of the house in order to continue sending money to his mother (Fig. 10.1):

Since my father has this land, as my mother lives in my sisters’ flat, I have a license to build well, a good house, I have the possibility to make two floors, one to rent, for my family. Because I also have to send money for my family, for my mother! (E21: Abdou, 43 years old, married, from Saint Louis, residing in A Coruña since 2005)

³The interview rubric included retrospective questions concerning economic contribution and caretaking responsibilities before emigration.



Fig. 10.1 Mother who receives remittances from her two emigrant sons. Dakar, November 2010. Personal photo

The economic behavior of migrant women presents some special characteristics. Married women who are reunified with their spouses send a series of strategic contributions to their husband's family, primarily to their mother-in-law, a tendency not observed among married men. In the case of three women I interviewed, having lived with the mother-in-law prior to emigration seems to have a positive influence on these remittances. Evers (2010) has also identified this trend among Senegalese migrant women living in Tenerife (Spain). These remittances appear to constitute a compensation for having transgressed a gender norm: a transformation that must be managed with a great deal of care (Morokvasic 2007).

On the other hand, this behavior does not appear to apply to women who have emigrated independently, that is, those who have initiated their own migratory process. As single women migrants, they tend to come from very different households from those described above. While a nuclear family structure is relatively rare in Senegal, they are becoming more common in the capital city of Dakar. Even in these circumstances, the migratory process of these women involves the family, with the parents, particularly widowed mothers, playing a significant role in motivating the emigration. Aida's case exemplifies these characteristics. This 23-year-old woman immigrated to Galicia with a service industry contract

negotiated in the country of origin. Her family home is in Croisement Bethio, a working class neighborhood of Dakar, where she lived with her mother and older (25 years old) sister. Such a small family constitutes a significant departure from the extensive, patrilocal family structure described above. She explains that her migration was motivated in part by the opportunity to send money home to her mother and sister:

So I speak with my sister and my mother, live with me in Dakar, yes, my father died, and my mother has had all her life working for us, and I was an opportunity to go out a little and...I help her a little and mainly it was for that that I decided to come here, get work, and with the money that I make here I can help my family, because with 300 euros this will be enough to live a whole month...because they are two alone...so it was an opportunity, and so I said yes, I'm going! (E6: Aida, 23 years old, single, from Dakar, residing in Redondela and later in Vigo since 2008).

In sum, these data demonstrate the reinforcement of the family role of child, challenging the assumption expressed in some of the academic literature that sons remit with a view toward inheritance or investment, while it is the daughters who support parents with their remittances (Sanna and Massey 2005). My research suggests that sons, regardless of their marital status, also take on the role of supporters of their parents, particularly their mothers. However, there does seem to be a certain tension in some cases between the family and spouse alliance. This tension serves to demonstrate that family norms and values are not static, and this is indeed a topic of debate in modern Senegalese society. These situations also illustrate the sociocultural tensions within the society of the country of origin, where wives are gaining a certain degree of power in marital negotiations. During my data collection in Senegal, I observed a growing controversy, particularly among the younger generations and in urban areas, who question the more traditional family norms, including patrilocality and the excessive focus of economic resources on the mother-in-law. As early as 1993, Potash argued that the introduction of certain Western and Christian values was causing tensions in the African context with respect to the ideal of the devoted son who supports his mother. Such interpretations resonate with Mamadou's commentary on the social norm that wives should live with their husband's parents:

No woman wants to live with her mother-in-law, none. Before you couldn't say that, but they still didn't want to, but now they require...I tell you, the European freedom, the Western freedom that has come here, that came, that, they fought with that, I don't want, I don't want to live with your parents...I lost my parents very early, but I was lucky that way, to not have these kinds of problems living together. Now the girls, to get married to you, they ask you about your parents, they prefer not to live with your parents, they ask, they say, I live with my parents, my parents are very old - ah! This is a problem for the girl, because she is afraid. (E24: Mamadou, 45 years old, married, from Dakar, residing in Vigo since 2005).

10.5.2 The Circulation of Care in These Transnational Families

Aside from the economic, another aspect of these transnational families that is particularly interesting from a gender perspective is the way in which caretaking responsibilities are organized and distributed. This study adopts Baldassar and Merla's (2014) theoretical perspective of the circulation of care, in which care is understood as multidirectional: between migrants and non-migrants and between the country of origin and destination. In this sense, care flows from origin to destination and back to origin, although this multidirectionality is not exempt from asymmetrical power relations, as we will see in this section.

First I will examine how caretaking responsibility is managed when married men emigrate. As a general rule, once Senegalese women are married, they take on domestic and care-related tasks in their new patrilocal household. When the husband emigrates, the role of his wife (or wives) in caring for both the young and the elderly and maintaining family ties with the migrant becomes particularly crucial, especially if they live under the same roof, as is usually the case.

In this sense, once the husband has emigrated, the wife's role as caretaker of her in-laws, particularly the mother-in-law, becomes essential. She is the one who cares for and satisfies the needs of the migrant's parents, thus maintaining in good status the relationships that are important for the absent migrant. This work is consistent with what Micaela di Leonardo (1987) calls "kin work"—those actions that foster and maintain social relations with biological relatives and in-laws. The variety of caring tasks that emigrants' wives carry out with respect to their husbands' families include cleaning their rooms, preparing meals, administering medication, bathing, taking them to the doctor, keeping them company at home, talking with them, etc. As Binette summarizes:

"I did everything - to cure, pills, baths, doctors..." (Binette, 37 years old, married, from Dakar, residing in Vigo since 1994).

My data reveal that the situation of these wives in their Senegalese households can be quite complicated. The daughter-in-law's work in the husband's family's household is subject to intense scrutiny, especially during the early years of marriage when the new bride has to confront the absence of her spouse as well as her in-laws' suspicions concerning her motivations for marrying the "successful migrant." The wife's comings and goings are typically monitored by her husband's parents and by his brothers and sisters. The Senegalese social imaginary surrounding international migration tends to stigmatize the migrant's wife. The family's control is heightened by the myth of the young wife who seeks out a migrant husband in order to take financial advantage of him, so she is obligated to demonstrate to his family that she has not married out of purely economic interest.

Similar interpretations have been found in other masculinized migratory contexts. Oral (2006), for example, applies the same analytical framework to women's household work with their migrant husband's mother and sisters in Mexico:

The women invest their time, energy, and emotions in negotiating relations within the family networks of patrilocal communities: pleasing their mothers-in-law and their sisters-in-law, trying to be “a good wife” and to avoid a “bad report” - central aspects of their everyday lives as emigrants’ wives (Oral 2006, p. 420).

It’s important to keep in mind that, through his wife’s household care work, the family considers the emigrant to be fulfilling the role of “good son.” This does not, however, release him from his responsibility to return home every year or two to visit his parents, wife, and children. Nevertheless, the caring work of these migrant males during their home visits is reduced to “caring about,” which is limited to concern and spending time with them and does not include tasks such as cooking and bathing, which are better described as “caring for.”

What happens when these wives are reunified with their husbands in the destination country? In this case, we see the emergence of the figure of the “transnational daughter-in-law” (Vázquez Silva 2010), who must maintain relations with her in-laws in the country of origin by calling them and sending money or gifts to compensate for her absence. Two of my research participants also reported pressure from their in-laws to remain at home rather than emigrate. However, the extensive nature of these families means that there are other women living in the home who can mitigate the intensity of the transnational care expected of women emigrants.

On the other hand, the situation of single and married women emigrants differs substantially from that described by women who join their husbands in the destination country through family reunification. The fact that independent female immigrants come from atypical nuclear families rather than the traditional patrilocal norm creates a crucial distinction. In these cases, concern and caring for their own parents and siblings is the priority, relegating the in-laws to a secondary position. Aminata’s case is illustrative: a married woman who emigrated to Vigo (Galicia) while her husband stayed behind, she had never lived with her husband’s family in Dakar, but lived alone with her husband in Dakar before emigrating. Since her arrival, she has been sending remittances to her mother and brothers. After living for several years in Galicia, she temporarily took in her mother, so that she could receive medical treatment. Aminata’s case contrasts with other studies involving grandmothers emigrating to the destination country to care for grandchildren rather than to receive care from their own daughters (see, for example, Escrivá and Skinner’s 2008 study of Peruvian immigrants in Spain).

10.6 Conclusions

This study of transnational Senegalese families in Galicia presents two main conclusions. First, the analysis of family dynamics points to a strengthening of the children’s economic role and the particular importance of the mother–child dyad. Senegalese male migration does not seem to constitute a continuation of the male absentee role in the household, as other studies have indicated. In other words, the

Senegalese man, whether married or single, does not share the capacity of other male migrants to keep money for his own expenses, as Tacoli (1999) has found to be the case among Filipino men who emigrate to Italy. However, there does appear to be some tension for the Senegalese migrant, particularly for those of urban origins, between family and spousal alliances.

A range of interrelated social processes account for the reaffirmation of certain family positions among Senegalese men and women who emigrate, including social norms associated with family roles. For men and women alike, it is a matter of pride to be able to support their parents and siblings. For men, it is also an obligation to maintain their wives and children. As demonstrated in previous research (Tacoli 1999), knowledge of the obligations and norms associated with each family figure is crucial for understanding why migrants send money to certain family members and not to others.

Second, this study confirms that the nuclear family is an insufficient framework for understanding Senegalese transnational family dynamics. In fact, certain in-law relationships have proven fundamental to understanding how Senegalese men and women manage their transnational lives.

My reflection on the economic and caring triangle created by a male migrant, his wife in Senegal, and his mother reveals the limitations of a cooperative household model, or one that assumes that family members share a common goal (Vázquez Silva and Wolf 1990). My analysis of this triangle reveals the influence of the family structure and relationships in the circulation of care across national borders, with the emergence of the transnational daughter-in-law. The fact that she lives under the same roof with her mother-in-law may, in some cases, discourage the woman from emigrating. In this sense, we can see how family ideologies and normative gender roles relating to the care of the migrant male's mother affect migration selection, in terms of who stays at home.

On the other hand, there has been very little research analyzing the impact of post-marital residence (extensive or nuclear, patrilocal or no) on encouraging or discouraging the migration of both women and men (Mahler and Pessar 2006, p. 35). I have found no studies that specifically examine these kinds of relations in Senegalese migration. This would be an interesting line of research to develop, perhaps with a comparative analysis of ways in which post-marital residence patterns and the web of gender relations within them influence how transnational families operate.

To summarize, the perspective of home and family in the context of African migrations remains in the initial phases of development. It is urgent that we open up debate around the role that different family structures can play in the understanding of migratory processes.

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Chapter 11

“It’s a Better Life Here”: Romanian Roma Perceptions of Successful Integration

Belén Arranz

Abstract This analysis is based on ten years worth of social work-related interviews with Romanian Roma families in the city of Vigo. Despite extremely low levels of employment and financial stability, interviewees’ strong perception of (relative) well-being and positive integration seem to be strongly conditioned by extreme poverty and social exclusion in their city of origin. In this context, charity is interpreted in purely positive terms, with no implications of paternalism or condescension. Furthermore, members of the community do not express concern over tendencies toward loss of linguistic and cultural traditions, as successful integration is defined in terms of social access and social assimilation (interpreted largely as positive, or at least unproblematic). Social institutions such as schools, charities, and NGOs must take such realities into consideration in developing effective support for collectives such as this one, who feel little connection with nations of origin where they feel strongly marginalized.

11.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I analyze the situation of the Romanian Roma community in Vigo, Galicia’s mostly heavily populated city. I provide a sociodemographic description of the families settled in Vigo, contextualized by an analysis of their life conditions in the country of origin and migratory trajectory, with an overall emphasis on the relations they maintain with public services, particularly in the area of educational and health.

Data were collected during the past ten years of professional work with approximately 110 Romanian nuclear families residing in Vigo, the vast majority of whom belong to the Roma (gypsy) ethnic minority and originate specifically from the Romanian town of Mărașești. My work with this population involves anywhere from a single intake and evaluation interview to several dozen focusing on various

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areas of intervention: health, housing, employment, education, administrative regularization, economic benefits, relations with public services and social organizations, etc. From this sample, I have selected a single extended family group as the subject of case study, based on my familiarity with the family structure and migration history and the opportunity I had to interview most of the adults belonging to the group.

11.2 Family Group Composition

This extended family is comprised of a single couple, their seven children and the nuclear families formed by each. The elders arrived first, with a daughter and her family. They were attracted by stories told by fellow Romanians, and particularly by the support of a relative who work in the shipbuilding industry and helped process administrative paperwork for anyone who wanted to make the journey. Family members travelled together; in only one case, the last group to arrive, the male head of household arrived first and was later joined by his wife and their four children. The nuclear families tend to be large. While one household included a single child upon arrival, and has expanded to two, most of the other families arrived with from four to ten children, and the number of offspring continues to increase in the destination country.

At present, there are four families with four children each, two with six children each, and one family with eleven children. Some of these children are now themselves parents, with children also living in Vigo; two of the women were pregnant during the data collection period. The couples are formed from within the same ethnic group. Since they have decided to establish permanent residence in Vigo, they sometimes travel to the country of origin to marry and then return. Women usually have many children beginning at a young age, and there may be up to 20 years of difference between the oldest and youngest.

Unlike the Spanish Roma community, which is patrilineal and patrilocal (San Román Espinoza 2010), the newly formed couples establish their own homes rather than living with their parents. While the Roma in general are characterized by patrilineality, this is manifested in different ways depending on the specific group and can vary by lineage even within groups. In the specific case we examine here, the original pair of migrants lives with the eldest daughter, with whom they have shared a home since they arrived. Under specific circumstances, they occasionally move in for a time with another of the older daughters (but never with the sons). Only the youngest son of this couple has still not formed his own nuclear family.

11.3 The Context at Origin: Poverty and Exclusion in Mărășești (Romania)

Mărășești is a central-eastern Romanian town, situated in Vrancea County in the region of Moldavia. In addition to water supply problems, many homes have also become isolated from the central heating supply system during the past few decades. Even in the twenty-first century, a significant sector of the population of this city does not have running water in their homes.

According to data provided by the municipal government, Mărășești currently has a total population of 10,671, with 750 residents identified as ethnically Roma. However, this estimate may be much higher, up to 3,000. The local government itself admits that people tend to claim the dominant (non-Roma) Romanian ethnicity when responding to census questions, for fear of reprisals or discrimination, “most citizens preferred to declare the Romanian [non-Roma ethnicity] for fear of being discriminated against; this trend was also recorded in other parts of the country (Mărășești Town Council 2016).

Mărășești has a continental climate, with a rainy season during the months of May and June. Typical of this season are torrential rains that flood homes in the poorer districts. These kinds of “accidents” provide insight into the poor quality of these buildings. The Modruzeni neighborhood, where the most of the Roma live, is often featured in news reports about the suffering inflicted by these periodic inundations and the lack of municipal government initiative to improve housing conditions (Muscat 2007).

Health services in Mărășești are precarious, according to a report published by the Open Society (Vrinceanu 2007). Less than 10,000 of the estimated 12,000 people residing in the town at the time of this survey had a family doctor, and more than 9,000 of these rely on charity services to cover the cost of this basic medical care. The Roma are those most likely to lack a family doctor. In 1989, more than 70 Roma children contracted the HIV virus through what health official called “an epidemiological accident” involving a nurse who apparently vaccinated children with used syringes. As a result of this negligence, the 42 adult survivors continue to require medical treatment and now suffer a double discrimination as AIDS-affected Roma (Center for Independent Journalism 2006). I worked with one of the survivors, to facilitate her access to medical care in Vîgii. We found it initially difficult to believe the story told by the young woman and her family, especially since it is difficult to find documentation of the event. It was also painful for family members to talk about it.

The local press often portrays the Modruzeni neighborhood as an antiquated zone, with inadequate access to education, health, employment, and public services, despite some efforts over the years to provide better living conditions for the more than 4,000 residents. According to the regional Vrancea newspaper (Besleaga 2007), most of the Roma families live in a housing development where a slaughterhouse used to be. In August 2011, the municipal government admitted that these

developments lacked electricity and running water, despite the existence of a renovation plan for this area of the city.

According to the Romanian Institute of Statistics, The Roma population had an activity rate of 25% in 2011. There are very few retired people, and more than half are described as “other inactive persons.” In the 1970s and 1980s, and even for a short time after the 1989 Romanian Revolution that ended a 42-year Communist regime, Mărășești was an industrial area that produced food and chemical products that are now imported from the USA and Canada. These factories employed some 1,500 workers, and an additional 200 worked at a local glass factory. The rapid and disorganized transition to capitalism produced intense economic changes involving all of the country’s businesses. In the beginning of 2000, Mărășești’s main factories were sold to local investors, who closed them and fired workers without providing any alternative source of employment. Employees throughout Romania suffered similar situations, but the repercussions were more drastic for disadvantaged social groups.

According to Eurostat (2016), Rumania, along with Bulgaria, has the lowest resource productivity level of the 28 European Union member states, at a sixth of the EU average according to data from 2014. This means that Romania extracts large quantities of primary materials, but makes insufficient use of them. Consequently, it is one of the richest EU countries in terms of resources (energy, minerals, and agriculture), but is second-to-last in terms of gross domestic product (GDP).

The UE Social Protection Committee (SPC) calculates the severe material deprivation rate in terms of the proportion of people living in households that cannot afford at least four of the established nine items. One of these refers to the inability to afford a meal with meat, chicken, fish or vegetarian equivalent every second day. In 2013, this poverty indicator described almost a quarter of the Romanian population. Romania was also the EU country with the highest rate of overcrowding in 2014, affecting 52.3% of the population (Eurostat n.d.). In total, 22.4% of Romanians suffer severe housing deprivation, compared with the EU average of 3.9%. Aside from overcrowding, these households suffer other hardships such as leaking roofs, no bath/shower or indoor toilet, or a dwelling considered too dark (Table 11.1).

With respect to the other six indicators of severe material deprivation, such as inability to afford one week’s holiday away from home, a washing machine, or a car, my ten years of experience working with this population have convinced me that these are also beyond their reach. Keeping their homes sufficiently warm in the winter would surely mean electricity or gas bills too high to pay. We can easily conclude that this community meets the established criteria of inability to afford at least 4 of the key indicators established by the SPC.

According to a report published by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA 2016) in 2011, only half of Romanian Roma children attend preschool or daycare, and just 15% of young Roma adults surveyed finished secondary or trade school in 2011. Not surprisingly, illiteracy rates are particularly high for this ethnic group, as demonstrated by the following table (Table 11.2):

Table 11.1 Severe material deprivation in comparison, 2009–2013

	2009 (%)	2010 (%)	2011 (%)	2012 (%)	2013 (%)
Spain	4.5	4.9	4.5	5.8	6.2
Galicia	3.4	4.4	2.5	4.1	4.6
Romania	34.2	31.0	29.4	29.9	28.7

Source Authors’ compilation, based on Eurostat data

Table 11.2 Illiteracy rates for Romanian ethnic groups, 2011

Illiteracy	Total (%)	Men (%)	Women (%)
Romanian	1.0	0.6	1.4
Hungarian	0.8	0.7	0.9
Gypsy (Roma)	14.1	11.3	17.0
Ukrainian	2.0	1.1	3.0
German	0.4	0.4	0.5
Turkish	11.1	8.0	14.8
Lipovan Russian	2.2	1.1	3.2

Source Authors’ compilation, based on Romanian census data (INSSE) data

These data are based on interviews with 1,000 individuals who were at least 10 years old, analyzed by gender and ethnic origin. They demonstrate an alarming disparity with respect to Roma and Turkish people with respect to other groups. Such low levels of school attendance and achievement place them at a relative social disadvantage. The adults who migrated to Vigo generally reported completing only four years of schooling, the minimum required for employment under the old regime.

11.4 Those Who Emigrate

In this chapter, I have tried to provide a rough sketch of a group of people who decide to leave behind their old lives—home, customs, family—to travel nearly 4,000 km in search of opportunity, or at least the possibility of a better life. “It’s a better life here” is what we always hear when we ask families about their living conditions in comparison with they had experienced in their country of origin. We can assume that are not the poorest of the poor, since the journey alone requires some investment, but they do seem to be desperate people who believe they cannot wait any longer. They take what little money they have, or they borrow it, and set out on a one-way trip to a new life.

The extended family case that I analyze here already had family contacts in the destination country. The grandchildren of the “pioneers” have now begun to grow up and form families of their own. Conditions are different now: the first generation

arrived when legal and administrative conditions were more difficult, but before the onset of the current economic crisis, so that they had relatively little trouble finding work.

11.4.1 Causes of the Initial Exodus

When Mărășești was at its peak of industrial development, these migrants had been employed in the factories. When these closed down, they were not able to find alternative employment opportunities. Given their relatively low education levels, they had very little competitive edge for the scarce opportunities that were available. This left them no alternative but to become, for the most part, chronic recipients of social services in their country of origin.

In the first wave of resettlement to Vigo, the first couple who arrived were already in their fifties. They had relatively few working years ahead of them, and they had very little education. They supported themselves through begging and, once their application was approved, the Galician social insertion benefit (RISGA). The RISGA provides a minimum monthly benefit of 399.38 € to anyone who can demonstrate a lack of alternative income or resources and meet a series of administrative requirements, including legal residence in Spain.¹ Their expectations can be summarized as, “What kind of work can we do?” They had heard from their fellow Romanians that life was better in Spain, that there were more opportunities. For them, only poverty and discrimination waited for them at home. So the grandparents came to Spain with one of their daughters, and the remaining six children arrived with their children at the rate of approximately one family per year: 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, and 2013.

11.4.2 Why Spain

The people interviewed usually responded to this question by explaining that here they expected that “we would be treated better here than in other countries.” This was based on impressions transmitted by family members and friends who had arrived before them. Spain has not enacted massive expulsion of Roma people or census surveys that might deprive people of certain rights, so we might argue that policies have not been as openly xenophobic or clearly illegal as those of some EU countries, according to a report published by the European Roma Information Office (ERIO 2013). Family members who managed to stay on in Spain without difficulties served to inspire and attract those remaining in the home country. If we

¹There are exceptions to these requirements, for example, for victims of domestic violence and new immigrants during the first year.

add factors such as climate, language, the economic situation at the time of migration, etc., we can see how Spain might appear almost like paradise for those considering migration. More specifically, immigrants to Vigo found a mild climate free from significant seismic activity. As a romance language, Spanish is relatively easy for Romanian speakers to learn, and there is some degree of linguistic pluralism and tolerance. In a non-segregated city such as Vigo, it seems possible to maintain good relationships with other people in the neighborhood.

11.5 Results of the Migratory Process

11.5.1 Occupations of Those Who Found Employment

While members of this extended family were used to denying their Roma identity, they had no problem identifying themselves as *lingurari*, which specifically refers to their traditional occupation as artisans who produce wooden utensils such as cooking spoons and brooms (Achim 2004). Such professions are an important element in familial lineage structures among Romanian Roma. They include metalworkers (*calderari*), woodworkers (*lingurari*), and bear-tamers (*ursari*), and some families even adopt these terms as their family names. Nevertheless, these traditional professions are not viable in the destination country, since raw materials and tools are not available. In addition, selling these products would require registering as self-employed persons, which would mean immediate loss of the family’s social insertion benefit.

The labor market in Vigo, as in the majority of Spanish cities, has suffered a significant decline as a result of the current economic crisis. Immigrants are usually employed in specific sectors: the loading docks, construction (which has been badly affected by the crisis), hotel and restaurant service, shipbuilding (also suffering a recent decline), the automobile industry, street vending, small business, and domestic service (more common among women). Opportunities for work have changed considerably in the past few years, so that Spain is not quite the land of opportunity that it once was.

Most members of this extended family can be described as functionally illiterate and lacking in basic certificates required for most jobs. Except for those few who attend Spanish classes, their command of the language remains quite basic. None of them has ever applied for professional training, and Vigo employers do not recognize their previous work experience in Mărășești. Many also have some farming experience, but without any kind of certifying documentation. They are left with few options other than assimilating to the profile of Vigo’s autochthonous Roma community, and trying to compete with them in the business of scrap metal collection. Therefore, most family incomes rely on this profession and, in some cases, the monthly RISGA social benefit.

Most of the members of this community arrived after the onset of the economic crisis and were informed about the difficulties of the Spanish labor market via their social networks. They explicitly acknowledge that they came with their eyes open, “We know it would be very difficult to find work.” Nevertheless, they left everything behind and set out for Vigo.

11.5.2 Schooling of Minors

In legislation dating from 2000, Spain has recognized the right of all children to education (Ley Orgánica 4/2000). Therefore, the children of this migrant community are always registered in school, even if they lack some of the required documentation. The parents see school registration as a kind of normalizing gesture for them and for their children, as it fosters both social and educational “inclusion.” Therefore, despite the fact that this community has little educational background, all school-aged children attend school regularly. In fact, at the moment, several adolescents are in secondary schools and one of them has begun a post-obligatory professional educational program.

The schools they attend, in general, have shown interest in including these children in the classrooms. In some cases, it has been necessary to adapt requirements and materials to their needs, while in others children have managed to keep up without individual attention, which has required a great deal of effort in their part. These children labor under the double disadvantage since their linguistic and cultural context differs from that of the school, and they come from family environments with scarce academic resources. The schools that have been most successful in dealing with these issues have focused on identifying and developing the abilities of these children and have attempted to bridge cultural differences without trying to undermine them.

11.5.3 Health Issues

The Spanish government decided to revoke “irregular” immigrants’ access to medical care in 2012 (Real Decreto 16/2012). Galicia was one of the several Spanish Autonomous Communities that developed compensatory programs to attend to the needs of these people, establishing the Galician program for social protection of public health (Consellería de Sanidade 2012). In order to qualify, applicants must declare that they have no income and have been registered in a Galician municipality for at least 6 months and present identity documentation, a process carried out by a social worker in their corresponding health center.

Sometimes it was difficult for people from this Romanian Roma community to comply with these requirements, because their passport had expired. In any case, these temporary health cards are only valid for up to three months. Children and

pregnant women have no problems, but the adults face constant difficulties regarding access to basic medical care. It’s important to point out here that medical benefits are one of the primary sources of attraction to Spain, as members of this extended family have made it clear that they value what they perceive as free, high-quality health care that can be accessed without discrimination.

11.5.4 Religion

Family members belong to the Pentecostal Church of Romania, and one of the children of the first-generation couple is a pastor. After several years, they managed to obtain a place to celebrate religious services. They had initially tried to maintain contacts with local Pentecostal groups, but they never managed to sustain any real collaboration and always maintained the desire to establish their own church. At present, the entire extended family gathers for services, along with some people from Latin America and the occasional Spaniard with whom they have established some friendship and who wishes to attend “their” church.

Members of this group share a fate-based understanding of life. This is manifested in frequent comments and interjections, such as “As God commands,” “God willing,” “If God so wishes it to be.” These everyday expressions hold for them a literal meaning. For example, when asked about their plans for addressing social or economic realities, responses tend to reveal a belief in divine intervention that releases them from a certain degree of responsibility for their own lives, “We have to pray that God sends us people like you, and that you help us.”

11.5.5 Desire to Return (or not): Social Rootedness and Expectations for Spain

I have often asked members of this community about their intention to return to their country of origin. The response has been unanimous, “Where would we go? In Romania we have nothing.” There is almost nobody left behind, with the exception of some of the elderly, fewer and fewer as the years go by. No one has anything to go back to, neither house nor property. They share a strong sense of disconnection from their origins. They don’t seem to have any problem with occasional visits to take care of paperwork, but there is nothing that they miss enough to return.

“Live, live a peaceful life” In the beginning, the first to arrive were attracted by the possibility to find work and support their families. They have not lost this desire, but are aware of the existing limitations; they’re not really expecting to find jobs, at least not in the short run. Nevertheless, they claim that life is better here. People are “caring, friendly, and they don’t give us dirty looks.” While we may read about racist attitudes and comments that are made with regard to these groups, this

particular community in this particular city seems to be happy. Their children go to school, and “they are not made to sit in the back rows.” Not only that, but they seem pleased that their children are socially accepted and play football on the neighborhood teams. Their neighbors, they say, “like us” and “give us food and clothing.” Social Services, while certainly slow-moving at times, offer them a “livelihood” that they find “acceptable.”

These kinds of obviously unequal community relations, in which they receive favors in return for gratitude and a feeling of moral accomplishment, imply a paternalism that leads to dependency rather than social inclusion. Nevertheless, for this community, charity is not interpreted as humiliating, but as a form of acceptance into the community. What an outside observer might interpret as a double discrimination on the basis of nationality and ethnicity, the participants themselves perceive as positive experiences.

11.6 Conclusions

Migratory processes for Romanian Roma families settled in Vigo have been strongly influenced by their perceptions of the difference in living conditions between country of origin and destination. They believe that their living conditions in Romania have stagnated or worsened since the revolution that toppled the Ceaușescu dictatorship (1967–1989), a belief supported by Romanian national statistics. Their experience reflects a broader tendency, especially among older people and marginalized social groups, to develop a certain nostalgia for what they remember as better times, in terms of housing costs, lower rentals, free medical care, better employment opportunities and salaries high enough to support a family, and even vacations—in general, living conditions that we would consider to be reasonable, although at the cost of a certain lack of freedom.

This perceived worsening of social conditions inspired the first generation of pioneers to set out in search of a better life and, returning later with stories of success, support those who wanted to follow their lead. Social networks, particularly the extended family networks typical of Roma social organization, played a key role in the migratory experience. Migrating together with the rest of the family, even though this took place over time, not only facilitated adaptation in the destination country, but also impeded possibilities for return. The family studied here has no property or significant relations remaining in Romania: This may be extreme case, but still representative of the overall tendencies among the broader community.

At present, the adult members of the group consider themselves to be Romanians residing permanently in of the city of Vigo. They maintain a Romanian cultural identity, along with a Roma familial identity. However, they have adopted some practices of the host society. The younger generations tend to lose the family language and cultural traditions, except for those considered particularly important by the family. For example, during interviews, adults speak to each other in

Romanian, while the children speak to each other in Spanish, even when we ask them to translate the conversation for their parents. The parents justify the fact that their children refuse to translate for them by commenting that their children speak Spanish very well.

These families see education as a means of social normalization for their children. The school helps to complete the process of cultural change (acculturation as the exchange of cultural traits among groups in continuous direct contact, and enculturation as an individual’s adoption of the norms and values of the host society, see Kottak 2003). Schooling is seen not as a vehicle for professional training or academic achievement, but more in terms of integration in the host society. The term “integration” here has a double meaning: social normalization in the strictly statistical sense, and assimilation through adopting the patterns and norms of the dominant culture. The families pursue both of these objectives. This social strategy is strongly influenced by the intense perception of discrimination, segregation, and exclusion in the country of origin. Compared with these memories, social relations in the destination country are characterized by equal treatment, access to opportunities, and social inclusion.

Given this conceptual framework, their exclusion from the labor market is not interpreted as social exclusion. This is an important key to understanding the scope and stability of this group’s migration despite the current economic crisis and the disadvantages they continue to suffer in the destination country. For this community, spatial segregation is the underlying factor contributing to other forms of discrimination, so that sharing common space is seen as a path to social cohesion. In addition, the loss of their jobs and chronic unemployment in the country of origin places the lack of employment opportunities in the destination country in a relative light, especially taking into account their positive evaluations of social services and community solidarity in Vigo.

The most important goal is to avoid being forced to return to their country of origin. For them, it is not the specter of xenophobia that haunts Europe, but that of expulsion. It might be worthwhile to compare these experiences with similar ones in the French context, where social rejection levels are higher (Naydenova 2014). Given these understandings and priorities, the migratory strategy of this group focuses on processes of documentation, identification, and legal residence, as these are expected to assure continuity and stability. These procedures do not just provide access to social services, but they serve as the basis for a spatial mobility strategy that has become for this community a strategy for upward social mobility.

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Chapter 12

The Muslim Minority in Galicia: Trajectory and Demands

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Abstract This chapter seeks to provide some insights into two main topics: the history of the Muslim community in Galicia and their current demands with respect to social institutions. Their presence in Galicia is very recent. Unlike other areas of the Iberian Peninsula, the Muslim religion has no historic roots in the Galician territory. As far as we know, the first Muslims arrived in Galicia in the seventies, and their presence grew over the course of the following few decades. This process is related to and can be better understood in the context of the economic bonanza in Spain, while inspired the arrival of immigrants from African and Central and South American countries, among others. The demands presented by the Muslim community in Galicia focus on different areas, mainly related to the presence of their religion in schools, the provision of appropriate cemeteries, the inauguration of new spaces of worship/mosques, better treatment from the security forces and, in general, more public funding for these and other pursuits.

12.1 Islam in Galicia

In contrast with the majority of the other Autonomous Communities of Spain, Galicia has not had a long historical relationship with Islam. In these other Spanish regions, Muslim peoples have left strong and clearly visible legacy in the form of architecture and archeological artifacts. The religion arrived to most of the Iberian Peninsula throughout a long process that began in the year 711 and lasted until the conquest of Granada, the last remaining Islamic kingdom, by the “Catholic Monarchs” (Queen Isabella I of Castile and King Ferdinand II of Aragon) in 1492. The Muslim presence in Granada remains evident through buildings like the Alhambra Palace and neighborhoods like the Albayzín (or Albaicín, in Spanish), and similar traces remain throughout the southern peninsula in cities such as Córdoba and Seville. Islamic peoples also founded more northern cities like Madrid

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and Guadalajara, and contributed to the importance of others such as Lisbon and Zaragoza. In contrast, the historical presence of Islam in the Galician region is limited to recent immigration trends.

For this reason, we have only recently begun to investigate the situation of this religion in Galicia. One of these recent studies was conducted in 2014 by the research group ESOMI, which specializes in the Sociology of International Migrations and is based at the University of A Coruña. The study was funded by the Spanish Justice Ministry's *Fundación Pluralismo y Convivencia* (Pluralism and Social Cohesion Foundation) as part of an overall effort to identify and understand the situation, scope, and petitions of minority religions in Spain, throughout the different Autonomous Communities. For the Galician study we interviewed all the religious communities that we were able to identify and that were willing to participate. I will focus here on the data specific to the Muslim case.

The earliest reliable historical documentation of the presence of Islam in Galicia relates to Franco's "Moorish troops," who left their mark on the city of A Coruña in the form of a cemetery which served as final resting place for these soldiers until 1956, when their remains were relocated to the San Amaro cemetery in the same city. During the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) about 80,000 Moroccan soldiers enlisted in the army of Francisco Franco, who won the war and imposed a fascist dictatorship until his death in 1975. These mercenaries fought with the fascist forces in exchange for economic compensation, quite probably driven by conditions of poverty (Madariaga 2009, 2015). This cemetery is preserved today as a tourist site called "The house of words," on whose reconditioned walls are recorded 250 Spanish and Galician words of Arabic origin as well as texts in various languages describing the city's origins.

Nevertheless, it was not until the 1970s that the first mosque in Galicia was founded by Middle Eastern students who gathered to profess their Muslim faith:

The first mosque that was formed in Galicia was when I was studying in Santiago in the year, in 1972, it was in my room (laughter). I was in a flat with other roommates (...). It was the first that we made there because we had recently arrived, we were all students and, of course, we wanted to pray and there was nowhere to pray, so let's find a place to pray. Since we were students and we didn't have any money at that time, well, it was my room. From then on we started to rent flats and finally, thank God, it's still around and it's the oldest one in Santiago (Interview, Islamic Community of A Coruña).

It wasn't until the 1990s that this organization was formally recognized by the Justice Ministry as the first Muslim place of worship in Galicia, coinciding with a series of accords established with various religious minorities. At around the same time, in 1992, a small group of Bosnian refugees arrived. These two cases represented quite different and separate social compositions, at a time of very low visibility on the part of the Islamic religion and cultures in Galicia.

The Muslim presence became gradually more noticeable toward the end of the 1970s, mostly due to Moroccan immigrants. The typical profile is similar to that common to the rest of the Iberian Peninsula, described by Rozenberg (1996), p.125 as "laborers, almost all Moroccan...[and]...students mostly from the Middle East, who are concentrated in the university cities." The Moroccan migration tends to be

highly masculinized and settled in easily accessible areas with nearby marketplaces, since street vending is the principal economic niche occupied by these individuals (Golfías 2004).

This demographic, laborers and street vendors, accurately describes the group of migrants settled in the town of Paredes who founded the second Galician mosque: the majority came from Morocco, and mostly from the Beni Melal region. Most of the Galician mosques serve similar Moroccan populations, although there is an increase in people of Sub-Saharan origin in certain locations such as the city of A Coruña and other coastal population centers.

Far from constituting ethnic enclaves, these Islamic communities have grown in municipalities with a significant presence of people from the Maghreb and Sub-Saharan regions of Africa, depending on the employment niches occupied by these groups: chiefly commercial sales in the first case and the fishing industry in the second. Nevertheless, these tendencies have become more complex with time. One example of this is the situation of the coastal municipality of Marín, with an African immigration attracted principally by opportunities for work on fishing boats that is dominated by Ghanaian and Moroccan people, representing about 51% of the total population.

The early years of the 21st century marked the height of Muslim immigration to Galicia, coinciding with the highest levels of immigration to Spain in general. During this time, Moroccan immigrants began the process of family reunification, and these households in turn served as points of contact for recently arrived family members and other countrymen. As their numbers increased, so did their petitions related to specific cultural needs. These populations not only increased numerically over the years, but also diversified in terms of other Maghreb regions and more distant countries such as Senegal.

In this sense, we can distinguish among three principal phases in the arrival of Muslims to Galicia. The first, beginning in the 1970s and lasting until the beginning of the 1990s, can be seen as the first point of contact. These were mainly specific cases of students and political refugees, few in number and with very little social visibility. The second phase took place during the second half of the 1990s, with an increase in numbers of Muslim immigrants as well as increasing diversity: here we see the arrival of laborers working mainly in the street vending and fishing sectors. The third phase began with the turn of the century and involved a considerable increase not only in terms of sheer numbers of immigrants but also in terms of places of origin.

The following graph (Fig. 12.1) summarizes the data available from the Spanish National Institute of Statistics (INE) on individuals arriving from Africa over the past few years. As we can see, people from the Maghreb region consistently make up about 60% of the African population, with those from Morocco in the majority. Senegal is second among African countries in terms of the number of immigrants to Galicia.

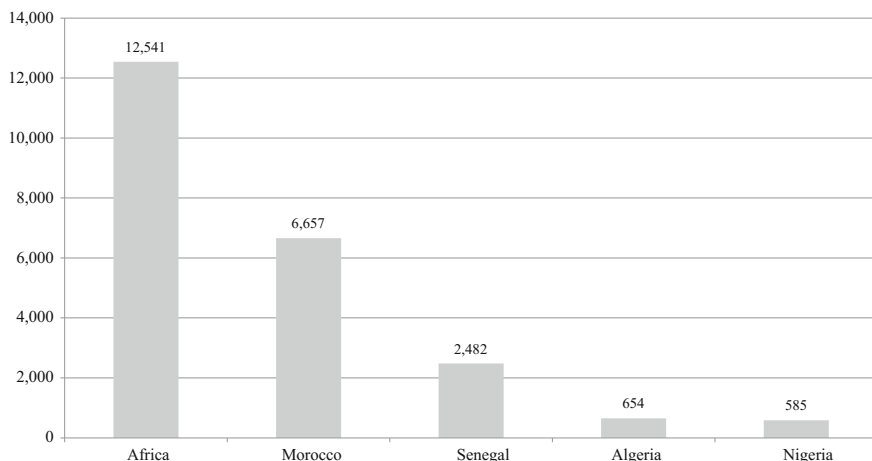


Fig. 12.1 African people registered in Galicia by country of citizenship, 2015 Source: Municipal Register of Residents, INE (www.ine.es)

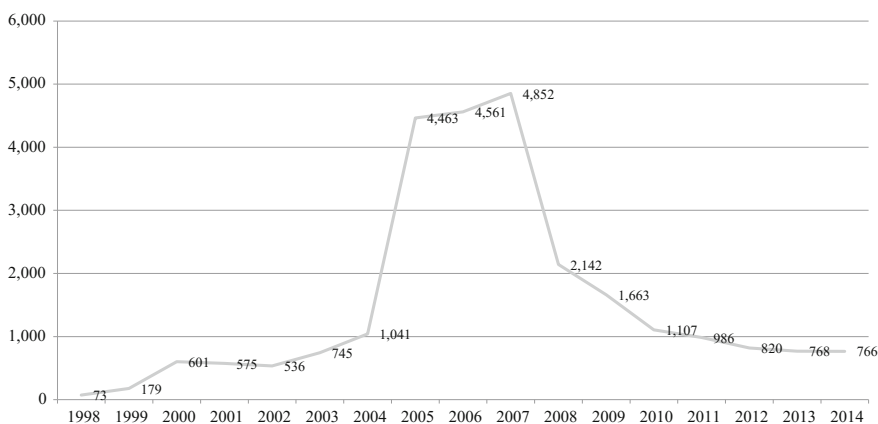


Fig. 12.2 Evolution of African immigration to Galicia, 1998–2014 Source: Municipal Register of Residents, INE (www.ine.es)

We can't directly relate the country of origin with religious beliefs, and we also should be careful not to confuse the number of people officially registered with the actual number of Muslim people in the Galician territory; nevertheless, these data may provide an approximate idea of the current situation.

These arrivals have been concentrated over a very short period of time. An analysis of migratory flows (Fig. 12.2) reveals that people from the African continent mostly arrived between 2005 and 2010, a rate that peaks in 2008 with more than 2,100 immigrants. During this 5 year period 9,422 arrived, comprising 75% of

the total registered in 2015. Nevertheless, the employment deficit caused by the economic crisis becomes evident between 2009 and 2014, when these rates begin to sharply decline.

Muslim places of worship tend to be situated in the Atlantic coastal regions of Galicia and in relatively large urban centers. By the beginning of 2016, 19 were officially registered in the directory of places of worship maintained by the Spanish Justice Ministry's Pluralism and Social Cohesion Foundation,¹ which is updated several times a year. Based on the results of our research in Galicia (Izquierdo 2014), most of the Muslim population in Galicia describe themselves as belonging to the Sunni denomination, which is also the largest worldwide. Nevertheless, there are at least three small Sufi groups, located in the cities of Lugo, A Coruña, and Vigo, all of which belong to the Naqshbandi order. They are not officially registered as religious organizations. As far as we could ascertain, they consist of "very small groups, of between eight and twelve persons in each case, adding up to about 40 individuals" (Izquierdo 2014, p. 154).

As I have already mentioned, most of the Muslims living in Galicia are linked to recent immigration flows from African countries. While their number has increased by about 1,000 people in the past 10 years, they still only account for a very small percentage, about 0.5%, of the total Galician population of 2,700,000. It's important to remember that Galicia has had a strong history of emigration compared to that of immigration, which has largely been related to the return migration of Galicians and their descendants (see Golías Pérez and Oso Casas and Martínez-Buján, this volume). For the majority of the Galician territory, the arrival of immigrants from countries with no prior relation with these earlier flows of emigration is a relatively recent phenomenon that has become more noticeable since the end of the 1990s and more especially after the beginning of the 21st century. For this reason, these new arrivals from not only African but also Asian, Central American and South American countries have posed new challenges and tensions on the social and institutional levels (See Fernández Suárez, this volume).

It is essential to understand the particular historical context of relations between Islamic cultures and the Spanish territory. There has been a great deal of debate in academic and social disciplines over the popular interpretation that the Iberian Peninsula was "conquered" by the Umayyad Caliphate in 711. The historical veracity of this conquest has been increasingly called into question; for example, González Ferrín (2006) describes this relationship as more of a cultural contagion than a military conquest. The term *reconquista* (re-conquest) that is used widely in Spanish historical writings implies that the Catholic Monarchs "re-conquered" or reclaimed the Iberian territory for Christianity. The use of this term in textbooks has contributed greatly to the creation of a particular imaginary about the establishment of the Spanish state. This imaginary begins to break down when we reframe the Spanish Monarchs' military campaign as a simple conquest, keeping in mind as

¹See http://www.observatorioreligion.es/buscador/search_comunidades.srv?ccaa=Galicia&comu=&prov=&city=&conf=Musulmanes.

well that the Iberian Peninsula was not a Christian territory to begin with, as this concept would have us believe. This popular (mis)interpretation, far from innocent, constructs the Muslim as antagonistic to the Spaniard. Over the course of many centuries, despite the clear and important influence of Islamic cultures on Spanish (western) culture, they have been used as a negative mirror through which to construct Spanish identity. Islam has been associated with the barbaric, uncivilized, and ignorant in order to construct, through opposition to these qualities, an image of Spanish Catholicism that strives to negate its Islamic past.

This imaginary is present in the minds of all Spaniards, Muslims and non-Muslims alike, and inevitably influences the way in which certain issues are addressed. It's important to keep this in mind when we consider the complex relationships between the Muslim religion and the Spanish context, especially when we consider the current privileges enjoyed by the Roman Catholic Church in matters such as exemption from certain taxes and direct state subventions, which I will discuss in more detail in the final section of this chapter.

12.2 Relation with the Surrounding Environment and Petitions

In 1992 Cooperation Agreements were signed between the Spanish government and Evangelical Christians (Ley 24/1992), Jews (Ley 25/1992) and Muslims (Ley 26/1992). These agreements were designed to provide policy support for the Spanish Religious Freedom Act of 1980 and to broaden certain other aspects, including: the commemoration of religious holidays (in the Jewish and Muslim case); preservation of cultural heritage, provision of religious education in schools, where Roman Catholic religious classes already form part of the curriculum; pastoral care in hospitals, detention centers, etc.; legal recognition of marriages, recognition of the status of imams, ministers and rabbis; and protected status for places of worship. These agreements constitute an advance toward equality of treatment, since the Spanish government had already signed a generous accord with the Roman Catholic Church in 1979.² The Spanish Constitution of 1978 defines the Spanish state as non-denominational, "No denomination will be recognized at the state level. The public powers will take into account the religious beliefs of Spanish society and maintain the consequent relations with the Roman Catholic Church and other denominations" (Article 16.3). Nevertheless, the 1979 accord affords specific privileges to the Roman Catholic denomination that seem to contradict this constitutional declaration.

While some of the petitions and tensions described here are common to all of the minority (non-Roman Catholic) religions in Spain, others are specific to the Muslim

²For the full text of the accord, see http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/secretariat_state/archivio/documents/rc_seg-st_19790103_santa-sede-spagna_sp.html.

faith (Izquierdo 2014, pp. 212–241). One commonality, for example, involves difficulties related to establishing places of worship. Local administrations lack specific policy and apply to these cases guidelines regarding recreational spaces. These guidelines involve strict licensing and building requirements that can easily exceed the budget of small congregations. The response of Muslims in places where these conditions have made it impossible to open places of worship has been to meet in private homes. In these cases, one of their recurring petitions is a more open attitude when processing the required permits, and perhaps even to develop a specific policy that is more appropriate for their realities.

Another issue that neighbors sometime reject the presence of these congregations. While for other groups, this rejection is caused by the noise produced by the inclusion of chants or dancing as part of religious ceremonies, in the Muslim case such negative attitudes result from Islamophobia. Several people we interviewed described neighbors' complaints that led to interruption of services by security forces, as illustrated by the following comment:

Since we opened here, there has been one neighbor who keeps making complaints about us [...] until the local police showed up, they did their job, that for him was about the noise. But he never stops...always making complaints [...] the report issued by the city council, although it rules in our favor, he always keeps it up, complaining (Interview, Abou Baker Mosque, Arteixo 2011).

It's also interesting to note that this Islamophobia seems to disappear when a member or members of the Muslim community enjoys some degree of social prestige. The president of one Islamic community provides a good illustration of this tendency. He describes how, soon after moving to a new location, he came across a gathering of angry neighbors:

Yelling among themselves and that sort of thing, and so I stopped and calmly said, "Look, I'm the president of the community, and so I'm responsible and all that, and I'm a doctor and so forth..." Suddenly it was all "Hello, doctor..." I got three new patients out of that experience (Interview, Islamic Community of A Coruña).

Another important point of contention is the issue of cemeteries. These kinds of processes are usually carried out on a local level, but given the difficulties encountered so far, Galician Muslims would settle for a single cemetery serving the entire Galician community. This petition so far has not come to fruition, and several Islamic communities continue their individual struggles. In many cases the problem has been a lack of willingness on the part of local administrators: even when the communities offer to buy the land themselves, these requests are denied on the basis of health and security concerns. The problem could be solved by designating a space for Muslims in the civil cemetery, but all such requests have been categorically rejected:

When you go to make the petition, yes, yes, yes, they listen, but that's it, there's no willingness. For example, we request a cemetery, not a cemetery for us, the same one that already exists, but a section for us—nothing (Interview, Santiago de Compostela Mosque).

Given these difficulties, the remains of loved ones must often be transferred and buried far away from their families. Aside from the personal trauma involved, these distances result in high costs that families usually can't afford, and which require collections and voluntary donations on the part of the Muslim community. The most paradoxical cases are those involving Muslim converts, who lack an appropriate nearby burial ground and the only option is the absurd solution of shipping the body to a cemetery in Madrid or Morocco, where there is no one to visit or care for the tomb of the deceased. Mustafá Alhendi, president of the Galician Islamic Community, described the issue in a debate broadcast on Galician television in January of 2015³:

We been fighting now for 3 years for any city council to give us permission to have a cemetery, and it's been nothing but excuses [...] we've had meetings with the Provincial governments of Ourense, Santiago [...] The last time, we received a third-party response on behalf of the Mayor of A Coruña, saying that it was not a good time [...], this year no, because it's an election year.

The presence of non-Roman Catholic religion in public institutions is another recurring issue. Unlike other religious groups, Muslim requests do not involve hospitals and penitentiaries, but focus rather on schools. The Spanish Constitution itself guarantees provision of the "religious and moral education in accordance with the people's convictions" (1978, article 27.3), and is further supported by the 1980 Religious Freedom Act and ratified by the 1992 agreements, which establish a minimum number of 10 students in order to qualify for state funding to provide a teacher in public school. This number is considered arbitrary and discriminatory by Muslim Federations at the national level. Nevertheless, even when this minimum is reached, these requests are not always satisfied. The representative for the community of Arteixo, one of the municipalities with the highest concentration of Muslims in Galicia, told us that this legally protected right has been systematically blocked by either ignoring the requests or by offering contradictory explanations. Apparently, the last request was denied on the basis that the minimum number of 10 was not reached at the individual year level, despite the fact that the agreement clearly specifies that this minimum be applied to the entire school. These classes may be divided by grade level if there are enough students to make up more specific groups, just as with any other subject area (Decreto 86/2015). The situation is so frustrating that many communities have given up hope of ever gaining access to this basic right:

Representative: I'm not going to...I don't have time to fight with people. I've done what I have to do, if we're talking about a country with religious freedom, if we're talking about a country with democracy and rights...there are administrative channels, so you make the

³Episode 802 of the program *Via V* broadcast on the *V* Television network on 12 January, 2015; the segment dedicated to the issue of Muslim integration can be viewed at http://www.vtelevision.es/informativos/viav/2015/01/13/0031_3984708658001.htm?utm_source=buscador&utm_medium=buscador.

written request and you include all the details about the 1992 law [...] but nothing, they haven't given me, no way.

(...)

Researcher: In others words, you've thrown in the towel.

Representative: The truth is, yes.

(Interview, Islamic Community of Vilaboa, Pontevedra Province 2011)

As a result of these difficulties, there is not a single Muslim religion teacher in all of Galicia, despite the fact our interviews conducted with Islamic Communities indicate that, in every case where the ten-student minimum is reached, the community has filed a request with the school administration. Apparently, the lack of political interest outweighs the law in these cases, and so these legal rights are systematically denied.

Finally, the Muslim community is the only religious minority whose representatives describe tensions specifically relating to security forces. While Muslims have always been constructed by western societies as “the Other” (Krotz 2004), the events of 9/11 and the ensuing media campaign have placed them more directly in the spotlight, converting the group as a whole into terrorists in the shared public imaginary. This situation has become even more complicated in more recent times with the ISIS attacks in Europe, Asia, and Africa, with the media fanning up a kind of shared social psychosis that identifies the Muslim with the image of the bearded terrorist. This status has raised suspicion levels and created new ready-made suspects to such an extreme level that the meeting held by the Spanish Justice Ministry's Pluralism and Social Cohesion Foundation with Muslim organizations was identified by police intelligence as a potentially dangerous event, according to the testimonies of those we interviewed as part of our research project. The Foundation, of course, is the government's own official intermediary with these groups.

These kinds of problems were described on several occasions throughout our interviews, situations which can be summarized by the testimony offered by the Islamic Community of A Coruña in 2011:

It bothers us, because the Ministry of the Interior has us Muslims classified under the topic of terrorism, under the concept of high risk [...]. They say, “No, we know that its not all of them, but there might be someone who can enter by way of the Mosques in the sense of extremists, or *Al Qaeda*, or other parties and the like.” And this bother us, it bothers us a lot because it does two things. One—it give support to secret services, to be watching us under a magnifying glass, everyone, and we know it. And the other is that it restricts our freedom.

12.3 Final Reflections

Article 16.3 of the Spanish Constitution declares the non-denominational nature of the Spanish state, and assures that the government will respect the people's religious convictions while maintaining relations of cooperation not only with the Roman Catholic Church, but with other religious institutions as well. In the social and political context of the Spanish transition to democracy, the kinds of institutional relations described in the Constitution actually served to guarantee continued compliance with the Accord that was initially established between the Holy See in Rome and the Spanish state in 1953, during Franco's fascist dictatorship. The most recent version of this agreement, known as the *Concordato*, was signed in 1979. This *Concordato* is the reason why the Spanish government continues to finance the Roman Catholic Church with public funds and to provide additional economic and administrative advantages. Evidently, the politicians who drafted the constitution and those who came afterwards were not particularly concerned with the "other denominations" it refers to. It took an additional 13 years later to sign accords with these others. Even now, 25 years after their signing, when we ask representatives of Islam and other minority religions what they want from public institutions, the most frequently recurring response is simply that they comply with the 1992 accords.

There is a clear disparity between the institutional and administrative treatment received by different groups, and the Islamic organizations in Galicia are highly aware of this situation. The economic figures are indisputable: The Roman Catholic Church receives more than ten billion euros a year, while the rest of the religious group together share 6 million. Access to this money is also very unequal: while the Roman Catholic Church receives the funding automatically and can use it in any way they see fit, since there is no institutional control, the other religious organizations must justify the funding received via one of the two channels required by the government, following strict bureaucratic protocols. Furthermore, in the case of minority religions, no funding may be used to construct or repair facilities corresponding to places of worship, or to pay imams or other religious leaders.

The privileges enjoyed by the Roman Catholic Church, afforded by the *Concordato* signed with the Holy See in 1979, are considerable. For example, Article XV of the section concerning teaching and cultural issues guarantees that the Spanish government collaborate with the Roman Catholic Church "with the aim of preserving, disseminating, and cataloguing this cultural heritage in possession of the Church," a right that is explicitly denied to minority religious groups. In addition, the section relating to economic affairs includes a list of financial exemptions; amounting to "the complete and permanent exemption of the Urban Property Tax [and] taxes on products, income, and assets."

When it comes to minority religious groups, the Spanish government seems to go beyond the non-denominational status claimed in the constitution to adopt a secular policy, in that public funding cannot be used for religious group activities. They are treated as if they were cultural associations that provide educational activities such as information technology classes or cultural activities like

neighborhood conferences open to the public, essentially denying the religious nature that defines these organizations.

This denial of the religious nature of minority religions at the administrative and institutional level makes it impossible for these groups to achieve equal status with that of Roman Catholicism. In practice, this policy weakens and undermines these groups, especially the smaller ones with less presence and history in Galicia. They are forced to meet in private homes because they are unable to pay rent and the legally-required repairs and building modifications, and they must dedicate a great deal of time and effort to navigating bureaucratic funding channels.

These inequalities also apply to legal and administrative areas. With such a broad and naturalized realm of collaboration, the Roman Catholic Church is treated as if Catholicism were the State religion. At the same time, the tight control over funding for minority religious groups makes it seem as if Spain were a secular rather than a non-denominational State. Significantly, the Pluralism and Social Cohesion Foundation operates within a third funding channel for these minority groups. This channel does not draw upon public funds, but rather strives to legalize and regulate private and individual donations received by these groups.

There is a clear need to revise laws and especially their application so that Spain's religious groups receive fair and equal treatment. Although there have been some advances, the minority groups affected continue to feel that these have not been enough to guarantee equality. In order to really improve the situation, a definitive decision must be made regarding Spain's status as either a non-denominational or secular state. Discourses and practices remain confusing and contradictory, producing a differential treatment that clearly disadvantages minority religions.

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Chapter 13

Gendered Mobility Strategies, Labour Market in a Context of Economic Crisis in Galicia

Laura Oso and Raquel Martínez-Buján

Abstract This article focuses on the gendered strategies of mobility of the immigrant population residing in Galicia, particularly since the onset of the global economic crisis. The analysis concentrates specifically on identifying the gendered patterns of migration and return and determining the relationship between these migrations and the changes that have taken place in the Galician labour market during the recession, with special emphasis on the differences in how men and women are affected. We argue that Galicia has a particular migration typology that differs from what is observed in the rest of Spain. The complexity of the migration networks that this region has developed historically with different Latin America and European countries has given rise to heterogeneous migration flows, including economic migrants, descendants of Galician emigrants and Galician returnees, where women have a more prominent presence. In this chapter, we explore this migratory heterogeneity and the different impact of the economic crisis according to gender and geographic origin.

13.1 Introduction

Changing economic cycles, and especially economic recession processes, encourage research related to the impact of their effects on the labour market of the immigrant population and on how economic processes influence the direction of migration flows. In Spain, the crisis that started in 2008 has given rise to a wealth of literature dealing with the impact of migrations on the labour market and mobility processes. These studies all highlight the harsh effects that the recession has had on the immigrant population, who, in comparison with the native-born population,

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have experienced devastating situations of labour uncertainty and social instability (Domingo and Recaño 2010; Garrido et al. 2010; Oliver 2013, among others). However, the impact of the crisis on immigrant employment from a gendered perspective has received little attention (Muñoz 2012; Gil and Vidal 2015). In fact, by focusing on the repercussions of the economic downturns on the direction of migration flows and the labour market, the literature tends to overlook the different impacts these processes have on men and women. Moreover, generally speaking, most of the studies focus on Spain as a whole, without stopping to examine regional variations.

This article explores the above perspectives, and in the light of the specific migration model and labour market in Galicia, it examines the effect of the crisis on the mobility strategies of the migrant population in this region, with special emphasis on gender. On the one hand, migrant men and women hold markedly different positions in the labour market. The economic crisis has had a greater effect in sectors of activity largely considered to target men (construction). Therefore, the impact of the recession on employment has been felt differently by men and women in terms of their intention to return and/or re-emigrate. On the other hand, the mobility processes that have evolved in the light of the economic crisis have their own particular logic as regards Galicia, since they are conditioned by the history of this region, which has served as a setting for both departing emigrants and incoming immigrants.

13.2 The Specific Migration Model in Galicia

Unlike Spain as a whole, Galicia is characterised by complex migration flows whose origin can be found in the region's long experience in the context of emigration. The history of this land, which has been the point of departure for thousands of Galicians en route to Latin America and later to Europe, has made it a special place, marked by migration networks, where mobility strategies are formulated on the basis of journeys back and forth across the Atlantic and beyond the Pyrenees. The particular type of migration in Galicia has been examined in previous research, leading to the determination of a characteristic typology of migration flows in this community (Lamela et al. 2005; Oso et al. 2008), whose composition is as follows:

First of all, the most important migration flow to Galicia in terms of numbers is related to Galician emigration (hereafter, GE) whose origin is largely from Latin America. This migratory movement comprises first-generation returnees, i.e. people who emigrated from Galicia bound for Latin America or Europe and who decided to return to their homeland. Also included are the descendants of these migrants, children and grandchildren, who were born in Argentina, Uruguay, Venezuela, Cuba, France, Germany, the UK and Switzerland and who decided to settle in the

land of their ancestors. These migration flows are maintained through transnational networks developed by Galician emigration. These networks also attract other compatriots from the countries mentioned above.

Secondly, and along the same lines as Spain as a whole, Galicia also has witnessed a type of migration that has no ties to Galician emigration. This migration flow essentially had its start at the beginning of the 21st century and corresponds with the composition of Spain in terms of immigration. This case includes migrants largely from Brazil, Colombia, Romania, Morocco and the Dominican Republic (Fig. 13.4). The main characteristic of this migration is its strong feminization as compared to the natives of these countries who have settled in other parts of Spain. In fact, with the exception of migrants from Romania and Morocco (with a high ratio of men) it is interesting to note the high percentage of women among immigrants from Brazil, Colombia and the Dominican Republic.

Lastly, unlike the rest of Spain, Galicia attracts immigration from the bordering country of Portugal, which has an important impact.

These specific dynamics of the Galician context have determined the gendered mobility strategies in the current economic crisis, while the transnational networks serve to shape the different spaces of social and occupational integration. In this sense, the convergence of the diversity of migration flows originating from historical processes creates unequal patterns of participation by the immigrant population in the labour market. The characteristics that differentiate between occupational integration and exclusion are analysed in the following sections of this chapter. We will start with a presentation of the impact of the economic recession on the flows of returnees and migrants who re-emigrate according to the type of migration (with ties, without ties, border) highlighting differences between men and women.¹

¹The research was conducted within the framework of the following research projects: Oso, L. (dir.) (2016–2019): *Género, movilidades cruzadas y dinámicas transnacionales-FEM2015-6714-R* and Martínez-Buán, R. (dir.) (2016–2018): *Cuidados en el Ambito Comunitario. Experiencias, prácticas y vínculos para el sostenimiento de la vida en España y América Latina-CSO-2016-77960-R*, Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad. The article is also part of the activities carried out in the project funded by Xunta de Galicia: *Programa de Consolidación e Estructuración de Unidades de investigación competitivas do Sistema Universitario de Galicia GRC2014/048* (Oso, dir. 2014–2017). The article also draws on the activities carried out in collaboration with the INCASI Project (the International Network for Comparative Analysis of Social Inequalities), a European initiative funded by the Horizon 2020 programme (RISE action, GA 691004, http://cordis.europa.eu/project/rcn/200034_en.html) coordinated by Pedro López-Roldán (Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona). This article reflects only the authors' point of view and the Agency is not responsible for any use that may be made of the information it contains.

13.3 The Economic Crisis and Mobility Strategies: Differences in Impact Depending on Immigration Type and Gender

We analyse the impact of the economic crisis on processes of return and re-emigration using two indicators. First, we explore the evolution of Galicia's immigrant population by country of birth² since fluctuations in the number of residents point to the possible return of migrants to their place or origin or settlement in other territories. Secondly, in order to determine the tendency of migrants to return or re-emigrate, we calculated the emigration rates,³ which measure the ratio of immigrants who leave Galicia compared to the total number of residents in this group. Let us take a look at how the two indicators are presented and the different way they behave depending on gender and the type of migration undertaken in the Autonomous Community of Galicia (with or without ties to Galician emigration and immigration from bordering countries).

13.3.1 A Greater Impact of the Economic Recession on the Mobility of Male Immigrants in Galicia

Data on the evolution of the immigrant population by gender shown in Fig. 13.1 highlight a tendency towards feminization. This process was carried out over the course of the period 1998–2015. Moreover, the economic crisis has increased the advantage of women even more. The immigration rates offer additional information in this respect. The decision to return or re-emigrate has had a strong effect on migrant men, so that men are opting, to a great extent, to return to their places of origin or immigrate to another country. In 2014, while 3.9% male immigrants left Spain, the rate for women migrants was around 2.7%. The latter group has thus set up bastions of resistance, being more prone than their male compatriots to choose to remain in the region.

²The data used in the analysis refer to the foreign-born population including persons who hold dual citizenship (Spanish/foreign). The breakdown country of birth allows us to define the characteristics of the immigrant population in Galicia in a more coherent fashion. There is a large resident population of descendants of Galician emigrants who were born abroad and hold Spanish citizenship. So if we limit our analysis to nationality of origin, this would not reflect the wealth and heterogeneity of the migratory typology.

³The emigration rates have been calculated by dividing the number of exits (data provided by the Residential Variation Statistics) by the total number of foreign-born residents.

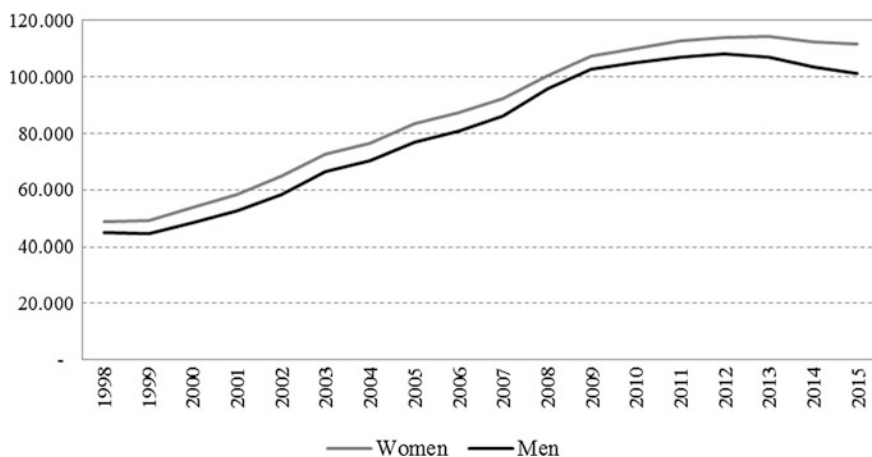


Fig. 13.1 Evolution of the foreign-born population in Galicia by gender, 1998–2015. *Source* Municipal Register of Inhabitants, National Statistics Institute (INE). Prepared by the authors

13.3.2 Migration with Ties to Galician Emigration from Europe: A Population that Is Less Vulnerable to the Economic Situation

The evolution of the data on the immigrant population suggests that in terms of settlement, the group that has been less affected by the economic situation (during both the period of economic boom and recession) is the one we call “the returnees or with ties to Galician emigration” and, among these, referring particularly to the population from European countries (specifically France, Germany and the UK) (Fig. 13.2). Although emigration rates are higher among men than women in this group (except in the case of emigrants from Germany where females outnumber males), the difference found is not as significant as in other migrations, as we will see below (Fig. 13.5).

13.3.3 Migration with Ties to Galician Emigration from Latin America

In the group, “migration with ties” from Latin America, in general terms, the fluctuations appear to be minor (Fig. 13.2). However, when the figures are broken down by country of birth, the economic situation clearly had a greater impact on migrants from European countries linked historically to Galicia. Hence, in this particular case we find different situations depending on the country of origin. The number of Cuban immigrants increased during the whole period, while the number

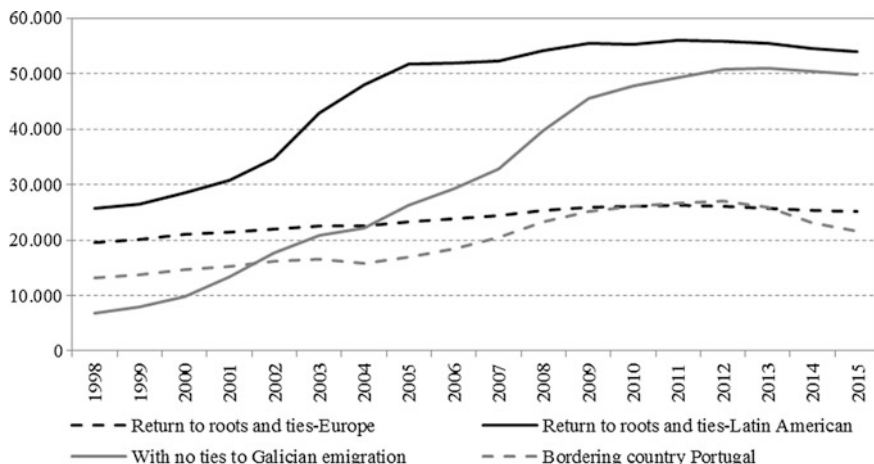


Fig. 13.2 Evolution of the immigrant population in Galicia according to the group they belong to, 1998–2014. *Source* Municipal Register of Inhabitants, National Statistics Institute (INE). Prepared by the authors

of Venezuelan residents remained relatively stable. Argentina and Uruguay exhibited the highest variations (Fig. 13.3). The gender differences reflected in the emigration rates indicate, once again, that women take a slight lead over men, so that the rates are only higher for men from Argentina and Uruguay (Fig. 13.5).

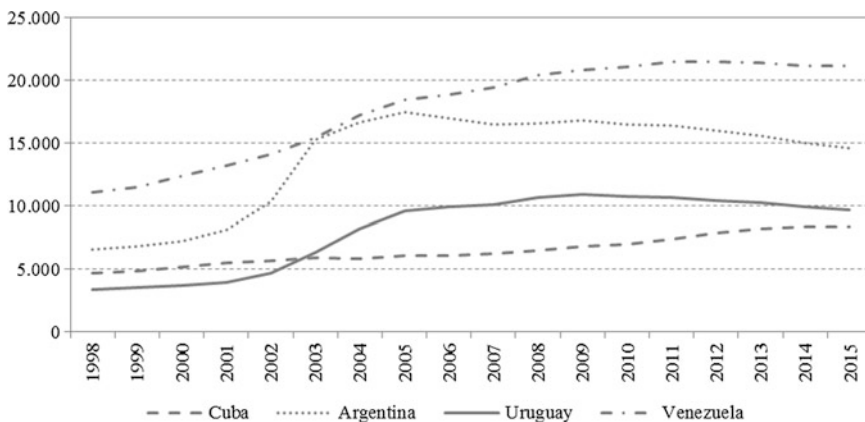


Fig. 13.3 Evolution of the Latin American immigrant population in Galicia by country of birth. Migration with ties, 1998–2014. *Source* Municipal Register of Inhabitants, National Statistics Institute (INE). Prepared by the authors

13.3.4 Migration with no Ties to Galician Emigration and Border Migration: The Hardest Hit by the Economic Crisis

The immigrant group that has been the most severely affected by the economic recession in terms of exits is clearly the one we call “migration with no ties to Galician emigration” (especially the Brazilians) along with immigration from bordering countries (Portugal) (Fig. 13.2). However, we detected differing scenarios among this group depending on the country of origin (Fig. 13.4).

The greater impact of the crisis on the mobility (return and/or re-emigration) of the population with no ties becomes particularly evident if we analyse the emigration rates. These are exceptionally high for the populations of Portuguese, Brazilian and Romanian origin (the figures for men reached 8.8%, 6.9% and 6.7%, respectively, in 2014), with pronounced gender differences. Women, in all cases, were less affected by the recession in terms of mobility. For migrants from Colombia, the migration rates were higher in men, when compared to migration with ties to Galician emigration, although women exhibited a similar profile when referring to the migration rates of migrants from Argentina and Uruguay, but they were even lower than the figure for migrants of Venezuelan origin (Fig. 13.5).

However, the population from the Dominican Republic and Morocco not only remained stable, but also managed to increase in number, unlike the rest of the migrant population without ties (Fig. 13.4). The migration rates for Moroccan migrants are higher, as compared to the migrant population that does have ties with Galicia, with men from Morocco largely outnumbering women. The rates for

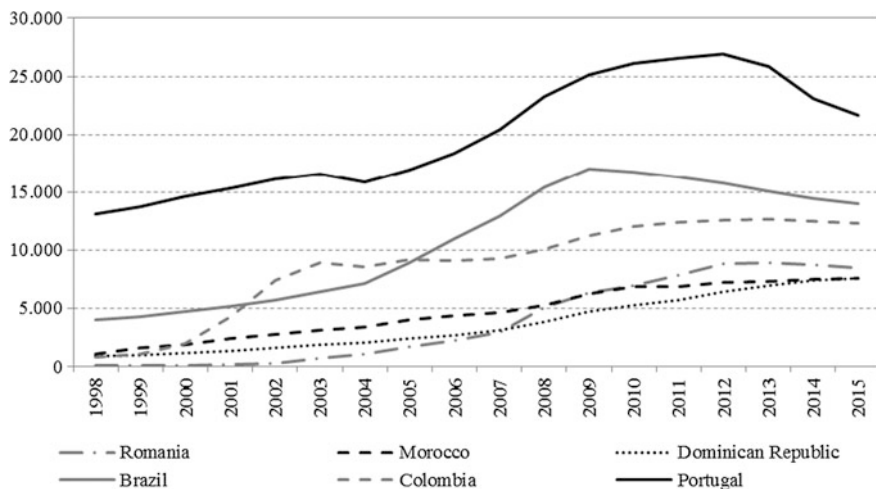


Fig. 13.4 Evolution of the immigrant population in Galicia “with no ties” by country of birth 1998–2014. *Source* Municipal Register of Inhabitants, National Statistics Institute (INE). Prepared by the authors

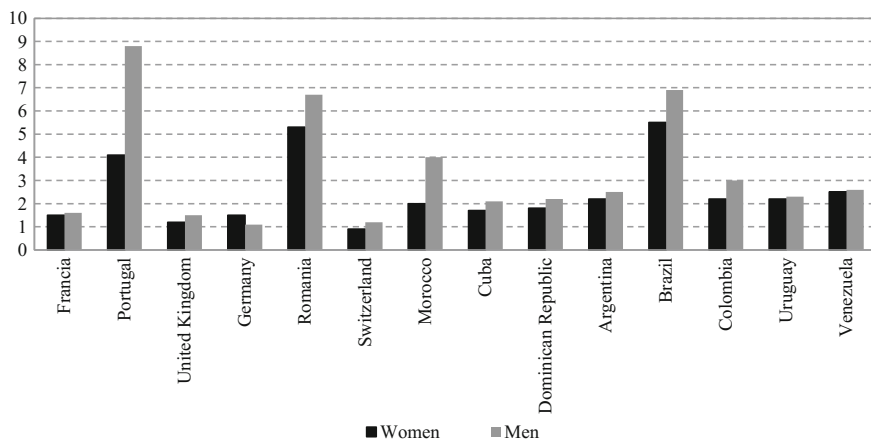


Fig. 13.5 Migration rates of the immigrant population in Galicia by country of birth and gender, 2014. *Source* Residential Variation Statistics and Municipal Register of Inhabitants, National Statistics Institute (INE). Prepared by the authors

Moroccan women were similar to those reported for women from Argentina, Uruguay and Venezuela. The Dominican Republic showed migration rates for both men and women that also closely resemble those for migrants with ties to Galician emigration (Fig. 13.5).

13.4 The Position of the Immigrant Population in the Galician Labour Market

In order to assess the participation of the immigrant population in the Galician labour market, it is necessary to focus on the labour situation of this group at the end of the economic boom and to examine the positions they have held over the long recession period. To explore the evolution of the economic crisis over time and the ensuing political and economic austerity, the data presented in this section cover three stages: the first takes the 2008–2009 period as a reference point to represent the labour situation of the immigrant population towards the end of the economic boom and at the start of the downturn; the second focusses on the situation during the 2010–2012 period, i.e. at the height of massive job cuts and the implementation of austerity policies; and the third studies the years 2013–2015 as a period marking a slight recovery in the levels of employment.⁴

⁴Data were taken from the Spanish Labour Force Survey (SLFS) published quarterly by the Spanish National Statistics Institute. The figures included in this section are from the second quarter of each year, since this period is less likely to be subject to temporary employment. This information source covers the situation of both the Spanish and immigrant population with regard

Over the last fifteen years, the arrival of migrants in Spain has been an extraordinary phenomenon, mainly because of the accelerated pace and intensity of the process (Cachón 2009). Galicia was not one of the regions receiving a high inflow of foreign-born people during this period, and the economic migration that it attracted during the boom (2000–2007) was supported by the construction boom based on the supply and private appropriation of public land and the growing demand for domestic service and caregivers (Izquierdo and Martínez-Buján 2014). In fact, one of the traits of the Galician labour market, even before the economic crisis, has been the tenuous buoyancy of the formal labour market (Oso and Villares 2012). Because of its labour market, Galicia was not attractive to immigrants, which would explain why some migrant communities (like those from Bolivia and Morocco) who arrived in large numbers to other parts of Spain during the economic boom were barely present in Galicia, while there was a thriving presence of other groups who were more closely tied to the historical stages of Galician emigration and had other commercial and cultural relations (like those from Portugal and Brazil).

In this context, the informal Galician labour market was the medium that united a greater presence of “immigrants with no ties”, particularly women, due to the demand for workers in the sectors of domestic service and caregiving (Martínez-Buján 2010), as well as sexual services (Oso 2010). These activities required female workers who were seeking to find jobs quickly (even in the underground economy) that were temporary in nature and offered low wages. The aging Spanish population and the lack of public policies addressing the needs of long-term care are phenomena that have been widely studied (Parella et al. 2013; Martínez-Buján 2014) and identified as factors that have influenced the influx of female migrants to Spain in recent years. In Galicia, due to the high inflow of female migrants “with no ties” during the economic boom, this settlement may indeed be related to these processes.⁵

How has the economic crisis affected the employment of the immigrant population in Galicia? The main effect of the recession on the Galician labour market was the destruction of roughly 190,000 jobs during the period analysed (2008–2015), although the recession was felt later in Galicia than in the rest of Spain. While in this region unemployment rates started to increase gradually and

(Footnote 4 continued)

to the labour market and some of its basic characteristics. Moreover, the figures include the results of both the formal and informal labour market. However, this source still has certain sampling limitations when the data are broken down to the scale of Autonomous Community. In order to bypass this weak point and avoid any errors originating from the survey of immigrants, the figures shown here provide general information on their position in the labour market (without breaking them down into categories such as main activity, occupation or nationality). Figures are presented according to time periods rather than whole years, allowing for a more in-depth analysis that goes beyond the fluctuations in the data due to the effects of the current economic crisis. Therefore, the data reflect the annual average of the periods included.

⁵There were no statistical data available on female participation in the hotel/restaurant and retail sectors in Galicia due to the small sample size of the Spanish Labour Force Survey.

employment figures dipped moderately as of 2008, the effects of the economic downturn were not felt until 2010, becoming especially devastating in 2012.

Research shows that job loss occurred primarily in activities in which the great majority of the immigrant population was employed (Garrido et al. 2010; Izquierdo and Martínez-Buján 2014). During the economic crisis, foreign workers were most vulnerable to job loss owing to the type of work they perform and their sociodemographic profile (Pajares 2009). Thus, the employment rate of the native-born population ranged from 49.7% in 2008 to 42.1% in 2015, amounting to a drop of 7.7% points. Among the immigrant population, this difference reached 14%, due to the decrease in the employment rate from 64.0% in 2008 to 50.1% in 2015. However, the negative phase of the economic cycle affects each migrant group differently depending on the particularities of the labour market in each country and on the characteristics of the immigrant population. The diversity and richness of the Galician migration model has led to the identification of at least three specific effects that differ from trends in the rest of Spain:

(1) The first is related to the delay in the onset of the effects of the economic crisis in terms of job destruction until 2012, when, in Spain, this had started to occur as early as 2008. In fact, the presence of immigrants in the labour force increased significantly during the 2010–2012 period as compared with 2008–2009. More importantly, this group increased in number during this period thanks to the arrival of the population classified as “having no ties”, which is why even during the period of the Spanish recession, the settlement of the population with no ties to Galicia remained significant. In fact, the immigrant population “with ties” actually decreased from 2010 to 2012, probably due to the fact that this group started to head towards other countries in search of a labour market that would meet their professional expectations. Table 13.1 shows an absolute increase of 10,500 people, an estimated 7,200 of whom were females. In addition, of the immigrants “with no ties”, there were a stable number of people who kept their jobs (employed population). Although the employment rates did undergo a considerable decrease, this drop is probably more related to an increase in the labour force than to job destruction. Other studies (Muñoz 2012) have demonstrated that when jobs dwindle and unemployment rises, many people who had never before sought employment do so, to improve the difficult situation of families whose other members have lost their jobs.

(2) There was a sharp drop in the number of immigrants “with no ties” in the labour force as early as the period 2013–2015. That is to say, three years later this group began to develop an emigration strategy to overcome the difficulties of the crisis and, according to the data, the impact of the recession affected females to a greater extent than males. This characteristic represents the second particularity of the Galician labour market during the period of recession. While all the analyses specialising in international migrations to Spain agree that the recession hit the sectors employing males harder than those with female workers and that unemployment rates were higher for males than females (Muñoz 2012; Gil-Alonso and Vidal-Coso 2015), in the region of Galicia, this trend exhibited certain variations. Jobs continued to be lost in the construction sector; however, this mass destruction

Table 13.1 Evolution of activity, employment and unemployment rates by gender and country of birth, 2008–2015 (absolute numbers in thousands and figures represent the yearly averages of the periods analysed)

	2013–2015		2010–2012		2008–2009		2013–2015		2010–2012		2008–2009		2013–2015		2010–2012		2008–2009	
	T	M	M	F	F	T	T	M	M	F	F	T	T	M	M	F	F	
Total (Immigrants)																		
Population > 16 years old	174.8	82.8	82.8	92.1	182.7	82.5	100.3	172.2	80.5	91.7								
Active population	127.3	64.4	62.8	62.8	135.3	65.7	69.6	125.8	63.5	62.4								
Employed population	91.9	48.3	43.6	43.6	97.4	47.6	49.8	106.5	55.3	51.2								
Unemployed population	35.4	16.1	16.1	19.2	37.9	18.1	19.8	19.3	8.2	11.2								
Activity rate	72.8	77.8	68.2	68.2	74.1	79.7	69.4	73.0	78.9	68.0								
Employment rate	52.6	58.3	47.3	47.3	53.3	57.7	49.7	61.9	68.7	55.8								
Unemployment rate	27.8	25.0	30.6	30.6	28.0	27.5	28.4	15.3	12.8	17.9								
Immigrants with no ties																		
Population > 16 years old	83.8	41.0	42.7	42.7	100.8	45.6	55.1	84.7	41.2	43.5								
Active population	62.0	32.3	29.6	29.6	75.5	37.1	38.4	59.8	30.7	29.1								
Employed population	45.6	24.0	21.6	21.6	50.7	25.3	25.4	52.3	27.8	24.6								
Unemployed population	16.4	8.4	8.0	8.0	24.8	11.7	13.0	7.5	3.0	4.5								
Activity rate	74.0	78.8	69.3	69.3	74.9	81.2	69.6	70.5	74.5	66.8								
Employment rate	54.4	58.4	50.5	50.5	50.3	55.5	46.1	61.7	67.4	56.4								
Unemployment rate	26.4	25.9	27.0	27.0	32.8	31.7	33.9	12.5	9.6	15.5								
<i>Immigrants with ties</i>																		
Population > 16 years old	91.1	41.8	49.3	49.3	81.9	36.8	45.1	87.5	39.3	48.2								
Active population	65.3	32.1	33.2	33.2	59.0	28.6	31.2	66.0	32.8	33.3								
Employed population	46.3	24.3	22.0	22.0	46.7	22.3	24.4	54.2	27.6	26.7								
Unemployed population	19.0	7.8	11.2	11.2	13.1	6.4	6.8	11.8	5.2	6.7								
Activity rate	71.7	76.9	67.3	67.3	73.0	77.7	69.1	75.5	83.4	69.1								
Employment rate	50.9	58.3	44.5	44.5	57.0	60.5	54.1	62.0	70.2	55.3								
Unemployment rate	29.1	24.2	33.8	33.8	21.9	22.2	21.7	17.9	15.9	20.0								

Source Prepared by the authors based on the Spanish Labour Force Survey for the second quarter carried out by the Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE)

of employment was not so widespread as to result in lower unemployment rates among female migrants. Table 13.1 shows that female unemployment in the immigrant population as a whole was higher than that of males during the entire recession among immigrant groups.

The explanation for this is to be found in the particular characteristics of the Galician labour market prior to the recession. This region has “structural unemployment” (in other words, a kind of permanent unemployment related to the region’s social and economic organisation) among the female population (even native-born women), which has been aggravated by the “current unemployment situation” (referring to the unemployment that has specifically arisen from the economic circumstances of the recession) caused by the economic downturn. The combination of the two has caused unemployment rates to rise among females.

(3) The period 2013–2015 has witnessed a moderate recovery of jobs—at least the downward trend of the previous years appears to have been reversed. However, if we take the data as the triannual average of the period, this process is still barely detectable. Nevertheless, a slow recovery clearly exists if the annual data are analysed on an individual basis. The employment rate of the immigrant population increased by 0.8% in 2015, representing 51.8% compared to 51.0% in 2014. In any case, the scenario points to differing paces of stabilisation between the immigrant population “with ties” and those “with no ties”. If we re-examine the data for the different periods of migrants “with ties”, the employment and unemployment rates are even higher, whereas among the “migrants without ties”, these figures improve in 2013–2015. In the latter case, employment rates undergo a slight increase, reaching 54.4% as compared to 50.3% in 2010–2012, and the unemployment rates drop sharply from 32.8% in 2010–2012 to 26.4% in 2013–2015. The variations are also relevant when considered by gender: female and male unemployment rates decreased by 6.9% and 5.8%, respectively, during the two periods. In any event, it should be noted that the drop in unemployment is higher than the rate of job creation; therefore, we should proceed with caution when interpreting these results as the “end of the crisis”. This apparent improvement in the labour market among immigrants “with no ties” would seem to be due more to the continuing decline in the labour force (those who look for a job but can’t find one, rather than those who are working) because of return migrations and re-emigration. In general terms, over the last three years 7,500 immigrants have dropped out of the labour force, with the highest decrease being in the female labour force, which fell by 8.2%.

13.5 Conclusions

An analysis of mobility processes by gender, arising in the wake of the economic crisis (re-emigration, return), shows that in general terms the economic recession has mainly affected the male immigrant population, while women have been more likely to develop settlement strategies. In terms of the geographic area of origin, it is interesting to note that the nationalities that have been hardest hit by the economic

crisis have carried out strategies that entail leaving Spain for their countries of origin or other countries in search of better job opportunities. This is especially the case in migrations classified as being “with no ties” (such as immigration from Brazil and Romania) and border immigration (Portugal). In contrast, “immigration with ties” from Europe has been less affected by the recession. Among the immigrant population with ties from Latin America, the impact of the crisis on re-emigration or return has varied. The groups from Cuba and Venezuela correspond more to a type of migration related to the political situation in the country of origin; therefore, the economic crisis has had less of an effect on their movements. With respect to the populations from Argentina and Uruguay, decreases were more pronounced, although this particular group, especially migrants from Argentina, had already shown a tendency to return and re-emigrate prior to the economic crisis.

One of the particularities of the labour market in this region is the delayed effect of the recession on the labour market as compared to the rest of Spain. In Galicia, the crisis started to be felt in 2012 and, although it was a financial crisis affecting primarily the construction sector, it also had a significant effect on the female population. In fact, while the female unemployment rate in the rest of Spain was lower than that of men, this trend was not observed in Galicia. Female unemployment rates hit hard during the entire crisis period. The high levels of female unemployment existing prior to this period may explain this situation. However, in recent years, unemployment rates appear to be dropping, while employment figures are stable. Nevertheless, the two processes must be interpreted with caution, since the rates of re-emigration and return may influence these figures, given the decline in the demand for work by the population.

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Chapter 14

School, Family and Migrations: Toward an Understanding of Differential (de)Construction of Gender Identities

Belén García-Cabeza and Jaime A. García-Serna

Post-structuralist discourse entails a move from the self as a noun (and thus stable and relatively fixed) to the self as a verb, always in process, taking its shape in and through the discursive possibilities through which selves are made.

Davies (1997, p. 274).

Abstract This chapter aims to identify and compare processes involved in gender identity formation for new generations of migrant adolescents enrolled in Galician secondary schools, paying particular attention to the fundamental interactional contexts of family and school. We have explored students', family members', and teachers' perceptions of the role these two key contexts play in the differential (de)construction of gender identities for both autochthonous and migrant students. In-depth interviews with these three groups of participants have revealed considerable tensions in the gender identity construction of students who respond to a double set of sociocultural referents: those of the country of residence and the country of origin. Furthermore, the school and family produce symbolic resources that allow for a fluid, constant, and multi-voiced renegotiation of identity.

14.1 Introduction

“We live in a world of hyper-diversity” (Giddens, in Bergareche 2013). Europe, as a hyper-diverse society, destination point for multiple groups of humanity, faces the task of managing countless intercultural dynamics in various institutional contexts. The challenge is not merely to establish a social and political agenda that responds to increasing influxes of people, but to comprehend that these new collectives involve not just physical persons, but also ethnicities, religions, values, etc. As a result, the social, cultural, and institutional fabric of these receptor societies is becoming profoundly heterogeneous and complex.

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In societies where education is universal and obligatory, schools, along with family and friends, play a particularly important role in the complex and dynamic processes of identity construction among new generations of migrant adolescents. As socializing agents, these institutions serve to regulate gender norms, yet these normative processes involve conflicts and tensions. In receptor societies like Galicia, the construction of perceptions of what it means to be a man or a woman and related gender roles and social narratives involves a collision among multiple or at least a double set of sociocultural referents: first, those constructed in the country of origin that continue to be more or less relevant; and second, those that are redefined through dialogue with the norms, beliefs, and practices of the receptor country.

For this reason, we focus on processes of identity (de)construction, through analyzing and comparing the dynamics of subjective construction of masculinity and femininity experienced by adolescents born in Galicia and abroad.

14.2 The Research Context

A broad base of research from a variety of academic disciplines has established that individuals possess multiple identities that operate simultaneously and are constructed/reproduced/transformed as these individuals interact among themselves and with the different social frameworks within which they live and move (Bauman 2005; Camilleri et al. 1997; Harris 1990; Labrador 2002; McDowell 1999; Restrepo 2007). According to these interdisciplinary studies, identity serves as the “central object, whether in the structure of fields or as one of the central ‘objects’ of study” (Restrepo 2007, p. 2). This unifying or essential characteristic is also evident in migration studies, since identity (de)construction is one of the psychological and sociological phenomena that most strongly affect the person who migrates. As Terrén (2007, p. 186) argues, “the way in which individuals think about themselves is subject to specific tensions when this thinking occurs in contexts where groups, values, or customs diverge from those that constitute habitual (close or intimate) referents.”

Without abandoning an intersectional perspective that takes into account the complex, multiple, and relational nature of identities, gender as a transversal category takes on a particularly strong role in migration studies. As with social class and ethnicity, gender occupies a central position in people’s construction of the socio-symbolic meaning of the self (Cabral and García 2000), of the constitutive spaces they inhabit and the roles they take on. In this study, we use the concept of gender to refer primarily to two issues. First, it is an analytic category that interacts with others such as race, ethnicity, and social class to permit some understanding of diversity in plural societies (La Barbera 2010; Shields 2008). Nevertheless, it is also a sociopolitical and cultural construct, as it “is formed through a complex network of roles, expectations, social contexts, ways of be social and processes of socialization” (Nash and Marre 2001, p. 24). This complex network is developed and

consolidated within the various institutional contexts in which the individual participates, and we consider school and family to be among the most central and significant institutions for adolescents.

Gender identities, as Rodríguez and Peña (2005, p. 31) explain, are “socially constructed, never finalized, and subject to the multiple and diverse influences of the various contexts for action within which people interact in their everyday lives.” We take gender identities to be a framework for values, thoughts, and actions—involving the nature of society, social roles, and the place of men and women—that adolescents (de)construct in their interactions with various contexts, agents, and institutions, family relationships, friendships, classmates, teachers, etc. These adolescents are influenced by these interactions, and by means of discursive practices, so that their opinions, beliefs, thoughts, and actions are shaped in multiple ways and in varying intensities through gender role representations. And these representations, in turn, involve a “set of expectations and behaviors that society assigns and expects as a function of belonging to the masculine or feminine sex” (Colás 2007, p. 152), thus attributing different roles and responsibilities that are crystalized in gender stereotypes.

Attempts to explain the link between gender identity construction and life in schools range from behaviorist constructs, through social and cognitive learning theories, to recent models supported by post-structural understandings. In our view, models like social learning theory, not to mention behaviorism, cast the student as a passive participant in the process of constructing a sense of masculinity or femininity. The problem is that these theories assume that students interiorize stereotypical relations between men and women. Other models, such as the cognitive, attempt to mitigate this supposed passivity by considering that adolescents establish various dynamics in order to organize their world as part of this sociocultural processing, so that internalization is not such a one-sided process.

Our approach is closest to more recent models that can be characterized as belonging to several poststructuralist perspectives (Ali 2003; Baxter 2002). We base our understanding on the notion that gender identities, as we have described, are socially and culturally constructed. In addition, we see subjects as active: while not necessarily conscious of the complexity of the phenomenon, they address those referents that provide them with coordinates for individual and social development. Finally, we consider discourse to be the principal (but not only) medium through which students’ masculine and feminine subjectivities are constructed. In school practice, particularly in teaching–learning processes, students and teachers engage in (asymmetrical) dialogue concerning multiple fields of knowledge. This discourse goes beyond a simple referential function, to create realities and set into motion inter-subjective processes.

For the purposes of this study, it is important to keep in mind that social and cultural contexts are irreplaceable referents in processes of identity (de)construction. In the specific case of foreign-born adolescents, these distant and close contexts increase because cultural referents from the country of birth are added to those of the new country of residence. Within the contexts of the social and cultural diversification experienced by countries receiving new immigrant populations, the

notion of *culture* (as a monolithic and homogeneous whole) must be replaced by that of *cultural configuration*, which is understood as “a frame shared by opposing or different actors, of complex articulations of social heterogeneity” (Grimson 2011, p. 174).

14.3 Methodology

As several authors indicate, there are many ways to analyze the dynamics generated by increasing numbers and diversity of young immigrants in a particular location, including the classic review of secondary data sources that attempt to relate place of origin and destination. There are also other complementary approaches that seek to understand migratory phenomena through qualitative techniques such as interviews and discussion groups. This approach, in our view, allows a more complex view of identity construction as a transforming and fluid dynamic.

This study adopts a qualitative paradigm and is based on individual, face-to-face interviews conducted between October 2015 and January 2016 in two phases: first through semi-structured interviews and later using a more focused technique. Interviews in the first phases lasted between 40 and 70 min, while second-phased interviews ranged from 20 to 30 min. Interviews with students and parents took place in the home, while teacher interviews were conducted in schools.

Adolescents who participated in the study were attending Galician secondary schools and were from 12 to 16 years old. They can be divided into two main groups: foreign-born and Galician-born. As a way of triangulating the data obtained through student interviews, we interviewed six fathers (from Brazil, Colombia, England, Spain, and Morocco), six mothers (from Brazil, Colombia, and Morocco), three female teachers (teaching in the first, second, and fourth years of secondary school), and three male teachers (teaching in the third and fourth years). Using *Atlas-ti 7* software, we analyzed data through reflexive coding, going back and forth between the theoretical framework and participant discourse.

14.4 Galicia as Destination

Migratory flows into Spain have increased significantly since the 1990s and, as has been the case with other European and Western countries (González García 2008), the presence of immigrants in the society has grown markedly. Galicia has not been exempt from these tendencies: the foreign population grew more than 254%, and the foreign-born population grew by 108%. This means that these groups comprised, respectively, more than 3.3% and almost 8% of the total population registered in Galicia for the latest year for which data are available.

This situation, together with the universal and mandatory nature of the education system, has resulted in increasingly higher percentages across grade levels of a new

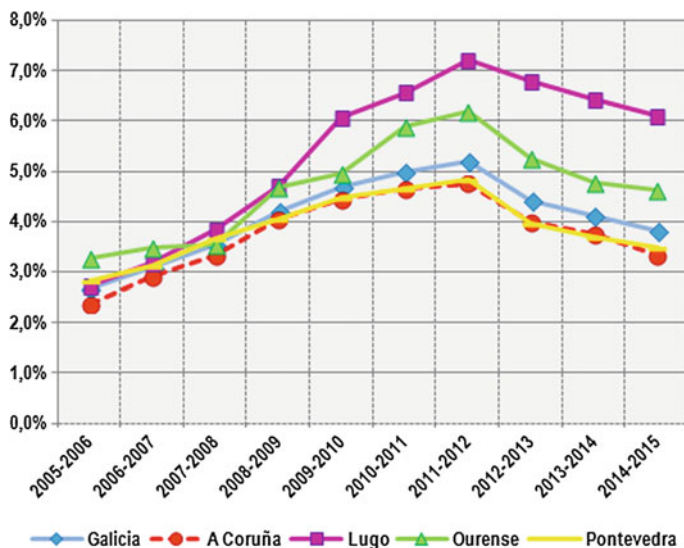


Fig. 14.1 Percentage of Obligatory Secondary Education students (both sexes) without Spanish citizenship, over time *Source* Authors' compilation, based on data from the Spanish Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sport (MECD various years) and the Spanish Department of Culture, Education, and University Regulation (CEeOU various years)

kind of student: a broad and loosely defined group of people referred to as the *new generations* of immigrants (García Borrego 2001; Feixa i Pampols 2008): girls and boys who either were born abroad and arrived in their new home during different stages of childhood or adolescence, or were born in Galicia as children of immigrants. As Fig. 14.1 indicates, students without Spanish citizenship who were enrolled in Galician obligatory secondary education for the 2014/2015 school year comprised nearly 4% of the total students at these grade levels, representing a significant increase in the relative weight of these students for Galicia as a whole, as well as for each of its four provinces (A Coruña, Lugo, Ourense and Pontevedra).

Data provided by the National Institute of Statistics (INE) allow us to compare this information with overall population development for the age groups 5–9, 10–14, and 15–19, which most closely coincide with the ages served by Spanish obligatory schooling (about 6–16 years). From Fig. 14.2, we can deduce that over the past 10 years, children born abroad continue to comprise an important part of these age groups. Specifically, at the end of this time period they made up 3.68%, 7.65%, and just over 11%, respectively.

Despite the overall reduction in recent years of new immigrant arrivals to Spain and Galicia and the resultant decrease in the number of foreign-born students at some levels of schooling, we continue to see an increase in adolescents living in Galicia who possess multiple cultural referents deriving both from their country of origin and their current place of residence.

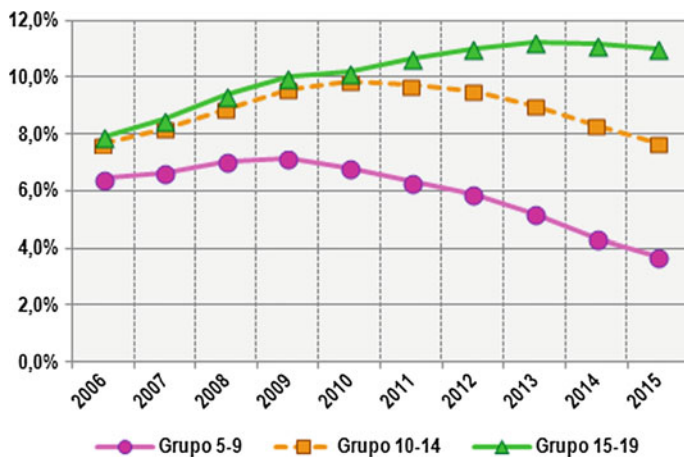


Fig. 14.2 Percentage of people (both sexes) born abroad in age groups 5–9, 10–14, and 15–19, over time *Source* Authors' compilation based on data from the Municipal Registry (INE various years)

14.5 Unraveling Complexities: The Difficult Balance of Sociocultural Referents in Identity Configuration

The narratives of adolescents, teachers, and parents suggest that not everyone perceives the different sociocultural referents to exercise the same degree of influence on identity construction processes. As we see in the data excerpts below, interviewees relate to socio-symbolic variables with different intensity, thereby adjusting their perceptions of what they understand as “being a woman” or “being a man.”

14.5.1 *Of Secrets and Complicities*

In order to evaluate the influence of the family and its members on identity construction, we asked adolescents who they admired, with whom they mostly strongly identified, and why. Regardless of their place of birth, all participants tended to evaluate in more positive terms the parent whose sex coincided with their own. The girls admired their mothers and grandmothers who, despite the occasional argument, are held up as models to imitate or templates for femininity that are rarely problematized: the adolescent girls seemed to find comfort in having a woman to confide in:

(...) I'm more like my mother, although we are totally different in some ways. And we argue a lot. But whenever she can, she's with me. We go shopping together, she lends me her makeup, and I even tell her girl things...and sometimes she gives me advice. With my

father...forget it! I get embarrassed. Also he goes into obsessive mode and starts to give me the talk about how I can get pregnant and all that. My mother, it's like she understands me better. She usually explains to me that girls are not like boys, about what happened to her when she was young, that it'll happen to me as well, and that she also talked about these things with her sisters and her mother (Galician-born girl, age 16).

These girls also evaluated the women of the family particularly highly when they perceived that they had postponed their own personal life plans for the good of the nuclear family. An example can be seen in the words of a 13-year-old born in Colombia:

I was really little when we came here. My sister and I came first with my mother while my father stayed there to take care of paperwork and run those kinds of errands. When she was there she worked in a beauty salon, styling hair and giving manicures, that's what she liked. Here she had to take a job as a cleaning lady, cleaning houses in the morning and afternoons so that her schedule was adapted to ours. And to earn a little bit of money so we could get ahead. She has always made sacrifices for us, and I admire her for that.

As for the boys, they made similar references to a relationship of trust, understanding, and complicity, as we see in the case of the father featured in the following citation. Such a relationship usually detracted from close dialogue with the women of the family:

(...) To my mother? No way do I tell her things. And my sister, even less. She's a little brat who spends all day talking about hanging out with friends, that latest outfit she bought in *Bershka* and girl stuff like that. My father always helps me out. I prefer to talk about chicks with my dad or with my buds. I tell them a little about everything. And with my father, I tell him about what I like, about my hobbies, if I got wasted the night before... (Galician-born boy, age 14, Galician family)

14.5.2 *When the Cord Breaks: Identity Compartmentalization as an Adjustment Strategy*

Reconciling such influential interaction contexts as school and family generates tension for the adolescents interviewed, which compels them to adopt various strategies to be able to cope with what may appear to be irreconcilable gender norms. Most of the participant testimonies reflected a remarkable dynamic:

There's a History teacher in school who says she's a feminist and always tells us how women have been hidden in important things like Science, Art, History... She makes us think a lot about that...why guys are more and we are less...And I think that we have to be equal...But when I get home and I mention those things, you can't imagine what I get...I ask why my brothers don't do their own chores and why my father doesn't wash my mother's clothes. He asks me where I get these things, and he chastises me...he says, "you are turning Spanish." Mom doesn't say anything, and my sisters get out of there! (smiles). So I prefer not to bring up the subject at home, I just talk about it with my friends... (Moroccan-born girl, age 15).

At first, these adolescents adopt a resistance strategy, initially confronting the home-based practices that don't coincide with school-based norms that they perceive to be in line with their own thinking. The authority figure, particularly parents from Galicia or African or South American countries with lower levels of education, responds with disapproval, mocking, or avoidance. So they then move on to a second strategy involving individual/collective and internal/external dimensions (Labrador 2001) and separate their identity according to public and private domains.

If we apply to our case Grimson's (2011, p. 175) view that "for every social space there are possible representations, practices, and institutions (even if they are not in the majority); impossible representations, practices, and institutions; and representations, practices, and institutions that become hegemonic," the peer group shares and fosters possible spaces that provide alternatives to the heteronormative. These alternative spaces may be rejected or censored within the family, so that the public identity shifts periodically, depending on the social interaction context.

Most of our interviews revealed a tension between school teaching and the family's reaction to it. At the same time, we uncovered certain strategies deployed by some students to resolve this tension. These patterns did not extend uniformly throughout the data. To the contrary, there were some cases where the compartmentalization process based on internal/external dimensions was not so marked. There may be two reasons for this. The adolescents may choose to keep this tension open, so that the transition among school, peers, and family does not mean relegating their questionings and demands with respect to gender dynamics to the realm of the invisible: "(...) *And they're not going to shut me up, eh?*" (Galician-born girl, age 15); "(...) *they have to respect my ideas...*" (Brazilian-born boy, age 14). The tension may also be resolved because parents share the same vision or, even if not, the tension is resolved through a certain acceptance: "(...) *what's good for her, is good for me...*" (Brazilian father, age 42).

14.5.3 A Lingering Bias

In the last four decades, there has been considerable research on gender equality in education, involving diverse issues such as the use of sexist language in the classroom and the promotion of anti-sexist teaching strategies. Perhaps the majority of these analyses have focused on teachers' perceptions of student attitudes and characteristics as a function of sex. The intersection of these issues with the phenomenon of migration has given rise to some interesting research, such as that of Actis, de Prada and Pereda (2006) into teachers' and immigrant students' gender representations. In our study, continuing along this line of visibilizing the narratives of teachers, we asked them to respond to a variety of questions concerning the assignment of tasks, the types of activities carried out, their perceptions of their students' aptitudes and attitudes, etc.

One of the most salient trends among the responses to these questions is the higher attribution of violent traits and dominance to foreign-born boys compared to those born in Galicia. As the following comment about two male students from the Dominican Republic exemplifies, this type of argument was even supported by recent news reports:

They are impossible. They come here and seem to want to decide how and when things should be done. They don't do anything, they insult, they don't pay attention...And whoa, if you contradict them, they even threaten and get violent. It's like they were talking about the other day about that fight at the entrance to a disco (...) (Female teacher, age 53).

We also detected a slight tendency among teachers interviewed to refer to a classroom anecdote in support of a broader discourse that positions foreign-born girls, particularly those from countries like Morocco, as defenseless and submissive, in apparent contrast with Galician-born teenage girls:

It's not the same. The ones from here might be more or less clever, but they would never allow those things. There they live like that from when they're little. They get used to being obedient, to doing what their husbands, their fathers, and their religion dictate. They're not their own bosses, not even about how they dress. And when they get here the problems begin. Did you see what happened to that girl who didn't want to take off her hijab to go to school? (Male teacher, age 47).

Although all teachers interviewed insisted that they treat students based on values of equity, and these kinds of biased visions cannot be generalized, perceptions and opinions like those presented here may result in differential treatment not only for boys and girls, but also for foreign- and Galician-born students.

14.5.4 Education as a Solution

If she doesn't study, what does she expect to do? Be a waitress forever? Or does she want to be a cleaner like me? There's nothing wrong with work, it's better than stealing...I don't mind doing whatever it takes...but it's no kind of life...If she studies and gets a degree where she earns good money then she won't have to take the lowest jobs...or wait for her husband to support her... (Colombian mother, age 39).

When asked about the role that education might play in fomenting gender equality in the lives of their children most parents (along with a considerable number of teachers) agree that education ("going to school") is the solution. This tendency is in line with findings from other research. For example, Terrén and Carrasco (2007) point out the importance of family expectations of education, particularly among immigrant families, "education is extremely important in the life project of immigrants, and this degree of confidence accounts for a great deal of their confidence in the positive conclusion of the adventure of migration (...). Their children's successful education is (will be) the success of their migratory project" (p. 22).

Nevertheless, it is important to qualify such statements. When we delve deeper into what this means in terms of gender equality, we find a prevalent discourse that may serve to undermine the enormous human, institutional, and economic effort aimed at anti-sexist education. If we look beyond the initial superficial impression, we can see that the value parents place on education is not based on its potential to (de)-construct students' hegemonic representations, ideas, beliefs, values, or meanings about what it means to be men or women and their place in society. These parents express the hope that education will function as a social ladder, a kind of personal qualification process that will facilitate upward mobility through familial as well as professional power hierarchies. Based on this understanding of education, we can deduce that the vast majority of these parents see its benefits primarily in terms of their children's individual and professional "success." A notable exception can be seen in the case of one Moroccan mother, who perceives and promotes education as a solution that goes beyond professional qualification to serve as a space for constructing a critical gender identity; she sees critical analysis and revision of one's value system as a fundamental function of education:

Schools have to do more than teach [girls] to read and do multiplication. They must teach them to be people, to learn about different cultures, to recognize abuse, to feel good about themselves, and to figure out what they expect from themselves (Moroccan mother, age 38).

14.6 By Way of a Conclusion

Examining actors' own narratives has served a crucial function in this study, as it has allowed us to focus on perceptions instead of visions from the outside; in this sense, participants and interviewers engage in dialogue and "together explore a phenomenon and generate a process of reflection and understanding" (Marshall and Young 2006, p. 72). By collecting first-person testimonies we were able to access interpretations that actors make of social realities—"all perception is at the same time interpretation" (Kincheloe 2006, p. 45). These narratives provide a glimpse of the nature of various social and cultural forces and how they operate in the (de)-construction of gender identities. This vision is enriched by triangulating the various perspectives of students, teachers, and families from different backgrounds.

Our analysis of these discourses has revealed two key findings. First, teachers and families share an underlying assumption that education is for acquiring professional qualifications; school is not perceived as a space where adolescents can generate a critical perspective on identity construction, as these kinds of issues are eclipsed by the address of academic context. Students never described any classroom practices aimed at reconsidering male and female roles in society, and families tended to consider these topics to be beyond the remit of the family domain. Teachers themselves failed to see the need to address issues that "have already been resolved" (male teacher, age 47), such as equal treatment of and opportunities for

men and women. In such an environment, countless laudable attempts at legislation and individual initiatives designed to dismantle heteronormative practices have done little to resist professional discourses that serve to naturalize cultural differences between girls and boys and to support arguments for biological essentialism. Rather than attribute this naturalization of boy/girl cultures exclusively to teachers, we should heed Thorne's (2002) warning that this false assumption permeates even research conducted under the auspices of "gender studies." As Shields (2008) points out, many studies taking a gender perspective have served merely to simplify differences between men and women, in failing to account for "when and how gender operates as a system of oppression or as an aspect of identity" (p. 303).

In addition, we have interpreted these interviews through the lens of identity as a fluid and constantly changing construct. The variable and contingent nature of identity became even more evident as we explored understandings of gender held by adolescents, a group immersed in constant changes who demonstrated a great deal of difficulty in self-defining:

What does it mean to be a woman? I am a woman, I'm sure about that. Well, I'm a girl. I've known that since I was little. But I've never really stopped to think about what that means. I think it's about...I don't know...But it's not the same to be a woman here as it is in my country. And I don't think it's the same for everybody" (Brazilian-born girl, age 12).

Adolescents' family origins are just one more factor among many that we need to take into account in order to understand their complex identity constructions. But we must also keep in mind that these multiple sociocultural referents that support the beliefs and values of foreign-born individuals may constrain, but not determine, their gender identities. On the contrary, they provide adolescents with symbolic resources that allow them to renegotiate these identities. It is up to society as a whole, and more particularly schools and families, to create zones of possibility that will facilitate access to the full "spectrum of identity positions available for people to claim legitimately, or to choose not to" (Carrera et al. 2012, p. 1010). These institutions must allow for agency, facilitating processes of permanent identity (de)construction and, overall, making possible the development of the *I* in progress.

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Chapter 15

Cape Verdeans in Burela: Women's Empowerment Through Gendered Cultural Practices

Luzia Oca González

Abstract The first Cape Verdeans arrived at the northwest coastal fishing town of Burela in 1977, making this one of the most established immigrant communities in Galiza. Particularly in the case of the earliest immigrants, men were usually employed in the deep-sea fishing industry, which meant extended absences from home, leaving family and community responsibility largely in the hands of women. Most come from the Cape Verdean island of Santiago and identify as ethnically *badiu*, an identity strongly associated with African heritage and a history of resistance to European colonial practices of slavery and cultural assimilation. Based on a participatory ethnography methodology that included fieldwork in Burela (Galiza) and Santiago (Cape Verde), I explore the central role played by women in domestic and community contexts. Through a community initiative designed to promote women's empowerment, these women formed a music group that revived and reinterpreted a traditional genre that had been largely forgotten. This group served as a vehicle for integration and transformation of participants' lives; however, with time, it has become the site of intra-community conflict that more recent social interventions of a more bureaucratic and assimilationist nature have not managed to resolve.

Member of the Centre for Transdisciplinary Development Studies. This work is supported by European Structural and Investment Funds in the FEDER component, through the Operational Competitiveness and Internationalization Program (COMPETE 2020) [Project No. 006971 (UID/SOC/04011)], and national funds, through the FCT—Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology under the project UID/SOC/04011/2013.

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15.1 Introduction

In 1998 I was hired to coordinate a community-based intervention in Burela (Galiza) involving Cape Verdean immigrants who, after two decades, comprised about 140 people distributed among close to 40 family groups. The community was characterized by a high degree of social cohesion and homogeneity, with social relations following a separation model: maintenance of cultural practices and ideologies accompanied by few interpersonal relations with people belonging to other cultural groups (Berry 1984).

Although this community is not the largest in Galiza, its status as the first and oldest migrant collective as well as its “racial” difference has made it the case most frequently used by the media to exemplify Galizan immigration.

The *BogAvante* Project designed and conducted by the non-governmental association (NGO) REGAL¹ was a pioneer initiative with this immigrant group, which had never before received any attention from the authorities despite a presence in the area dating from 1977. The project took place from July 1998 to February 2000, with funding from the European Social Fund as part of the INTEGRA initiative that aimed to promote employment and social insertion of socially excluded groups. An initial evaluation revealed a series of contradictions between the community’s public image of supposed integration and the actual problems described by the Cape Verdean women, especially in terms of citizenship rights: the statelessness of children born in the Spanish territory, producing discrimination in terms of access to resources such as scholarships; lack of information about social resources; a failure to utilize the social services available in Burela; lack of job access to and training for women; lack of professional certification for the men who worked as sailors; inactivity over the previous few years of the cultural association Tabanka, which had been formed in 1987; serious school problems among the children; undervaluing of Cape Verdean culture by the community itself, despite strong processes of intergenerational cultural transmission; and a complete unfamiliarity with the culture on the part of the autochthonous population of Burela.

The overall objective of *BogAvante* was to improve Cape Verdean integration, taking this to mean a multidimensional and dynamic process (Giménez 2003). Given the participatory nature of the methodology, the beneficiaries were expected to take an active part in the intervention, which operated along three main lines of action: employment, social (rights), and cultural (taking an intercultural perspective in which the Cape Verdean cultural was highlighted as a tool for integration, as we will see). From the beginning, the Cape Verdean women adopted a central role in community organization as well as in the intervention itself.

When *BogAvante* ended in 2000, the municipal government took over the intervention, starting a new project with funding from the Galizan government.

¹*Rede Galega de Loita contra a Pobreza e a Exclusión Social* (Galizan Network of Struggle against Poverty and Social Exclusion).

Both levels of administration had been at odds with the previous intervention, as it called into question the supposedly perfect state of integration in the region. This later intervention has continued to the present time, and I served as coordinator for the first year and a half. The participatory component was replaced by more bureaucratic and charity-based practices, which shifted the theoretical framework by adopting an assimilationist approach to interethnic relations (Oca 2006).

Once I abandoned my position as coordinator, I began a long-term investigation centered on the Cape Verdean women, combining ethnographic methodologies with quantitative data collection. Participant observation was the principal research technique, combined with in-depth individual and group interviews. I conducted a community census on two separate occasions (1998 and 2008) and produced a reconstruction of the community composition over time, combining several official sources (Oca 2013). Based on this extended data collection, I reflect here on the social role of Cape Verdean women throughout their nearly four decades of settlement along the northeastern coast of Galiza, highlighting the unusual nature of the case as compared with other Cape Verdean migratory settlements. I also pay particular attention to the role of the participatory social (gender-focused) intervention in the transformation of their lives and to the importance of cultural practice as a means of integration, as long as it is accompanied by attention to employment and basic human rights.

15.2 The Origins of the Cape Verdean Community in Galiza

In 1977 a group of Cape Verdean men arrived to the Galizan province of Lugo to participate in the construction of a factory. Having tried unsuccessfully to migrate to central European countries, they eventually found employment with large Spanish construction companies.

These men arrived just two years after Cape Verde achieved independence from the Portuguese colonial empire to which it had belonged since its discovery in 1450. The population of the uninhabited archipelago was promoted by the Portuguese monarchy through colonial settlement, while at the same time transferring large groups of slaves originating from the African continent. This colonization took place in phases, beginning with the island of Santiago, which became the center of the sixteenth-century slave trade. The population process shaped the social structure, creating a new *mestizo* society with its own particular syncretic culture, combining elements of African and European culture to create a new Cape Verdean identity that was different from either of the two contributing antecedents.

According to the colonial mindset, the Cape Verdean population was considered to be assimilated, unlike the rest of the African colonies, which were defined as

indigenous (Fikes 2006). Among the 10 islands, Santiago mostly strongly maintained its African heritage. The island's inhabitants define themselves as *badiu*,² having been characterized by the colonial power as crude, uncultured, ignorant, and aggressive as a result of their dark skin and a set of cultural practices and expression that had been developed through contact between slave and colonial cultures (Fikes 2000), particularly those related to birth and death rituals, language, and musical forms. The history of the *badiu* population shows a marked resistance to cultural assimilation by the Portuguese colonial power, which has relegated them to a subaltern position in the archipelago, despite the fact that Santiago is the capital city.

Cape Verde was the first colony to establish a printing press (1842) and secondary education, specifically on the island of São Vicente, which gave rise to an influential intellectual elite in the 1930s. In contrast, Santiago lacked educational institutions, being considered more black and African than the other racially mixed and assimilated communities (Fikes 2006).

When slavery was abolished, a large contingent of the Cape Verdean population was transported to cacao plantations of the equatorial archipelago of São Tomé and Príncipe. This migration, considered “forced” (Carreira 1983), took place between 1863 and 1970 and was mainly comprised of people from Santiago, who were easily recruited to replace slave labor as a result of local drought and famine (Fikes 2000).

This forced migration stands in contrast with the more “spontaneous” migration to promising destinations involving people from the other islands, who have migrated to the Americas since the end of the eighteenth century. Europe emerged as a destination in the 1960s, with a clear distribution according to the island of origin. The *badiu* entered the migratory flows around this time, when they were recruited to replace workers in the Portuguese capital who had migrated to France. The pioneers of the Cape Verdean migration to Spain arrived by way of Lisbon.

Once in Galiza, as the different construction phases of the factory were completed, the Cape Verdeans began to leave the area. At the same time, the shift of the autochthonous work force to the industrial sector left a relative opening in the deep-sea fishing sector. A small group of men replaced the local Burela fishermen who were hired to work in the factories. The fishing industry became their exclusive source of employment until the beginning of the twenty-first century, allowing them to settle in the area and strongly influence the development of the community.

²The term *badiu/badia* comes from the Portuguese term *vadio*, a perjorative term meaning vagrant and lazy that was applied to runaway slaves in Santiago and those who refused to work for the masters. The population eventually appropriated the term and adapted it to their own Creole language, transforming the original negative connotations into positive ones that became associated with the identity of Santiago's inhabitants, regardless of their skin color.

15.3 The *Badiu* Women of Burela: Empowered by the Absence of Men

Burela is an exception among *badiu* migratory flows, as the women have come to occupy spaces and social roles to which access is usually forbidden or limited. In the absence of the seafaring men, adult married women adopt a central position in the family, as if they were single parents. In 1998 almost 100% of the households adopted this “matrifocal” configuration.

This central role played by the women in their families and the small communal society was strengthened and transferred to the public space as a result of the empowerment-based social intervention that took place two decades after the men entered the fishing industry and the community was established. After this point, the community structure shifted due to the arrival of new immigrants from the archipelago and new male employment patterns; the increased presence of men in the homes conditioned the household organization for most of the families that settled in the first decade of the twenty-first century. In the mid-twentieth century, while some of the men began to find employment in inshore fishing and construction, most continued in the deep-sea fishing sector: These were the households that maintained the matrifocal structure (65% in 2008).

The *BogAvante* Project helped provide a lasting solution to most of the problems related to citizen's rights, especially those of women (legal dependence on their husbands and the impossibility of legal employment) and their descendants (statelessness). In addition, taking advantage of the women's freedom from their husbands' control and their established role of serving the men's needs, the project facilitated the development of new social roles for these women as representatives of their community, their culture, and even of their municipality. Among the various activities that took place as part of the overall intervention, I will focus here on that which most clearly supported the empowerment of Cape Verdean women in the public sphere: the emergence of a musical group that opened new paths for relating to the destination society. This was an unplanned outcome that serves to demonstrate how open and participatory methods can create the conditions necessary for the emergence of group capabilities in different formats, in this case involving artistic and cultural expression.

15.3.1 *Batuko: Female Expression of Resistance to Colonial Assimilation*

*Batuko*³ is a musical form characteristic of the island of Santiago that emerged in Burela, recovered after years of abandon as part of a series of activities that aimed

³I use the term *batuko*, but it also appears as *batuque* or *batuku* in other publications.

to share Cape Verdean culture with the receptor society. A musical (*batuko*) group involving a dozen women emerged during the first year of the municipal government project, becoming the most lasting and tangible aspect of the former social intervention, along with the solution of legal problems and the reactivation of the community association, whose representatives were all women.

Batuko is considered to be one of the Cape Verdean cultural forms that most clearly draw upon African roots. It consists of three components: percussion, singing, and dancing (rhythm, word, and corporality).

It is usually performed by a group of women⁴ arranged in a circle or semicircle, who beat on a folded strip of cloth gripped between the knees, referred to as a *tchabeta*.⁵ It is usually rectangular or sometimes rounded. There are two kinds of beats (*rapikadu* and *ban-ban*), which together produce a characteristic rhythm that is repeated throughout a piece, progressively increasing to reach a final climax of sound and rhythm. Superimposed on this rhythm, a lead singer chants verses repeated by the rest of the group in call-and-response format, increasingly short phrasings that follow the percussion track, so that by the climax they consist of brief and rapid verses.

Just before the climax the third element emerges in the form of the *batuko* dance (*da ku torno*), which involves shaking the hips while the rest of the body remains relatively still. The dancing woman⁶ positions herself in the middle of the group and begins to roll her cloth (*sulada*) along her hip, at the same time moving her body slowly and gently. As the rhythm of the voices and the *tchabetas* increases, she moves faster and faster. Every *batukadeira* has her own particular style, often closing her eyes during the most intense moments, raising her arms, or holding her head high. Historically, this form of dance was considered to be morally reprehensible by Catholic authorities and was strongly repressed as a highly sexualized activity.

Batuko lyrics address aspects of the lives of the women who perform them. According to Nogueira (2010), the content of the lyrics lends historical coherence to this musical form throughout its evolution of changing forms and diverse modalities, as they are always related to particular circumstances and the criticism or praise of certain individuals or groups. *Batuko* accompanies baptisms, weddings, and patron saints' days, celebrated the night before the religious ceremony. At other times its performance itself is the celebration.

One common factor in the various explanations of the origins of *batuko* is its association with the slave and freed slaves populations of Santiago. As a consequence of the inferior social status of these groups, the genre was subject to various phases of devaluation, persecution, and prohibition by civil and religious authorities, considered in colonial times to be an immoral, lascivious act typical of savages

⁴Male participation in *batuko* is currently very minor, although there is evidence of a more active male participation in ancient times.

⁵This word describes the percussion instrument as well as the sound it produces.

⁶Although there is usually a single dancer, multiple women or even men might dance.

and, as such, incompatible with customs that were deemed civilized (Nogueira 2010). In the words of Delgado⁷ (as cited in Nogueira 2010, p. 72), “*batuco* gained the right to be performed on stage only when the people who developed it gained access to History’s stage.” The first *batuco* stage performance dates from just a few weeks before the declaration of Cape Verdean independence, when a group of *batukadeiras* from Cidade Velha took the stage during a cultural protest, to the delight of the audience.

After independence, *batuko* continued to develop as a living genre, increasing and diversifying its presence in non-traditional contexts, taking on new functions related to the emergence of new practices of power and leisure in the Cape Verdean society, and becoming the image of Cape Verde abroad. At the end of the 1990s the first commercial recordings were produced on the archipelago, and in the following decade the genre became the subject of research and documentary.⁸

In *badiu* society, the *batukadeiras* constitute a socially permissible case of transgression of norms for women. They are allowed greater mobility, as they have to attend a variety of festivals from weddings and institutional commemorations to political campaigns, usually at night, a time that is generally considered off limits for decent women. *Batukadeira* groups also constitute a privileged space where different generations of women come together for various reasons, where performing *batuko* provides an excuse for commenting on their reality as they reinterpret, protest, or negotiate gender roles.

Carla Semedo (2009, p. 1) analyzes *batuko* as a “space for female socialization in and through which *batukadeiras* construct themselves and are constructed as women in this interaction among grandmothers, mothers, daughters, sisters, and peers, linking their trajectories and their daily lives.” In the context of this sociability, group members take on a special identity, not just in terms of the group itself, but in relation to women in general in the *badiu* society, who share a particular way of being in the world and relating to others (ibid.).

Batuko is a living genre in Santiago, with groups in practically every town. During my visits to Cape Verde I attended performances of all kinds of *batukos*: private and small, large groups, solemn, organized, spontaneous, critical, and adulatory, performed on the floor (*terreru*) or on the stage (*palko*), formed by women and girls of all ages, some even formed by men and boys, that accompanied religious, political, institutional, and cultural celebrations.

Batuko can be found throughout the Cape Verdean diaspora, with more or less formal groups in various communities that include *badiu* people. The birthplace of these practices off the archipelago was Portugal, and the group *Finka-pé*, formed in 1988, is considered to be the pioneer in the migratory context.

⁷Pedro Delgado, reporter for the *Novo Jornal de Cabo Verde*, writing under the pseudonym *Wanga* in the issue published on June 12, 1975, p. 6.

⁸Castro (2010).

15.3.2 *Batuko in Burela: The Emergence of a Forgotten Art Form*

When I started to work in Burela, *batuko* was completely unknown to me and somewhat forgotten by the Cape Verdean women, who never mentioned it. A partial explanation can be found in the lack of new arrivals to Burela in the 1990s, during the phase of renovation and revaluation of the genre in the country of origin. The women who pioneered the initiative had left Cape Verde before independence, so they had fully experienced the colonial repression of *batuko* but had much a more marginal experience of its revival. Nevertheless, the Cape Verdean women preserved the memory of an art form that they had lived and enjoyed throughout their childhood and youth. I believe that it never would have emerged when it did⁹ if not for the efforts to support a multidimensional approach to integration, which set the stage for its appearance—at a dinner celebrating the completion of training courses organized by the *BogAvante* Project.

When the meal was finished, the women spontaneously began to beat upon the table and sing, amidst laughter, until they managed to get the drumming right and remember a lyric from the independence era. They themselves were quite surprised at their own strength, connecting to a part of themselves and of their identity that they had abandoned through so many years of emigration and acculturation.

Later, in 2000, when I was working in the municipal government, and given that the arrangements to bring a *batuko* group from Lisbon had fallen through, I proposed to the women that they get together and prepare a demonstration. A group began to practice, preparing skirts, *cloths*, and *suladas* for the performance. They prepared *tchabetas* from rags wrapped in plastic bags. A t-shirt identifying the *Tabanka Association* completed the outfit of the group, which adopted the name *Batuko Tabanka* to link the musical genre with the name of the cultural association to which they belonged. The original group was made up of 12 women, all of whom participated in the project activities.

At first only one member of the group, who had recently arrived from Cape Verde, dared to dance (*da ku torno*). The dance was clearly the part of the *batuko* that was the most intimidating and potentially embarrassing for both performers and spectators, particularly children and husbands.

Shortly after this first performance, the women began to receive invitations from diverse places and organizations. For about a year and a half I accompanied the group as they performed in various contexts, such as a solidarity festival, a Christian youth group meeting, Galizan television, a Women's Day celebration (8 March), and a summer festival, among others.

⁹*Batuko* may possibly have emerged in a more informal way, but I think I can safely say that it would not have involved women from the initial settlement, but rather those who arrived with the later wave of immigration that began around 2000, who came from a society where this musical genre was more alive than ever.

As the group gained popularity and new waves of immigrants arrived, new *batukadeiras* joined the group and provided a heightened vitality, particularly in terms of the dance. More frequent visits between Burela and Cape Verde, typical of a growing migratory movement, gave rise to a wider circulation of recorded music and documentaries, providing sources of inspiration and access to new trends in interpretation, costuming, *tchabeta* design, topics for lyrics, etc.

What began as a source of entertainment and cultural demonstration within the context of the social intervention project and the *Tabanka* Association was ultimately transformed into an ideal medium not only for dissemination of Cape Verdean culture, but also for visiting new places and meeting new people—and even provided a supplementary income. At first the group charged very little, usually performing in exchange for transportation and meals.

In 2003 the group went professional, with management taken over by agents specializing in public performance. Their popularity increased, and they released their first CD, *Djuntamô*,¹⁰ in 2009, having performed throughout Galiza and the rest of Spain and participated in documentaries and profiles featured on several television channels, including a documentary recorded in Cape Verde in 2006.¹¹

Batuko Tabanka's musical career was launched in a social context that supported intercultural relations. As the decade progressed, the increasing demand for these kinds of musical groups was further supported by a growing Lusophone movement in Galiza¹² that placed *Batuko Tabanka* at the center of cultural events dedicated to the recognition of the common roots of the Portuguese and Galizan languages, as well as institutional events, cultural or solidarity festivals, municipal cultural activities, Cape Verdean diaspora gatherings, etc. (Fig. 1).

The existence of the group, far from what was initially expected, changed the lives of its members. One of the most important changes was in terms of leisure time activities, which had been practically non-existent for these women. With the creation of the group, free time was structured around rehearsals, performances, interviews, trips, and celebrations. This increase in relations with autochthonous collectives, characterized by admiration and recognition, served to raise the self-esteem of these women as they saw their culture celebrated, as reflected in the following *batuko* song lyric:

¹⁰The title translates roughly as “Hands together,” making reference to community collaboration.

¹¹*Cabo Verde sabi* (Cape Verde rules!), by Manolo Maseda (2006).

¹²The Galaico–Portuguese language originated on both sides of the river Miño, which forms the border between Portugal and Galiza. In the fifteenth century, Galiza was incorporated into the Kingdom of Spain, while Portugal remained independent, and the language developed along different trajectories on either side of the border. Nevertheless, Galizan and Portuguese form part of the same language family, and there are social and cultural movements in Galiza to incorporate the language into the Lusophone language family. The lack of a nation-state has been identified as a hindrance to the achievement of this objective.



Fig. 15.1 Batuko Tabanka rehearsal. Burela, 2005. Personal photograph

*Ma kandu nu komesaba kanta, ma nos nu ka sabeba nada
o, nen pa undi nu ta baba; o, nen chintidu ku esperansa
ma nos kultura dja lebanu longi
Batuko Tabanka tene pe finkadu.*

(Original lyrics in Cape Verdean Creole)

When we started to perform
we didn't know anything
not even where we were going
without meaning or hope
Now our culture has taken us far
Batuko Tabanka is well-rooted
(English translation)

For many members, the formation of the group marked a turning point in their lives, which before had been dedicated exclusively to family and work. Antonina, lead singer and one of the original *batukadeiras*, is current president of the *Batuko Tabanka* Association that is comprised of members of the musical group. As she explains:

It changed a lot for me, because also, getting to know people, places, because I, before...I did nothing but take care of my children, my job, and my husband, who was away at sea. My life, yes, my things...twenty years without stepping foot in Burela, because I live three kilometers away, in Cangas de Foz, twenty years without attending the festival. Yes, yes, yes, just work, work, work. (Carnacea and Lozano 2011¹³)

The act of *batuko* itself has a therapeutic and cathartic element that arises from the rhythmic percussion and chanted verses, even more so in the case of the dance, whose repetitive movements are reminiscent of a trance state. As expressed by one song lyric, negative things are forgotten as soon as the *batuko* begins, helping the *batukadeiras* put up with the daily trials of lives marked by separations.

N odja Tabanka ta ba batuku;
ma nu ta leba nha na pensamentu
N ta pidi Deus ta danu bida ku saudi;
ma mi na nha batuku n ka ta lembra di nada
A mi n ta da tchabeta, n ta marra nha sulada;
ma mi n ta da ku torno, ma N ka lembra di nada.

(Original lyrics in Cape Verdean Creole)

When *Tabanka* starts to *batucar*, I carry you in my thoughts
 I ask God to give us life and health,
 when I'm in my *batuko* I don't remember anything
 I play the *tchabeta* grip my *sulada*, I dance around and around,
 and I don't remember anything
 (English translation)

In a migratory context defined by distance from the beloved homeland, *batuko*'s role in identity formation was intensified. It inspired intensely profound feelings of closeness, positioning the *batukadeiras* in a kind of limbo linked to the motherland.

I can't express it in words, it's too big for me, yes, *Batuko Tabanka*, for me, I think it was the best thing that every happened to us, for me, for the others I don't know, but for me, yes...because every time that I *batuko*, I represent Cape Verde, it's like Cape Verde is right in front of me. (Antonina, cited in Carnacea and Lozano 2011)

Batuko has produced a public image of the Cape Verdean women defined by their social participation as community leaders and by the art that they are capable of creating and transmitting. Their image has become so positive that they might be considered as representatives not only of their homeland and community, but also of their new home, Burela.

Ángeles Carnacea (2011) aptly describes the changes and consistencies that the music group's creation has meant for these women, reflecting on the consequences of an empowerment-based social intervention on their lives:

¹³Documentary video available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FEVkt9ArZLM>.

The women of *Batuko Tabanka* still work as caregivers, domestic servants, and the service industry, at the same time that they have become professional musicians. Music has changed their lives. From devoting themselves exclusively to the care of their children and husbands to travelling and visiting new cities and meeting new people - thanks to the group. They are well-known, they are “made in Burela” and they are highly valued. *Batuko Tabanka* is a symbol of identity for Burela (p. 249).

15.3.3 *Batuko, a Stage for Intra-community Conflict*

In the early years of *Batuko Tabanka*, some of the women who arrived in later waves of migration became part of the group. As the years passed, the group members were able to maintain a sense of unity despite various internal conflicts, which were offset by the sheer joy produced by the art form itself, as well as the benefits of breaking the daily routine and the earnings from the performances.

As the community grew, a conflict between older and younger residents became apparent. The situation manifested itself in the creation of a new group in 2006 (*Batuko Rabentola*) and a new association by the same name in 2009, whose members mostly had arrived in the more recent waves of immigration and began to attract some of the older women who left *Batuko Tabanka* due to a disagreement with its organization.

The management team of both associations is comprised exclusively of women, maintaining the historical female representation of the community. At the same time, increased immigration levels and women’s loss of autonomy due to family



Fig. 15.2 *Batuko Tabanka* (red) and *Batuko Rabentola* (green) in the celebration of Cape Verdean Women’s Day. Burela, March, 2012. Personal photograph

restructuring since the mid-2000s have produced some masculinization within the community, which is to some degree hidden (Fig. 2).

The increasing rivalry between these two groups eventually undermined the previously characteristic unity that used to facilitate community problem-solving and the organization of activities, impeding efforts to address challenges that arose with the advent of the economic crisis that struck Spain in 2008. The fragmentation of the group undermined the role of social actor previously held by the community organization, now divided into three different associations whose relations in recent years have been tense and conflictive.

Rather than work to overcome rivalries and conflicts, the municipal government has only exacerbated the problem: A system of patronage encourages organizations to compete with each other to receive local resources. Politicians use *batuko* as a definitive example of integration, covering up problems that have emerged in various contexts as the immigrant population has grown and the economic crisis has worsened the situation. These issues include lack of quality education for the numerous children and adolescents of Cape Verdean descent who suffer elevated levels of school failure, the consequences of unemployment, lack of employment training, gender violence, problems of documentation, and a return to the level of segregation and separation (Berry 1984) that had defined the community until 1998, when the transformative intervention contributed to opening possibilities for a non-assimilationist integration.

The municipal elections of 2015 resulted in a change of government, and the current Councilwoman for Immigration and Cooperation is descended from one of the first Cape Verdean families to settle the region. Only time will tell whether these recent changes will make it possible for *batuko* to once again provide a vehicle for a multidimensional approach to integration, uniting the groups in conflict around a common goal.

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Part III
Forging the New, Multicultural Galicia

Chapter 16

Participatory Citizenship Initiatives as a Crucial Factor for Social Cohesion

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Abstract In societies with incipient and growing cultural diversity, such as Galicia, it is vital to initiate strategies for inclusion, social cohesion, and positive intercultural relations that promote respect, interaction, and mutual enrichment. Such objectives require transformative processes based on full social participation, which requires developing an active citizenry. In this sense, community participation takes on an increasingly important role, and involves commitment in terms of administration, technical resources and citizens themselves. In this chapter I review some community intervention experiences in the Galician autonomous community of Spain that aim to promote intercultural relations at the neighborhood level, and for which participatory citizenship is crucial for the success of the initiative. I will analyze these projects in light of broader national tendencies and strategies.

16.1 Integration via Participatory Citizenship

Given the world's increasing mobility, it has been said that we are living in an “age of migration” (Castles and Miller 2004). Migration has become an “unstoppable phenomenon that is a product of globalization and at the same time feeds it” (García Roca and Lacomba 2008, p. 13)¹.

As the permanence of this reality became evident, the focus of responses began to shift, incorporating policies designed to restrict movements as well as those designed to foster integration (García Roca and Lacomba 2008). It became increasingly clear that immigrants should be integrated into the receiving society and that public institutions should enact specific policies and practices to this end.

¹We have translated this and all other Spanish citations.

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In this sense, one of the most important challenges of our time is to address the central consequence of migration: cultural diversity (Castles and Miller 2004).

Malgesini and Giménez (2000, p. 57) define integration as “a process of mutual adaptation of two sociocultural segments”, through which: (1) the minority is incorporated into the receiving society under equal conditions and with the same rights and opportunities as autochthonous citizens, and (2) the majority accepts and incorporates the normative, institutional, and ideological changes necessary to make this possible.

Martín Rojo et al. (2003) see promoting relations between autochthonous and immigrant persons as well facilitating migrants’ linguistic and cultural identities as necessary conditions for achieving true integration. Along these same lines, Pajares (2005) refers to *citizenship* and *intercultural* integration. He defines citizenship integration as the “process whereby the legal and actual rights of migrant persons are equalized with those of the rest of the population, as well the access, in conditions of equal opportunities and treatment, to all goods, services, and channels of participation offered by society (p. 99)”. This process must be accompanied by intercultural dialogue that permits the adoption of positive and desirable cultural norms while rejecting undesirable ones, with the goal of achieving an intercultural integration that results in the construction “[...] by both autochthonous people and immigrants of a society capable of integrating diversity into the rule of law” (p. 114). Recognizing all forms of diversity is the first step toward achieving social cohesion. The second is assuring that this diversity does not result in inequalities (Zapata-Barrero and Pinyol Jiménez 2013). When societies promote interconnections on equal terms among different social and cultural sectors of the population “that can’t be blended, but rather recognized as a whole striving for equality in terms of labor and social opportunities,” these societies make advances toward social cohesion (Solé Puig et al. 2011, p. 26).

Interculturality is the approach most coherent with this understanding of integration. Assimilation is ethically untenable, as it involves “an attempt at uniformity that conceals an act of violence towards the minority—the imposition of the dominant culture” (Gualda Caballero 2001, p. 16), seeking to eliminate cultural traits of immigrant populations (Entzinger 2000; Banting and Kymlicka 2006; Bauböck 2003). Multiculturalism has also proven inadequate, as it is based on an essentialist and static view of culture that ignores the heterogeneity of the receiving society and accepts the coexistence of separate groups rather than striving for social harmony among them. Underlying this model are processes that relegate the immigrant population to ghettos and promote racist ideologies (Gualda Caballero 2001; Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010). In contrast to these problematic approaches, interculturality emerges as the strategy best equipped to address diversity.

The respect for and the right to difference, accompanied by social dynamics that foster relationships and exchanges among different groups, are indispensable for constructing a public culture and common identity (Torres 2011). As opposed to

mere coexistence, interculturality strives to improve social cohesion, prioritizing individual over group rights (Giménez Romero 2003; Meer and Moddod 2011). Interculturality sees difference as an opportunity to learn and share and diversity as a possibility for enrichment and social development. The idea is to promote mutual respect between minority and majority groups through their interaction, keeping in mind that these interactions can often involve conflict (Gualda Caballero 2001). Intercultural dialog, at both the individual and group levels, is fundamental for active negotiation of the conditions and norms that govern social relations (Evanoff 2006).

Interculturality is a reaction to the tendency to problematize diversity by identifying it with disunion. Diversity is reconceived as a vehicle for innovation and creativity, and as a public resource that can lead to cohesion. At the same time, it serves as a policy strategy to eliminate xenophobic discourses and attitudes in the public space, to the extent that it attacks the roots of a populism that opposes diversity (Zapata-Barrero and Pinyol Jiménez 2013).

Diversity is not conceptualized exclusively in terms of national origins, but also in terms of other elements such as age, sex, education, language, and religion, and so intercultural practices are aimed at the society in general, which is understood as a diverse whole. Everyone's interaction is increased, with the aim of socializing in diversity and intercultural understanding. Such practices provide mechanisms for creating and distributing these understandings and validating those values considered essential for a cohesive and diverse society: respect, participation, and interaction. The short-term objective is socialization, that is, that these multiple manifestations of diversity themselves establish a public and civic culture that guides institutional and people's behavior. Long-term goals are personal and collective development, peaceful coexistence, and social cohesion (Zapata-Barrero and Pinyol Jiménez 2013).

Intercultural policies of this nature focus on the local, moving away from the traditional idea of the nation state as the manager of diversity. Diversity is fundamentally an urban phenomenon whose challenges require intervention at the level of local administration: since they are closest to the people, these local agencies are best suited to offer rapid, practical, and efficient responses (Aragón Medina et al. 2009). It is in the cities where diversity is perceived and *lived*, where lack of trust is produced and populist anti-immigrant discourses are generated—resulting in segregation. For these reasons, European cities are increasingly taking up the responsibility of designing intercultural strategies and actions for managing diversity (Zapata-Barrero and Pinyol Jiménez 2013).

In this chapter I will first describe an intercultural experience that has had considerable impact on several Spanish cities. Then I will present a more detailed analysis of two such projects that have been implemented in Galicia, based on data collected as part of a research project based at the University of A Coruña, whose objective was to investigate the integration of immigrants in Galicia.

16.2 The Spanish International Cities Network (RECI) Experience: An Anti-Rumor strategy

Intercultural Cities is a program designed by the Council of Europe and the European Commission as a pilot initiative in 2008—The European Year for Intercultural Dialogue, and expanded in 2010. The objective is to offer European cities tools for managing diversity (Council of Europe 2015). The Spanish network is called RECI, and participating cities share the common commitment to promote diversity management policies based on the principal of interculturality.

The Spanish RECI network, initiated in 2011 and coordinated by the Interdisciplinary Immigration Research Group (GRITIM) at the Pompeu Fabra University in Barcelona, promotes interculturality as a city-based project. The network culture contributes to simultaneous dialogue within the local administration, between administration and civil society, and among the cities that form part of the network. The objective is to maintain contact among the different Spanish cities that have intercultural programs so that they can exchange experiences, discuss strategies for design and action, and learn from each other. They share a proposal that aims to show how these kinds of interactions among agents of diversity contributes to personal, social, and economic development, as well as to creativity and the capacity for innovation (Zapata-Barrero and Pinyol Jiménez 2013).

RECI indicatives draw their perspective and strength from the accumulated experiences of cities that have implemented diversity management programs as well as an academic discourse that situates these actions in the theoretical framework of interculturality. The founding cities are Barcelona, Bilbao, Donostia-San Sebastián, Cartagena, Fuenlabrada, Getxo, Jerez de la Frontera, Parla, Sabadell, and Tenerife, while the cities of Castellón de la Plana and Santa Coloma de Gramenet joined later.

One of the most interesting of these intercultural projects is the BCN Anti-rumor strategy². Initiated by Immigration Services of Barcelona in 2010, the strategy is designed to counteract the negative rumors that disrupt social harmony through collaboration among various social actors and entities—promoting the figure of the “anti-rumor agent.” This innovative initiative is directed at all residents, with an objective to maintain social cohesion and promote interaction on equal terms by fighting against rumors, stereotypes and prejudices relating to cultural diversity. Specific tasks include counteracting existing rumors, making sure new rumors don’t spread, and facilitating positive interaction among people from different cultural groups. Participant work on a manual that identifies rumors circulating among people as well as communication media, constantly updating content and providing information that serves to refute these rumors. Their work is disseminated in various ways: informational pamphlets (*Pocket rumors*), trainings for anti-rumor

²<http://www.bcnantirumors.cat>.

agents, a “Practical guide for refuting rumors and stereotypes about cultural diversity,” a comic entitled “Blanca Rosita Barcelona” that tells the story of an elderly woman (Rosita) and her Peruvian caregiver (Blanca) in a way that addresses certain prevalent rumors about these professionals, viral video-based PowerPoint campaigns that contrast erroneous perceptions with reality, videos that use humor and parody to reflect on the injustice of rumors, and citizen debates that reflect respect toward immigration and intercultural relations. Collaboration with the media is an essential part of the Barcelona Anti-rumor Strategy, and to this end 70 episodes of the program *Tot un Món* (A Whole World) broadcast on Catalan television challenged rumors and stereotypes.

The impact of the strategy at both the national and international level has demonstrated the importance of addressing diversity at the local level and using innovative approaches. Based on its success, other Spanish cities, including Sabadell, Getxo, Fuenlabrada, and Tenerife, have progressively adopted similar programs.³ These initiatives put into practice the concept of interculturality defined by Zapata-Barrero and Pinyol Jiménez (2013): making visible and re-valuing diversity and promoting interpersonal encounters as an opportunity to destroy prejudices and stereotypes that make up the public imaginary—with the goal of creating tolerance, interaction, and intercultural understandings.

16.3 Galician Experiences

The project entitled “Linguistic and Cultural Maintenance among Immigrant Groups—New Perspectives on Integration,” conducted by a group of researchers at the University of A Coruña, was designed to identify how integration is conceptualized by agencies that support immigrants as well as by immigrants themselves. To this end, we conducted 32 semi-structured interviews in 18 NGO’s and 14 immigrant associations throughout Galicia.⁴ Of the 18 NGO’s, seven operate at the national level, while 11 are specifically Galician. Five of the NGO’s work exclusively with immigrant groups, and the rest respond to the needs of all people at risk of social exclusion. The majority of the immigrant associations are comprised of a group of people who share a common country of origin, with five exceptions: four combine a Mosque with an Islamic cultural center, and so address the needs of Muslims from different nationalities, and a fifth association defines itself as multicultural, including immigrants in general as well as autochthonous people. Three associations are specifically for women. In two of these cases, the women created the association to cover the community’s needs while the men spend most of the

³<http://www.antirumores.com>.

⁴The project, financed from 2014 to 2017 through a grant from the Galician government under the Emerging Researchers initiative, also involved interviews with social service employees and primary school teachers (See Sánchez Bello, this volume).

year working at sea (see Oca González, this volume, for an extended analysis of one of these). The third women's association was formed to compensate for the tendency of men to dominate the mixed organizations. The representatives of the associations that we interviewed were from Algeria, Cape Verde, Morocco, Palestine, Poland, Western Sahara, and Senegal.

We asked representatives of NGO's and associations about their understandings of "integration," the specific practices designed by their organization to promote it, and their demands for improving integration policy. In the following citations from these interviews, we have limited the specificity of information about interviewees or the organizations they represent, in order to preserve anonymity.

Everyone we interviewed described integration as a reciprocal process that must involve immigrants as well as autochthonous people. In the words of the secretary of one Moroccan association, integration is "a two-way street" where "we have to [...] respect the norms of the country where we are; also the country has to accept us as immigrants, as persons, with rights and responsibilities." Along these same lines, the coordinator of a Galician NGO emphasized that "integration is crippled if the society does not get involved, doesn't facilitate it." For this reason, it is "crucial to work with immigrants and also with the local population; not just do things for immigrants, but for everyone," as one NGO worker stressed.

All respondents also agreed that genuine integration cannot involve assimilation. For example, the president of one association argued that integration must guarantee "the possibility of maintaining your culture and your traditions," while the vice president of an Islamic association saw integration as a situation where the immigrant person "has to adapt to the culture, to the customs of the society where he lives but, at the same time, he doesn't have to be stripped of his roots, his culture, his language."

Communication is the foundation of the integration process, as it allows us to challenge our prejudices and stereotypes and leads to mutual understanding, respect and, ultimately, social harmony. This is the sentiment expressed by the president of another Islamic association, who argues that we must "interact, get to know each other, so that there is complete respect and integration." The president of a Senegalese association characterized "relations with the people from here" as a "principal" element in advancing integration, "If it doesn't start from that door, it's difficult to get very far."

The director of a local NGO pointed to intercultural mediation as a potential key to engagement and understanding. As the Immigration Program coordinator for a national NGO pointed out, "the problem is not just about language, but culture: there are important cultural clashes." The majority of our informants argued that awareness-raising work, designed to counteract stereotypes and to reveal the value of diversity, is fundamental. This work must take place in the streets, through associations and, especially, in schools; a representative of a national NGO declared that "learning about cultural differences and working on values of respect and tolerance should be a part of the education curriculum."

In order to foster communication, our interviewees in general saw a need for designing actions and creating spaces that foster interaction and participation. The

president of a multicultural association argued that, “in order to have interactions [...] there has to be substance, there has to be a motive.” As examples of “substance for participation and integration,” he offered gastronomy, music, and traditional games. He added that “for these collaborative activities” institutions must “create spaces for encounters where people can participate, and motivate people, which is fundamental.” Such intercultural actions must “transmit the idea that we are actually very similar, to create empathy” and “express diversity in terms of richness and opportunity,” avoiding a “folklorization that reduces cultures to food or typical dances”—in the words of two representatives of national NGO’s that serve migrant populations.

In summary, these interviews expressed a demand for intercultural practices. Specifically, we see a need for more community vitalization projects that foster neighborhood participation and construct an active citizenry or, as the president of one NGO put it, “organized civil society capable of identifying needs and finding solutions.” It is vital that these projects remain stable over time since, as the territorial manager of a national NGO revealed, “it’s a typical problem that projects lack continuity.”

In the following sections I will describe two intercultural initiatives carried out by NGO’s participating in our study.

16.3.1 The Open Neighborhoods! Project in the city of Santiago de Compostela

The Cooperation for Peace Assembly (ACPP)⁵ is a non-profit national organization whose objective is to construct a more just and equal society. In 2014, the ACPP branch located in the Galician city of Santiago de Compostela coordinated an intercultural project involving residents, schools, and local organizations that was designed to foster social harmony and participatory citizenship in the neighborhoods of As Fontiñas e San Pedro.

The project *Barrios Abertos!* (Open Neighborhoods!) was specifically inspired by some cases of school-based discrimination, but responded more generally to the existing lack of participation by local immigrant groups in neighborhood activities, which rendered them relatively invisible and reinforced negative images. The project included awareness raising activities, development courses for health care and education professionals, and informational campaigns designed to make local diversity visible (including the production of a documentary video).

The video was produced by a group of 15 adolescents with migrant backgrounds who attended workshops on audiovisual production. The documentary, titled “Like magnets, different but equal,” consisted of 4 thematic micro-reports: participatory citizenship, interculturality, integration, and solidarity. Material was recorded at two

⁵<http://www.acpp.com/>.

major local events, a Spring Fair in the San Pedro Neighborhood and a solidary open-air market. At the Spring Fair several people of migrant origin set up their stalls, and the young documentary makers participated in a photography contest along with women and children. Neighborhood children sold some of their hand-crafts at the solidary market, making sure that children of immigrant families were included.

The documentary also included the life histories of three immigrant people. Extra material included a brief presentation of the project in the various languages present in the neighborhood, and video outtakes. The young people prepared the stories and took responsibility for the production, with the professionals interfering as little as possible with the adolescents' work. The screening of the documentary in both neighborhoods was conceptualized as an open interactional space involving the local residents. Fair Trade products were served as a way of raising awareness, accompanied by snacks made by a local Moroccan woman.

A presentation made at the San Pedro Sociocultural Center focused on prejudices and stereotypes about immigrants, healthcare cultures in their countries of origin, how to access the Galician health care system, and patient rights. Another talk was devoted to the educational system and employment, and a guide to community services was distributed to participants.

The project also included a series of social events aimed at children and youth. *Goals for Interculturality* consisted of a tournament of neighborhood football clubs and an intercultural supper of Fair Trade products and food prepared by Turkish and Dominican participants. A Solidary *Magosto*⁶ was designed to encourage immigrants to participate in traditional Galician festivals and to value diversity, and was included in the documentary video. In the *Meeting of Cultures activity*, immigrant people learned about the leisure time and recreational resources offered by their neighborhoods and participated in traditional Galician games, as a way familiarize themselves with elements of the autochthonous culture and to consider similarities with their own.

To inspire reflection about the nature of integration, there was a photography contest entitled "What is integration for you?," and the winning entries were displayed in the neighborhood sociocultural centers. Local schools hosted talks about interculturality and intercultural storytelling events.

To accompany the traditional Galician *Samain*⁷ festival (celebrated on 31 October), there was an activity designed to highlight ways of celebrating this holiday in other countries, particularly those where traditional festivals were incorporated into the Christian calendar in order to precede All Saint's Day (1st November). For example, one Guatemalan resident organized children's workshops on making traditional paper kites, or *barriletes*.

⁶The *Magosto* is a traditional Galician autumn festival that involves the collection and roasting of chestnuts.

⁷*Samain* is the Galician version of the Celtic harvest celebration that was widespread in pre-Christian European cultures.

The Open Neighborhoods! project followed the philosophy of the intercultural model: in the words of our informant, it generated “an atmosphere of respect and recognition of the advantages of living in intercultural contexts” and promoted integration “as participation in the primary level of socialization: the neighborhoods.”

16.3.2 *The Agra Civis⁸ Project in the City of A Coruña*

Agra Civis is an initiative organized by *Ecos do Sur* (Echoes of the South), an NGDO based in the Galician city of A Coruña that works towards the integration and social participation of society’s most vulnerable groups. Several other organizations collaborated in the project, which during 2014 and 2015 operated in *Agra do Orzán*, the neighborhood of A Coruña where almost 20% of the city’s immigrant population is concentrated. This demographic trend began at the beginning of the 1990s, and multiculturalism has become a key component of local identity. Residents come from 30 different countries on 5 different continents, with a particularly high concentration of Senegalese (nearly 20%, and rising), Dominicans, Brazilians, Colombians, and Peruvians. There is also an increasing presence of people from Romania, China, Morocco, and Algeria, as well as a presence of Uruguayans and Argentinians that has decreased somewhat in more recent years.

The Agra Civis project followed on from an earlier (2012) initiative that resulted in a diagnosis of the neighborhood’s needs. The most important of these included the dearth of public spaces for constructing a neighborhood identity; the separation and isolation of social groups (youth, the elderly, immigrants...); a high level of unemployment that disproportionately affects youth, women, and immigrants and results in especially low expectations and social participation among these groups; and a low level of resident involvement in neighborhood indicatives, which can be attributed to the lack of coordination among the various cultural, recreational, commercial, and charity associations.

The project has a horizontal structure, so that vulnerable groups take charge of their own citizenship, generating their own solutions for improving the social and economic well being of their neighborhood. The aim is to establish channels for group decision-making in order to create community initiatives, strengthen residents’ sense of community, and reinforce existing social networks. These measures are meant to increase people’s social and political influence, particularly those who represent the most vulnerable groups (youth, the elderly, women, and immigrants).

At the beginning, open meeting spaces were created so that residents could discuss and reflect on local issues, encouraging the participation of immigrants, the elderly, small business owners, and children (via work in schools). More specific

⁸The title cannot be translated directly—*Agra* is the name of the neighborhood, and *Civis* comes from the Latin work for citizen.

meetings were organized for young people, since they tended to be particularly under-represented in neighborhood organizations, and other people at risk for social exclusion, including the unemployed, immigrants, institutionalized youth. Activities such as music, juggling, theater, and poetry were used to address social skills, gender equality, social harmony, and interculturality, and to get a sense of participants' needs and concerns.

Women's participation in the life of the neighborhood was practically null, particularly in the case of immigrant women, who lacked the necessary socialization and contacts. The meeting space "Networks" was created as a vehicle for women's empowerment by facilitating reflection, self-expression, mutual support, the identification of needs, and the sharing of experiences. Based on their expressed interests, they received information and presentations about a wide variety of topics: there were film and theater sessions as well as visits to neighborhood organizations, all with the goal of acquiring skills and knowledge that would enable them to participate more fully in a variety of sectors. These activities were complemented by recreational activities for children in order to address the needs of women, especially immigrant mothers, who found it difficult to participate in social activities due to lack of available child care.

Theater was used as a tool for presenting and addressing the issues that emerged within the different meeting spaces. Open-air plays and storytelling events provided a venue for bringing attention to neighborhood realities and reinforcing a sense of identity among residents. Each session was followed by a brief colloquium with the performers, as a way to stimulate dialogue and interaction among audience members.

Specific training was made available for residents who served as community organizers. Fifteen people attended the course designed to provide theoretical understandings and practical skills necessary to guide the process of community revitalization. As a team, they used participatory methods that inspire discussion, self-expression, and collective action as a means of identifying civic challenges and developing collective solutions to them.

In order to stimulate relations among the various associations operating in the neighborhood, a series of meetings were designed to help strengthen this social network, as well as increase residents' participation in these associations. These meetings also resulted in a documentary video about the project that was meant to reinforce a sense of community and to make the participatory process more visible to the public. A guide to maintaining the infrastructure and support channels developed throughout the project was also developed, with the hope that it might also provide guidance for carrying out similar work in other neighborhoods.

The necessities and issues identified through the project meeting spaces were addressed through a series of Section Meetings. Topics nominated by residents included economy and employment, sociocultural revitalization, and common socialization spaces, while others focused on exploring political involvement and equality. In the Section Meeting on equality, a community self-diagnosis was created and discussed, resulting in the "Agra de Orzán Action Plan."

The statements made by the representative of *Ecos do Sur* that we interviewed reveal the extent to which a philosophy of interculturality underpins this intervention. He stressed the need to “provide activities for the general public where people have to participate and interact—if that’s not possible, it’s necessary to try and find common gathering spaces for everyone.” He also added that this requires that we “start at the bottom, at the local level, provide municipal governments the means to carry out these kinds of policies, because in the end, they are the ones closest to the people in their neighborhoods.”

Both the Open Neighborhoods! and the Agra Civis initiatives serve as examples of projects deriving from a perspective of integration and interculturality like that described by Zapata-Barrero and Pinyol Jiménez (2013): they operate at the local level to promote interaction among all sectors of the population and to foster a culture of diversity, both factors leading to mutual understanding, respect, and exchange. They generate public spaces for communication and reflection that invite all residents to participate and forge a sense of belonging to the neighborhood. The ultimate aim of these actions is to contribute to social cohesion and harmony.

16.4 Conclusion

Failure to address diversity places at risk a city’s sense of community and group identity, weakening its ability to grow, respond to challenges, and adapt to changes. In extreme situations, such oversight can lead to conflict and even violence.

Traditional approaches to managing diversity have not proven effective: they either deny or overemphasize diversity, reinforcing barriers between culturally distinct groups and relegating minorities to the marginalization of ghettos. In contrast, interculturality recognizes the importance of diversity in helping to construct cohesive communities and understanding that cultures only prosper through contact with each other.

An intercultural society supports all manifestations of diversity, actively fights prejudice and discrimination, and guarantees equal opportunities. To these ends, it must adapt its structures and services to people’s different needs, especially at the local level, embracing principals of human rights, democracy, and the rule of law. The construction of an intercultural city is a challenge that requires dynamic effort on the part of both institutions and residents to construct an active citizenry. This involves creating a common project that everyone can identify with—one that fosters equality and social cohesion (Zapata-Barrero and Pinyol Jiménez 2013).

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Chapter 17

The *Neo* Project: An Educational Radio Program to Promote Social Cohesion

Bernardo Penabade

Abstract The *Neo* Project is an educational radio program organized by teachers and students in two secondary schools in the town of Burela (population 12,500), an area characterized by a relatively high percentage (10%) of residents originating from outside of Galiza. These include those from outside of the Spanish state (for example, Cape Verde, Portugal, Peru, and Indonesia) as well as internal immigrants from other regions of Spain. The *Neo* Project is coordinated by the Teaching Innovation Area of the *Perdouro* secondary school and produced by the coordinators of the Language Normalization Committee, who take responsibility for selecting and supervising students who carry out interviews and assist with technical and organizational tasks related to interviewing, broadcasting, and communication via social networks. The aim of the project is to highlight experiences of new speakers of Galizan, with a special emphasis on members of immigrant communities. In this chapter I will describe and analyze how this initiative seeks to normalize the use of a minoritized language among both indigenous and migrant communities and promote student participation in an intercultural project.

17.1 One Territory, Two Languages on Unequal Terms

The autonomous community of Galiza, along with bordering regions that now belong to the adjacent communities of Castile and León and Asturias, once formed part of the ancient Kingdom of Galiza. Throughout most of this territory the autochthonous Galizan–Portuguese language has coexisted on unequal terms with Spanish, which has the advantage of being the *lingua franca* of the Spanish state.

Since the annexation of this territory by the Kingdom of Castile toward the end of the Middle Ages, the process of linguistic substitution by Spanish has gradually increased. With new powers came new rules (Portas Fernández 1991), through which the language of the people was excluded from written legal, administrative,

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and educational texts. One-sided bilingualism, where minoritized-language speakers achieve bilingual competency, while speakers of the more powerful language remain monolingual (Sánchez Carrión 1976), soon began to spread among the early indigenous elites of the new expanding kingdom. In other words, while the Galizan–Portuguese language was spreading throughout the western Iberian Peninsula and to other continents, in Galiza, its birthplace, the language began to suffer an imposition that threatened its vitality.

Obviously, this subordinate relationship was never fully assimilated by the people in general or by a sector of the intellectual elite (see Farías, this volume). Early activist voices were echoed throughout the centuries to culminate in the formation of the pro-Galizan political organization *Irmandades da Fala* (Brotherhood of the Language) in 1916 and the *Partido Galeguista* Pro-Galizan Party in 1931. After the civil war and the fascist dictatorship of Francisco Franco (1939–1975), it became possible in the new democracy to establish the statutes of the Galician Autonomous Community (*Ley Orgánica 1/1981*), which afforded co-official status to the Galizan language (along with Spanish) in the Galizan autonomous community. After this point, the minoritized language experienced a paradoxical development: While losing ground among the lower and middle classes, there was some recuperation among the some sectors of the middle and upper classes. As a result, the language was heard less, due to linguistic substitution in rural areas, but it began to have a stronger visual presence in public spaces, especially in urban areas. These new social norms for language use (Aracil 1982) that challenged a history of subordination were promoted by civic associations founded in Galizan cities throughout the 1960s. As a result of these socio-educational initiatives, which took the form of courses, conferences, and other events in which the minoritized language adopted a central role, language substitution was slowed. People who never learned the language as a child publicly are now publicly embracing it; they are referred to as new speakers.

17.2 From Subordination to Coordination: New Norms for Language Use

While the historical tendency has been for new speakers to switch from Galizan to Spanish use, since the 1980s we have seen the emergence of a new sector comprised of those Spanish speakers who achieve fluency in Galizan and begin to use it in their everyday linguistic interactions. These new speakers have been soundly rejected by supporters of Spanish monolingualism, but they have been supported by academics who study and promote the process (O'Rourke and e Ramallo 2013) and by various civic organizations.

The autonomous government tolerates more than promotes the Galizan language; nevertheless, aspects of recent legislation have helped to improve the situation. The Galician Linguistic Normalization Act (*Xunta de Galicia 1983*)

promoted minoritized language use among Galizian civil servants, opened possibilities for using the language in school-based instruction, and facilitated the creation of audiovisual (radio and television) media. These factors reinforced the efforts of urban new speakers and afforded them greater social visibility. These new speakers have served as models for people who arrived to Galiza from other areas of the Spanish state or from other countries seeking employment, especially after the beginning of the 1990s.

The new speaker is generally characterized by a medium to high level of academic study and fluency in both languages. The idea that these speakers trade in one language for the other is a myth, which has been propagated in some academic literature. Obviously learning a language in adulthood does not mean unlearning existing ones. Although they often behave as monolinguals, they are not. Within half a century, we Galizans have shifted from communicating in Galizian–Portuguese out of necessity, because that was the only language we knew, to choosing to speak it simply because it is our language of reference.

17.3 The Mariña Region of Galicia and Its Cultural Contrasts

The Mariña region is situated in the north of Galiza. Nearly 100,000 people reside within its 1,660 km², with the highest population density in the towns of Viveiro, Burela, Foz, and Ribadeo. Although languages coexist unequally throughout this area, this asymmetry manifests itself in different ways. For example, the local language is more strongly recognized in institutional contexts and written expression in Viveiro, whereas it is somewhat marginalized in spontaneous oral communication. The situation in Burela is quite different: The local language is more strongly present in oral communication, while the national (Spanish) language is almost exclusively used for writing. The school always plays a key role in these processes, either by facilitating language substitution in the case of conventional schooling or by promoting positive intercultural relations, which is what the Burela Model hopes to achieve.

17.4 Transformative School Practice

The Burela Model strategy is based on an educational project carried out from 1989 to 2003 in Viveiro, just 27 km from Burela, whose single objective was to foster Galizian language revitalization among secondary students. Ten years after the incorporation of Galician Language and Literature as a subject area, which included at least some knowledge of basic grammar, it was clear that this curricular change not results in a significant learning: Students seemed to forget what they learned

from week to week, and they did not see the meaning or usefulness of the lessons, and this dissatisfaction was clear both within and beyond the classroom.

To address this situation, a teaching project was developed that aimed to transform the school atmosphere. Specifically, educators established external collaborations with cultural, youth, and neighborhood associations and primary schools designed to develop support activities based on three criteria: (1) the existing lack of economic resources; (2) the availability of scarce personnel resources; and (3) adverse social conditions, such as the almost complete lack of Galician use among children and a well-organized sector that opposed the revitalization of the minoritized language. Over the course of 14 academic years, this active pedagogy project in Viveiro achieved three important objectives: (a) to slow down Galician language loss among initial speakers; (b) to incorporate some new speakers; and (c) to undermine the actions of most of the opposition groups.

17.5 Application in Burela

In the 2003–2004 school year, this methodology was adapted to the new context of Burela, whose 12,500 inhabitants were concentrated in the city center with a marked presence of students from other places (including larger Galician cities, different Spanish autonomous communities, and various other countries). In this case, eight out of every ten young people spoke fluently and habitually in Galician, a percentage notably higher than that of adults. However, these language practices took place in a context of such strong prejudice toward the minoritized language that it had practically disappeared from more formal written contexts. In Burela, the Galician language was alive in everyday speech, but practically invisible in the linguistic landscape.

In the spirit of the Viveiro experience, the Burela Model was designed to (a) find, collect, and catalog the written heritage at the municipal level; (b) identify cultural agents who used the Galician language as a daily communication tool; and (c) develop a directory including curricular information and contact information for these cultural agents. Our aim is to reinforce school learning with events such as invited speakers, trips, and exchange programs and to transform the overall linguistic environment of the school. There are ten main action strands, including commercial communication, ceremonial writing (such as first communions, weddings, and obituaries), health service communication, and the incorporation of new speakers.

Throughout the initial phases of the Burela Model, we came into contact with many people from other latitudes and found many examples of the kind of integration that may serve as a model to others in similar situations, experiences which have been recorded in a documentary video (Niecieza 2009). The stories related by these individuals from various parts of Spain as well as African and American countries inspired the creation of a new project that places educational radio at the service of social cohesion.

17.6 The *Neo* Project

This radio program involving teachers and students from two secondary schools is designed to support and expand classroom teaching. The project is coordinated by the Teaching Innovation Area of the *Perdouro* secondary school, and produced by the coordinators of the Language Normalization Committee, the consultation body within the Galician schooling system composed of students, teachers, and other school personnel, whose task is to ensure Galician language competence among students. This committee is responsible for selecting students who collaborate in the interviews and are present during the radio broadcast, make contacts with potential interviewees and organize the calendar, help to prepare documents, and approve the musical selection. During the broadcast, students provide a channel for audience participation via Facebook. They greet the people who connect via this social network, encourage participation, and read their comments on the air.

We broadcast live, so that audience participation can facilitate two-way communication. The program runs an hour each week, from five to six o'clock in the afternoon, and the discussion is continued online via on Facebook, Twitter, and four blogs.¹ Using these virtual resources, a description and brief biography of the interviewee(s) is posted every Monday. The *Neo* Project provides visibility for new speakers as a way to put into practice a model of language planning, publicly recognizing those people who, on a daily basis, embody social integration. At the same time, it provides a pedagogical tool for effective language education.

17.6.1 *The First Season*

The first broadcast was designed to set the tone for the program as a whole, and so the first interviewee was Karina Parga, who is a French teacher as well as the Assistant Director at *Perdouro* Secondary School. Most importantly, she is the child of Galician emigrants to France, where she spent her childhood and adolescence. Following this intercultural theme, the sixth broadcast featured Antonina Semedo, a woman who has served as one of the most important symbols of Cape Verdean integration in Burela. Three days before the program, her appearance was publicized on the social networks:

A Galician woman from Cape Verde? A Cape Verdean who now lives among us? Or the result of an Afro-Galician symbiosis? Beyond such metaphysical issues, Antonina Semedo is a working woman, she takes care of children and the elderly, and she plays and sings with the *Batuko* music ensemble.

¹See: Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/groups/proxectoNeo/?ref=bookmarks>, Twitter <https://twitter.com/ProxectoNeo>, Blog IES *Perdouro* <https://www.facebook.com/iesperdouro/about/>, Blog *Perdourando* <http://perdourando.blogspot.com.es/>, Blog *Proxecto Neo* <http://proxectoNeo.blogspot.com.es/>, Blog *Modelo Burela* <http://modeloburela.blogspot.com.es/>.

For the first time, our studio seemed too small. Aside from the usual teaching and interviewing personnel, three Cape Verdean students joined us, two of whom participated actively in the program. Antonina spoke to us about her birthplace in Santa Ana, on the Cape Verdean Island of Santiago, of her humble family origins, and of the diaspora of her compatriots. She also described her process of learning and integration from the moment she arrived in Galiza, highlighting the importance of the musical group Batuko Tabanka in this process (see Oca González, this volume, for more about the role of this musical formation in the Cape Verdean community in Burela).

During the tenth broadcast, we received an interesting comment on the social media:

My great-grandfather migrated to Peru with one of his children during the civil war...my great-grandmother...was Japanese. To be exact, she was born in the city of Fukuoka. She emigrated to Peru as a child. There, in the city of Pisco, where they lived, my grandparents met and married. I currently have two uncles living in Japan, together with my cousins. My grandmother and one of my aunts still live in Peru. As you can see, our family is spread out all over the world.

Naturally, we were inspired to prepare a program featuring interviews with two members of this family: a mother, of Peruvian origin, whose work in a food distribution business involves regular contact with Spanish- and Galizan-speaking clients, and her daughter, who was born in the Mariña region and educated in the maintenance bilingual tradition, through Galizan language and culture.

Another successful interview involved a young Moroccan man who was balancing his professional athletic training with street vending. We also dedicated a broadcast to the exemplary intercultural work of the Burela Athletic Society. The manager and a trainer spoke of the organization's commitment to Galizan culture and the integration of people from different parts of the world through participation in sports, while a young Pakistani man explained to us how he managed to combine his pursuit of sport with his studies and helping out in the family restaurant.

The dissemination of the programming via social media, such as announcing upcoming interviews, summarizing their contents, uploading related photographs, and making the recordings available, provided us access to mass media. When we had been on the air for two months, we received a visit from a journalist who published an excellent report in the Spanish national newspaper *El País* (Mandiá 2012). As a result, we were invited to appear on the highly popular Galizan television program *Luar*, whose weekly live evening broadcasts have been followed since 1992 not only by a local audience but also by members of the Galizan diaspora in Europe and the Americas via cable. Some of the people we had interviewed on the air were interviewed live on this special television program that was timed to commemorate Galician Literature Day, May 17 (*Neo* 2012).

The broadcast that perhaps best captures the *Neo* Project spirit featured two Cape Verdean secondary students who described their experiences in Cape Verde and the

Mariña. They also participated in an on-air conversation with Teresa González Costa, author of the Galiza novel *A filla do ladrón de bicicletas* (the bicycle thief's daughter), which they had just read in school.

17.6.2 Second Season

The second year of the project began shortly after the beginning of the new school year, specifically on the October 3, 2012. This season featured a strong emphasis on the literature. We interviewed several authors who were new speakers, having adopted the Galizan language and culture during their adolescent or adult years. These included teacher, poet, and novelist Séchu Sende; journalist and author Aníbal Malvar; and Santiago Jaureguizar, one of the pioneers in introducing Galizan literature to the internet. We also interviewed several important figures in the world of music, including vocalist and harpist Clara Pino and Antón Crego, member of the well-known Galizan folk music group *A Quenlla*. We also showcased professionals who promoted the Galizan language in religious activities, such as theologian and essayist Victorino Pérez Prieto and José Martínez Romero-Gandos, child of Galician emigrants in Argentina, whose marriage in 1967 was the first wedding to be celebrated by Galizan people in their own language since the Middle Ages.

We also collaborated with various researchers and institutions interested in promoting social integration. Aside from providing access to the school and placing them in contact with key informants for the purpose of data collection, we also wanted to explore their visions of interculturality. To this end, we spoke to three researchers based at Heriot-Watt University in Scotland who are studying the phenomenon of Galizan new speakers. We also interviewed a Galician language and literature teacher from the London secondary school Vicente Cañada Blanch, which forms part of the official network of Spanish schools abroad.

After a great deal of dissemination in classrooms and through social media, we finally managed to achieve a reasonable degree of stability in terms of student collaboration. Instead of participating sporadically as production assistants and interviewers, some of them eventually began to form a more stable team. In this sense, we started to feel like a real school of communication. Around this time, we were fortunate enough to incorporate into this newly formed team a young woman with a disability that she worked very hard to overcome, and who dedicated herself fully to our collective efforts from the start. The talents she demonstrated from the first day led to her recognition as the official photographer and photoeditor of the *Neo* Project Web site. The communicative competencies and social skills she developed demonstrate the benefit of inclusive pedagogical practice.

17.6.3 *Third Season*

In the third season, we continued to promote literacy by establishing contact between writers and the general public. To this end, we interviewed Leticia Costas, winner of the 2015 Spanish National Award for Children's and Adolescent Literature; Marina Mayora, literature professor at the Complutense University of Madrid who writes in both Galician and Spanish; journalist and novelist Carlos G. Reigosa; and Pere Tobaruela, whose work in Galician and Catalan has included adult literature as well as children's books and graphic novels. We explored music performed in the Galician language by new speakers, such as Davide Salvado, who has formed part of a variety of traditional folk ensembles; Ruth Martín, swing, blues, and jazz vocalist from the western part of the neighboring community of Asturias; and Najla Shami, a singer-songwriter born in Galiza with a broad range of cultural referents including Palestine, Argentina, and Kuwait.

We began to establish relationships with other schools that had developed similar initiatives in other parts of Galicia. We joined *Ponte nas Ondas* (Get on the Wavelength), a cultural and pedagogical association established in 1995 composed of primary and secondary schools and universities in Galiza and northern Portugal, as well as Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, and Argentina. This experience integrates education, shared Galician–Portuguese cultural heritage, instructional technology, and communication media, with a particular emphasis on radio. As part of this association, we participated for the first time in International Radio Day, which is celebrated on 13 February to commemorate the day in 1946 when the United Nations established its own radio station.

Obviously, we continued to maintain an ongoing dialogue with immigrant communities. We interviewed Angolan writer and translator Luandino Vieira, cofounder of the Union of Angolan Writers and General Secretary of the Association of Afro-Asian Writers from 1979 to 1984; Conceição da Silva from Portugal; Tofik Santiago from Ethiopia; and Nicoleta Rasuceanu from Romania. Their diverse perspectives provided deeper insight into the relationships between Galician and Portuguese emigrants, into the integration process of children who arrive to our shores through adoption, and the working conditions of the Romanian community settled in Galiza.

In May of 2014, about a dozen members of the *Neo* Project team participated in a radio contest promoted by the Galician General Secretary of Language Policy, with the submission of several radio spots that demonstrate the varied tones and accents of our participants. Our highest achievement came after the end of the school year, with the organization of a Radio Week: From 15 to 19 July, the team produced 9 h of live radio programming each day.

17.6.4 Fourth Season

The first broadcast of our fourth season was a special program that celebrated our 100 weeks on the air. Once again we took up the main themes of the Burela Model: language activism in dialogue with multiple social agents, with the aim of representing different points of view. We started with an intercultural interview with Roi Casal, a Galizan musician with cultural, artistic, and professional ties to Argentina and Cuba; and Austrian singer Silvia Ferre, who has collaborated with Casal on several disks, including one dedicated to the celebrated Galizan poet Rosalía de Castro.

The fourth season served as an authentic intercultural meeting place, and the interviewee featured on our 101st broadcast symbolized this theme. As a student and collaborator on the *Neo* Project, she provided an insider analysis of economic and educational realities of both Cape Verde and Galiza. As an immigrant from Cape Verde who started her secondary school education in Burela, she was familiar with the strengths and weakness of her community. A few months later, while she was finishing her last year of school, she translated into Cape Verdean Creole the first two chapters of Xosé Neira Vilas' classic Galician novel *Memorias dun neno labrego*, (memories of a farm boy), making this the first time that this novel has been translated into the language.

One of the most significant accomplishments of this season came in October, when a group of seven students of immigrant origin agreed to participate in a contest sponsored by EDUCO, an NGO related to Education without Borders. Several of these students had just recently started their initial literacy process, since they had never learned to read or write in their mother tongue or in any other colonial language. After several weeks of preparation and familiarization with broadcasting and audiovisual techniques, we were ready to put these skills into practice. We selected for submission one video and one recorded spot in which all of the students had participated. In February, we were notified that the broadcast, which combines the use of Galizan and Cape Verdean Creole, was selected along with two other finalists. However, to win the prize, we were faced with yet another challenge: public dissemination. The winner would be the finalist who received the most public votes, so we set out to publicize the work and gather votes. We campaigned through the school classrooms, recess, and the teachers' lounge and repeated the process in another local school. We appeared on the local radio station (Radio Burela) to encourage audience support. In the end, we won the contest, which was a great self-esteem booster as well as an economic support for the participating students, who used the cash reward to buy clothes and shoes. In addition, this successful venture provided positive visibility for the immigrant community as a whole.

Shortly afterward, we received more good news: Our team won the radio contest they had entered at the end of the third season. The prize was a chance to broadcast from the studios of the Galician radio station alongside real professionals and to visit the Galician television station.

17.6.5 *Fifth Season*

We inaugurated the fifth season with a variety of topics, including Galizan language and culture instruction for new speakers living in the city of Buenos Aires and the use of Galizan in professional development courses for working class populations in the 1970s. Our interest in exploring intercultural relations inspired us to conduct several interviews with people who provide points of contact with other languages. One program was devoted to the *Galauda* Project, whose objective was to instill in adolescents a respect for language and culture and an appreciation for the value of this diversity in forming a cohesive and flexible society. Based at the University of Barcelona, this project supported people living in Catalonia and Galiza in learning about each other's culture.

We dedicated airtime to the Galizan–Swiss vocalist Nastasia Zürcher, who performs in four languages (Galizan–Portuguese, Spanish, French, and English), and to Professor Kathleen March, a specialist in Galizan literature based in Maine (USA) who was the first president of the *Asociación de Estudos Galegos* (Galizan Studies Association). We also featured the work of several *Centros de Estudos Galegos* (Centers for Galizan Studies), Galizan language and culture departments located in around thirty universities throughout the world.

The season ended with the 168th broadcast, whose final words summed up our work with a mixture of realism and hope:

We sign off, as always, with uncertainty. Just like with the first, second, third, and fourth seasons, we don't know if we'll be heard again. In any case, whether if we will (as we hope) or not, always remember: *Neo* Forever.

17.7 Conclusions

After five years of working with radio as a tool for inclusive teaching, through collaboration with dozens of secondary students in production and interviewing and through reflection with many people who have provided insights into their experiences of integration, I can provide the following conclusions:

1. Radio is an excellent tool for promoting an inclusive pedagogy. It is a global resource that offers numerous possibilities for participation. Aside from supporting the development of social skills, it helps participants learn to take responsibility for a shared project, which includes skills such as distributing tasks, punctuality, and cordiality. It also provides a venue for acquiring basic competencies, especially linguistic ones, including oral and written comprehension and expression.
2. In order for radio to serve as an effective teaching resource, it must be utilized over an extended period of time, for example, an entire academic year. Designing a broadcast for a particular event or celebration (such as the typical

National Day against Gender Violence, or Galizian Literature Day), will only work if it is used as a way to encourage participation in ongoing (future) programs.

3. Anyone who sets out to use radio broadcast to support the school curriculum should understand that this will not be easy. It would be a grave mistake to assume that the school community will automatically welcome this kind of initiative with open arms. The first obstacle will be simple inertia. Such an unusual and innovative activity will require an adjustment of established school routines, for teachers and for students. It also challenges existing comfortable rhythms, such as reserving energy for the night before the examination. The radio requires constant effort.

There are two pedagogical visions that coexist in schooling institutions: one that focuses on values education and the community-school relationship, and another that places more emphasis on discipline (understood as uncritical obedience) and theoretical content. Therefore, it is important to understand that the kind of teaching proposed here will not be unanimously accepted, and to avoid conflicts with those teachers whose principal objectives center on following textbooks and bureaucratic documentation. This latter vision may represent the majority of teaching staff, and school administration may prioritize content and discipline out of fear that the school may lose prestige of the sort measured by standardized test results, without taking into account other indicators such as the percentage of students who successfully finish their schooling.

4. The existence of these conflicting pedagogical visions is one of the most important factors contributing to the lack of stability often experienced by these kinds of initiatives. Teachers who get involved in these practical projects end up taking on both teaching responsibilities and bureaucratic and diplomatic tasks required to maintain relations with school administration and radio stations. When these responsibilities become too much to bear, the project can fail.
5. The lack of support for these initiatives on the part of school administration may mean that participants are forced to choose between continuing with broadcasts or classroom teaching. The preparation and elaboration of activities related to previous broadcasts also constitutes a valuable teaching resource. In this sense, the extensive archive of voices generated by the *Neo* Project, representing a great variety of pronunciations and accents, provides rich and valuable material for analyzing the development of fluency among these new speakers and the motivations behind these linguistic achievements.
6. When working with students from immigrant families, the difficulty in communicating with families can make it hard to ensure a responsible and stable participation. It is important to always have a backup plan in case of the absence or tardiness. The lack of external pressure for students to make sacrifices can block or slow down the learning process.

7. We have experienced the joy of learning about different cultural realities—by reading excerpts of the writings of renowned Galician authors in languages such as Serer, Wolof, or Cape Verdean Creole, and through blog entries that attempt to transmit the sensation of double cultural identity. This is the best possible reward for teachers like those of us who have worked on the *Neo* Project.

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Chapter 18

Immigrant Perspectives on Linguistic and Cultural Preservation

Laura Rodríguez Salgado

Abstract This chapter focuses on the importance of linguistic and cultural maintenance to the integration process of the immigrant community. Based on a qualitative analysis of seventeen interviews conducted with immigrant parents that live in Vigo, I establish sociolinguistic profiles based on their practices and attitudes regarding integration and preservation. The interviewees describe a common tendency toward maintenance within their respective immigrant communities in general. However, such practices are not particularly valued or supported by the recipient society, as evidenced by popular discourses and public policy. This reflects a broader trend across national contexts, suggesting that the case of Vigo is not unique in representing a certain disconnectedness between the perspectives of new immigrants and the established community with respect to the value of immigrant heritage. The suggestions for establishing practices that might facilitate and reinforce integration in terms of language and cultural maintenance, while specific to Vigo, have broader implications for migrant communities worldwide.

18.1 Introduction

Linguistic and cultural preservation of immigrants' heritage has been examined in various multicultural contexts. The aim of this study is to propose a connection among maintenance as such and the process of integration. It specifically hypothesizes that the sociolinguistic integration of immigrant people does not only depend on their social and cultural adaptation to the new context (i.e., language learning) but must also take into consideration their cultural and linguistic heritage. This qualitative research is based on seventeen interviews conducted in Vigo as well as the review of two legal documents and a funding program. Results point out the need for a truly intercultural policy of integration by means of recognition and cohesion.

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18.2 Framework

The sociolinguistic study of culture and language preservation has focused on contexts with a certain tradition as recipients of immigrants (e.g., USA and Australia). Particularly, *Language Loyalty in the United States* (Fishman et al. 1966) can still be considered a milestone in terms of both its scope and methodology. Research about language maintenance and shift is directly related to the analysis of the distribution of immigrants' linguistic repertoire depending on the functionality of each language involved (Fishman 1972). According to García (2003), there are three primary domains of conservation: the family, the social network and the school.

A family language policy perspective (FLP), as any other language policy, comprises linguistic practices, language ideology and language management in which the key participants are the parents, the children and any other significant people (Spolsky 2012). Secondly, in terms of socialization, Oriyama (2011) points to the role of close community contact as an intensifier of Japanese language use at the private level, which contributes to improve literacy levels. Finally, regarding education, Wong Fillmore (1991), in her study about language shift among language-minority children in the USA, states that preschool programs in the dominant language strongly affect family language patterns. Martín Rojo et al. (2003) go one step further with their critique of the assimilationist character of the Spanish policies and practices of integration at the school level. They signal the need for recognition and visibility of immigrants' heritage cultures as well as more interaction among the host society and the immigrant community.

Giles et al. (1977) developed the notion of "ethnolinguistic vitality," according to which there are three variables that influence the level of maintenance: status factors, demographic factors and institutional support factors. In this regard, Haque (2008) points out the need to understand how to reduce differences among the institutional linguistic policies and those of the migrant family. In the particular case of cultures and languages, the general dissociation between government regulations and the real needs of people becomes even more intense, since they are assumed to be "naturally unsteady," i.e., constantly subjected to and undergoing change. Our society has been described in terms of super-diversity, since through contemporary migration we are achieving unpredictable and (potentially) limitless levels of diversity (Vertovec 2006). Intercultural policies and practices seem to be the most authentic response to this phenomenon. These include the recognition of the value of immigrant heritage, the promotion of interaction among dominant and minority cultures involved, and, finally, reciprocal enrichment.

Generally speaking, there are two sociolinguistic approaches to linguistic and cultural contact through migration. One tends to focus on specific cases of linguistic and cultural maintenance, transmission, or shift (e.g., Allard and Landry 1992; Clyne 2003) and the other on integration and/or cultural immersion of migrants (e.g., Moreno Fernández 2009), with a particular emphasis on migrants' (or

migrants' children) schooling (e.g., Aparicio and Portes 2014). This investigation considers both perspectives, maintenance and sociolinguistic integration, in order to detect factors that favor consistent integration (e.g., Crosa 2012).

18.3 Setting: Vigo

The city of Vigo (Pontevedra province), located in southern Galicia (northwest of Spain), had a registered population of 294,098, from which 13,322 were immigrants without Spanish nationality, according to official data from 2015 (INE 2015). Galicia's total amount of immigrants is not particularly high (ranked only 12th out of 17 Spanish Autonomous Communities). However, its migratory history does present interesting elements.

Marked by a strong emigration tradition, primarily to Europe and South America, it is not until 2000 that a positive migration balance was recorded in Galicia with the increase in the arrival of foreign people during the 1990s (López de Lera 2005). This tendency was the state of affairs until 2013 when a negative balance was again obtained (IGE 2013). This happened mainly because the flow of emigration rose again due to the so-called economic crisis and its consequences. As López de Lera (2005) points out, immigration to Galicia has been always conditioned by return migration, which includes children of emigrants and nationalized family in the context of established migrant networks involving certain countries (also see Domingo and Blanes, this volume).

Taking as reference 2012, the year in which this fieldwork started, there were a total of 112,183 foreign immigrants in Galicia, of whom 16,831 lived in Vigo (INE 2012). A total of 8,040 of these were Americans (mostly South Americans), 6,682 came from Europe (particularly Portugal and Romania), 1,451 were from Africa (primarily from Morocco and Senegal), and the remaining 646 were born in Asia (including 450 Chinese people). There was a generally equal distribution by sex (8,521 men and 8,310 women), even though migrations from Africa were strongly masculinized, and American migrations represented the opposite case. Since 2012, as in Galicia in general, the total number of immigrants in Vigo has decreased every year: there is a noticeable decrease in the American population, a lesser decrease in the case of European immigrants and stability (or just a slight increase) among Africans and Asians.

Interestingly, the numerous arrivals during the decade of 2000 made visible in our community the presence of people from African, Asian and European countries without an immigration tradition to Galicia. By means of comparison, in 2002 there were 6,154 immigrants, of whom 642 were Africans and Asians (475 and 172, respectively, see INE 2002). In 2015, from a total of 13,322 registered, there were 2,304 (1,466 and 638, see INE 2015). Among Europeans, Romanians present a special case: their number increased from 261 in 2006 to 1,381 in 2015 (INE 2006, 2015). Consequently, the recent and relatively steady role of Vigo as a receiver of

immigrants entailed, in a short time, direct consequences for Galician society in terms of diversity and social needs.

With regard to the sociolinguistic context of Galicia, there are two languages that are sanctioned as official by the Spanish Constitution. However, in practice, Spanish is highly privileged over Galician, Galicia's indigenous language, in terms of promotion and use at many levels (i.e., school). Even though Galician use remains constant in rural areas and is spreading among certain sectors of the urban middle classes, Spanish remains strong (Ramallo 2007). Particularly, Vigo is the area in which Galician is less likely to be spoken at home (IGE 2014). Any other Spanish co-official language and those of the immigrants are generally invisibilized, contrary to what happens with English, which is associated with progress (see Zas Varela and Prego Vázquez, this volume).

18.4 Method: Procedure, Participants and Analysis

In order to compile information about the processes of integration and culture maintenance, this qualitative research is based on semi-structured interviews. The main objective was to obtain, by means of such interviews, real utterances of nonnative Spanish-speaking immigrant parents as well as South American speakers of other languages different from Spanish who were settled in Vigo. People from European countries with similar cultures (considering the ever increasing process of social homogenization and the role of the European Union) were disregarded from the sample.

A total of 17 people, 12 women and 5 men, participated in the interviews during two stages: interviews dating from 2012 to 2013, which were conducted as part of my Ph.D. investigation, and those corresponding to the year 2015, conducted in the context of an investigation project entitled *Immigrant women, language and society: New perspectives towards integration* (EM2014/042), funded by the Xunta de Galicia from 2014 to 2017. Their birthplaces are as follows: Bolivia (1), Paraguay (2), Morocco (3), Senegal (2), Equatorial Guinea (1), Nigeria (2), Czech Republic (1), Rumania (2), Bulgaria (1), Russia (1) and, Iran (1). A total of 15 languages are taken into consideration: Quechua, Guaraní, Moroccan Arabic, Wolof, French, Serer, Fang, Igbo, English, Edo, Czech, Romanian, Bulgarian, Russian and Farsi.

The interview rubric was divided into five main parts: (a) personal, cultural and linguistic trajectory, (b) socialization in the destination country, (c) attitudes and preferences about the languages and cultures involved, (d) real state of maintenance and transmission, and (e) special features of their integration process. The interviews took place at two different social foundations¹ (9), cafeterias (6), or at

¹These included the Catholic charity *Cáritas* in the Tui-Vigo diocese and *Fundación Cume para el Desarrollo de Culturas y Pueblos* (The Cume Foundation for the Development of Cultures and Peoples).

participants' homes (2). Each interview was transcribed and those transcripts were subsequently coded according to the primary themes: practices and attitudes toward both maintenance and integration.

In order to compare immigrant perspectives with those of the receiving society, two different public policy documents and a grant resolution are taken into consideration: a Galician reception plan related to schooling (Xunta de Galicia 2005), a reception plan applied at the national level (Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración 2011), and a funding program addressing social inclusion in Galician (Resolución 2015).

18.5 Results

The objective here is to gather participants' perspectives on linguistic and cultural maintenance as well as on the integration process. For that matter, their attitudes and their linguistic usage and cultural practices, individually and jointly, are considered in order to present immigrants' (sources of) motivation toward both phenomena.

18.5.1 Attitudes

With the objectives of the investigation in mind, interviewees were asked to give their opinions about the relationship between maintenance and integration in terms of confrontation, harmony or of the difficulties that arise in the society of reception. Interestingly enough, almost all of them seem to agree that there is no connection between the two, so they do not have any problem in preserving their cultural heritage. In general, there are two prototypical answers regarding these issues. On the one hand, preservation is confined to the home domain and, on the other hand, integration is reported to be linked to the "outside" as a whole. At the same time, people usually evaluate highly their level of integration, with joblessness being the most common detrimental circumstance.

According to the results, participants' top priority for a successful integration is Spanish proficiency. The four participants with the most difficulties communicating in Spanish were attending language classes at the moment and were dedicated to improving their level in order to get a job or to get another one with better wage conditions. Speaking Spanish is likewise fundamental for relational purposes such as shopping, visiting teachers or doctors, resolving necessities and so on. In general terms, all of them are happy with Spanish or Galician cultures and people. The biggest exception has to do with certain customs in which Muslim people do not usually participate (e.g., drinking wine or eating pork).

There are three particular cases in which perceptions about maintenance shifted after migration. Two women from Bolivia and Paraguay increased their sensitivity

toward their own cultural heritage and their persistence in using their native minority languages. Both claim that they talk more Quechua and Guaraní, respectively, while being in Vigo than when they were in the country of origin. As the Paraguayan woman points out: “I don’t know if it is for being closer to the country but I didn’t use it so much in Paraguay” (34 years old, 10 years in Vigo). This is in fact something that is noticed by their family and friends whenever they visit. Another woman from Paraguay expressed a different perspective. She was a newcomer into an already existing family context, having migrated to live with her aunt who had been in Vigo for 8 years. This family decided not to speak Guaraní publicly in order to go “unnoticed” and she was not interested in teaching the language to her child because “it was not worthy.”

However, all participants without exception take pride in their country of origin and consider their cultural heritage to be worthy of maintenance and visibilization. As one man from Senegal described it, “integration is to value yourself and open up the world” (50 years old, 21 years in Vigo).

18.5.2 Practices

18.5.2.1 Home Language Usage and Cultural Maintenance

When in contact with the receiving country’s dominant language, the dynamics of communication within the prototypical immigrant family may result in maintenance or shift of their mother tongues, depending on such factors as the composition of family members, strategies (e.g., language learning or meeting other compatriots), time, consciousness and so on.

In terms of composition, among the seventeen interviewees there are some particularities. For instance, three of them shared a home with another close family member. Two women and one man were single, whereas four of the women informants were married to Galician men. Most of the seventeen informants have more than one child: eight have two children and four have three to five children. A total of nineteen children from seven different families were born overseas, whereas eighteen children from ten families were born in Spain.

Nevertheless, our data support research that demonstrates that intense contact of children with the dominant culture, usually through school, really has crucial consequences for the language practices within the family (e.g., Haque 2008; Wong Fillmore 1991). Most of the migrant children, who arrived late in primary education onward, the youngest being 8 years old, use their native languages at home. There is only one specific case in which two twins who migrated earlier, at the age of 3, speak their mother tongue (Romanian), which I speculate to be because first, they had two more siblings aged 11 and 15 at the moment of arrival, and second, their parents, both Romanian-speakers, struggled to communicate fluently in Spanish. However, these children do speak the dominant language with each other, as is sometimes the case with two brothers from Bulgaria. Parents’ (lack of) proficiency

in Spanish clearly operates, even though unconsciously, as a mitigating strategy for children's language shift: "they speak Spanish with me but I don't understand, so they speak Romanian" (woman, 34 years old, 4 years in Vigo).

The intergenerational transmission of heritage languages and cultural values is intrinsically related to their maintenance both in the short and in the long term when children are born outside parents' country of origin. In this investigation, migrant children aged 6 and younger share the same tendencies as those who were born in Spain. Apart from the twins mentioned above, none of these youngest migrant children speak their parents' mother tongue. In fact, just three out of ten informants with Spanish-born children claimed that (some of) their children speak the mother tongue. One child was more sensitive toward her father's native language, Farsi, than her sisters, having been raised surrounded by other compatriots, to the point that she decided to learn the language later in life. Two parents from Nigeria expressed pride about their oldest children speaking English (and Spanish), although they evidenced much less concern about the nonuse of their family languages, Igbo and Edo:

I (Interviewer): And why you not want him to learn or...?

N (Nigerian): Many languages no, he is very very little now, many languages English and Spanish, Galician no, now too many no no, too many.

I: And you think later...

N: I want him to know my language yes yes my language very good good very good but... I like English.

I: You prefer him to learn English.

N: Yes, English and Spanish, yes.

(N: woman, 40 years old, 10 years in Spain)

The more languages come into play, the more parents prioritize proficiency in the dominant ones, normally because of prestige and future prospects. This seems to fit Bourdieu's (1982) concept of "linguistic marketplace," by which languages interacting within a social field depend on their economic value.

For the rest of the families, independently of their children's place of birth, language conservation really is a challenge. Those who are old enough to have linguistic competences do not respond in the mother tongue, even though they understand what is being said. In line with the above, parents usually mention the standardizing force of school as one of the main reasons behind this setback, since their children spend most of the time engaging in school-related activities which are conducted in Spanish, or less commonly in Galician. Despite their initially unrewarded efforts, most parents believe that children will eventually use their native languages in the future. There is one particular case of a mother from the Czech Republic who believes that language transmission to her youngest child will be achieved thanks to the Internet and other innovative trends in communication, including easy access to TV programs in her native language and talking to other native speakers through Skype and other similar interfaces.

Unlike language usage, cultural conservation and transmission is a much less conscious process. The main concern of the parents has to do with their children knowing about their heritage traditions and morals. In terms of folklore, the cultural habits most prone to preservation for both generations have to do with food. Most participants acknowledged that they cook typical meals from their countries thanks to the variety of products that can be found in specialty stores, which usually function as part of their social circle, as well as through local supermarkets and their own travels to the country of origin. Apart from that, typical festivities (e.g., Christmas) or customs (e.g., sharing the *tereré*² in Paraguayan culture), along with religious practices continue to be performed in the receiving country when it is possible. The Romanians describe the most difficulties in this sense, since although there are regular Orthodox services in Vigo, these do not follow their tradition as such.

18.5.2.2 Group Tendencies

Language usage and cultural maintenance really are not just relegated to home. When the circumstances allow for it, all of them like to greet and chat in their mother tongue with other speakers from the same origin, including those who are not looking for close relationships, “yes, we talk when we [laugh] see each other in the street or bus” (Nigerian woman, 40 years old, 10 years in Spain). Others are friends with compatriots and some go a step further and engage in formal associations.

Many informants claim they have a group of friends from the country of origin with whom they celebrate traditional festivities, cook typical dishes and so on. One remarkable case is that of a mother from the Czech Republic who really appreciates spending time with a compatriot, apart from personal entertainment, because it is a way for her oldest child to see that there are more people speaking lesser-known languages, “because I’m alone for them although when it comes my friend I really like because we speak and that is good because he knows that it’s not just me the weirdo, there are more people” (39 years old, 15 years in Spain). Moreover, there are informal collectives that have not been institutionalized as an association but gather for key dates and events related to native culture. For example, informants mentioned a group of sixty to seventy Bulgarian people and another group of Bolivians.

Three people took part in cultural organizations. Two of them were on the board of directors of the same association (Senegal). Another woman from Paraguay had previously held a directive position when she had more time, but was just a member of a Paraguayan association at the moment of the interview. It must be said that the number of these kinds of organizations in Vigo has significantly declined, primarily due to economic adversity. Normally, they serve three main purposes: (a) to help

²Traditional drink prepared with *yerba mate*, water and ice.

their members fulfill basic needs, (b) to deal with the administration in general, and (c) to function as a meeting place where common culture and native languages take on an important role. In particular, the participants from the Senegalese Association (*Asociación de Emigrantes Senegaleses Residentes en Vigo*) pointed out the difficulties in promoting linguistic maintenance because of the language diversity among members; the organization mainly serves as a place of reception, facilitates culture maintenance in terms of religion, and promotes visibilization through special events. Two Paraguayan associations were also mentioned, the most recent being the *Centro Cultural de Paraguayos en Galicia* (Cultural Center of Paraguayan in Galicia), whose purposes were described as follows:

I (Interviewer): What was the aim of these associations? Simply getting together or...?

P (Paraguayan): To, spread our culture, we did the bicentennial of Paraguay in 2012 with Paraguayan dance, we had lot of important guests and we presented our craftwork, our typical dishes as I told you, the dance and language which differentiates us, since we use two languages and even if we don't want to sometimes we mixed them without realizing it.

(P: 34 years old, 10 years in Vigo)

It should be noted that the women from Paraguay mentioned that they were also interested in making their culture “visible” (dance, crafts, food, music, etc.). That included encouraging their Spanish neighbors to join their activities. Undoubtedly, these associations have direct consequences in the linguistic and cultural maintenance of an immigrant community.

18.6 Policy Discourse Versus Practice

In view of the above, both Spanish language learning and native language and culture preservation are a priority for the participants. The former is always addressed in terms of integration as a medium for survival in the new context. The latter is highlighted as a key factor for their own well-being, both individually and collectively. Transmission and maintenance of native values, culture, and language(s) to their children are also emphasized in most cases, specially, due to emotional ties, cultural identification and as a means of promoting closeness with the family remaining in the home country. In practice, what would have been a “natural” process in origin loses its effortlessness when living abroad, and parents have to face many obstacles related to belonging to a minority in the context of contemporary capitalist societies. Thus, as authors like Guardado (2002) and Yu (2010) point out, responsibility is left exclusively to the parents.

In the words of the seventeen participants, integration and maintenance belong to two separate and independent domains, public and private. They are aware of the needs concerning each area of communication (e.g., they need to speak Spanish outside the home), but they consider their cultural tradition as belonging to the household level. In this specific context, there are not any incentives that motivate politicians, schools, local activities or media to make visible our diversity and

cultural wealth. Furthermore, from a broader perspective, this “lack of motivation” responds in reality to an utter denial, even an explicit rejection, by such institutions, in the sense of not assuming their responsibility for guaranteeing the conditions for the well-being and equal opportunity of all people, including immigrants. Instead, cultural diversity is often only exalted when such institutions perceive a chance for immediate profit, be it economic, electoral, or simply in terms of their public image. The revision of policy documents and funding program reveals a split between the public image constructed by Spanish and Galician policy discourse and actual practice in terms of funding and institutional practice.

The integration policies and practices developed in Vigo are linked to the Autonomous Community of Galicia’s governing body, the Xunta de Galicia, which is in its turn subjected to the Spanish government’s General Secretary of Immigration and Integration (*Secretaría General de Inmigración e Integración*). They are primarily managed according to the needs of European bodies, particularly focused on the management of migration flows and a common approach to asylum and immigration. Nevertheless, there is a common tendency in Spanish and Galician regulations to use an intercultural discourse, with equality, citizenship and inclusion as the common principles, as we can see in the following extracts:

- Galician level: The School-Based Reception Plan
Throughout these pages some guidelines are presented so that each school can establish its own plan, considering their geographic and sociocultural environment, in terms of reception practices for foreign students and others who provide enrichment opportunities to the entire center, such as knowledge of new realities and promoting social cohesion, respect and tolerance. (Plan de Acollida 2005: 5, my translation)
- Spanish level: Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Immigration
The intercultural principle as a mechanism of positive interaction among people from different origins and cultures, within the assessment of and the respect for cultural diversity. (Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Inmigración 2011–2014: 104, my translation)

Nevertheless, in practice, these strategies are usually aimed at assimilation of school practices, dominant language learning, legal or employment counseling, and so on. As far as the first is concerned, even though each school “can establish its own (reception) plan,” there are few actual intercultural strategies. In terms of citizenship, an analysis of the most recent Galician funding program that involved immigrants exemplifies the differences between discourse and practice. This grant was oriented toward the development of activities in favor of social inclusion. However, just one immigrant association, The Afro-Latina Association in the city of Ourense (*Asociación Sociocultural Afrolatina*), was financially supported by the administration. What exactly is being supported in terms of social inclusion? The answer is language training in Spanish and Galician and legal advice, as in the case of the local entities (Resolución 2015).

18.7 Implications and Conclusions

This study highlights the dissociation between immigrants' perspectives on their cultural heritage and the receiving society's response toward diversity. Integration has to do with equality and interaction; hence, it seems reasonable to take into consideration immigrants' actual needs, interests and demands. As Comellas (2008) astutely and ironically asks: what would be the benefits of throwing away one's mother tongue?

Furthermore, this analysis shows that initiatives sponsored and funded by the Galician government fail to support linguistic and cultural maintenance and intercultural relations, relegating these to private domains and individual initiatives. Other activities and proposals should be promoted to actually connect what migrants are forced to understand as separate: maintenance and integration. Low levels of socialization within the receiving society are common in adults. This could be mitigated through fostering parental involvement at schools (Priegue Caamaño 2008), that is, for instance, activities in which the cultural heritage of parents and students is openly manifested and shared (Santos Rego and Lorenzo Moledo 2008), as well as promoting culturally diverse activities in neighborhoods or even the immigrant associations themselves. Hopefully, this would contribute to an integration process in which being oneself is not relegated to the private and limited sphere of home and real coexistence and cohesion in society, not only in Vigo (locally), are actively (and thus practically) pursued.

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Chapter 19

A View of Linguistic Landscapes for an Ethical and Critical Education

Luz Zas Varela and Gabriela Prego Vázquez

Abstract The research described in this chapter is intended to contribute to a critical and inclusive language education in multilingual contexts resulting from migration. Our results demonstrate the visibility and invisibility of languages and their varieties in and around a secondary school in Arteixo (Galicia) and permit us to analyze, from a qualitative and emic perspective, youth perceptions, and values concerning linguistic diversity in these new multilingual contexts. Our analysis also reveals evidence of the ways in which languages are distributed and commodified in the linguistic landscape of the town, and how prejudices concerning local language varieties and migrant languages are rooted in a community that has naturalized the de-capitalization of local and authentic voices. In particular, the hegemony of English and the capitalization of standard language varieties are visible in the linguistic landscape, and they influence young people's language ideologies.

19.1 Introduction: Linguistic Landscape and Critical Language Education

The twentieth century poses new challenges for linguistic research and education. The intensification of *glocalización*,¹ the diversification of migratory phenomena, and massive internet and new technology usage have led to significant socioeconomic changes. We see the emergence of a linguistic and cultural diversity that Vertovec (2007) defines as super-diversity. In postmodernity, these super-diverse contexts lead to new communicative processes and new social inequalities linked to

¹The concept of *glocalization* emerges when local and specific elements interact with global ones (Bolívar Botín 2001, p. 269).

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multilingualism. While multilingual competence involving languages deemed prestigious by economic and institutional powers has high market-based and symbolic value, multilingualism related to migration is rendered invisible and de-capitalized (Patiño Santos 2008; Prego Vázquez and Zas Varela 2015). These changes are not only evident in urban metropolises, but can be observed at the margins of super-diversity, that is, in peripheral, peri-urban, and rural areas (Wang et al. 2014; Prego Vázquez and Zas Varela 2015). In this sense, migration in these “margins” leads to multilingual ecologies: The values of languages and varieties are distributed in a polycentric pattern across various off-line and online space-time contexts (Blommaert 2015).

The new multilingual ecologies connected with migration and globalization (re) produce linguistic and social inequalities, and so are particularly relevant to adolescents (Wang et al. 2014). These social changes must be addressed as part of an inclusive and ethical language education (Lomas 2014) that responds to the multilingual, multimodal, and technological conditions of postmodernity. For this reason, our project adopts a multi-methodological approach with an action-based research perspective (Van Lier 1988; Calsamiglia and Tusón 2014).

Our interdisciplinary methodological approach combines a analytical linguistic landscape (LL) focus with the pedagogical approach referred to as Critical Language Awareness (CLA). We’ve developed a research method that permits us to analyze how young people perceive the linguistic landscape of super-diversity in the new multilingual ecologies that have developed at the periphery. We’ve established this action-based research project in the context of obligatory secondary education so that this critical perspective might help to achieve a language education that responds to new multilingual contexts.

We understand LL from the perspective of Landry and Bourhis (1997, p. 25):

The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.

In this sense, we consider it essential that the sign be publicly displayed and, as Backhaus (2006, pp. 66–67) argues, that the text possesses a defined frame or support. Therefore, from a methodological standpoint, we have analyzed signs that involve written text, that appear in public spaces, and that have a clearly defined spatial framework. This includes all forms of advertising, administrative signage (official signs posted by government offices and institutions), commercial and individual signs, and those placed by associations and businesses in the school and the surrounding neighborhood. Drawing upon the classification established by Ben-Rafael et al. (2004) in their investigation of different ethno-linguistic groups in Jerusalem, we’ve assigned categories of either *top-down* (institutional signage) or *bottom-up* (private and everyday signage). This distinction allows us to see how languages and their varieties are spatially distributed; following Landry and Bourhis (1997, p. 27), we analyze the interaction between the two types of signs:

In some cases, the language profile of private signs and government signs may be quite similar and thus contribute to a consistent and coherent linguistic landscape. There are instances, however, in which the language of private signs is quite discordant with the language profile of government signs. More often than not, there is greater language diversity in private than in government signs.

The pedagogical approach known as Critical Language Awareness (CLA) is the central framework that gives meaning to the action research on linguistic landscapes. This method is based on the Language Awareness approach (Hawkins 1984, 1992), which takes as its objectives:

to stimulate curiosity about language as the defining characteristics of the “articulate mammal,” too easily taken for granted, to integrate the different kinds of language teaching met at school, and to help children to make an effective start on their foreign language learning. (Hawkins 1999, p. 413).

CLA serves to focus attention on the relationship between language and social context and on how power relations are reconstructed (Fairclough 1990, 1999). Work along these lines established by Hawkins, Fairclough and collaborators in the UK has been extended with new foci in Europe (Candelier 2003), the USA (García 2008), and Canada (Dagenais et al. 2008). These diverse projects share the goal of developing activities where students explore materials in different languages in order to reflect critically on language diversity and linguistic prejudices.

Following this approach, we designed metalinguistic activities concerning the LL of the classroom, school, and the surrounding neighborhood.² Data were collected through participant observation, by means of audio and video recording of activities and the interactions that emerged through them. These kinds of activities foster the proliferation of multilingual and or metapragmatic practices, that is, reflexive practices related to the communicative functionality of statements and their conditions of use. These practices are ideal for exploring, from an emic perspective, how participants negotiate linguistic ideologies, identities, and the polycentric hierarchies of languages and varieties in these new multilingual spaces caused by migration at the margins of super-diversity.

Our results point to new theoretical and practical implications for a critical and inclusive language education, framed within sociolinguistic changes in progress.

²This work formed part of the research project “Linguistic superdiversity in periurban areas: A scalar analysis of sociolinguistic processes and the development of metalinguistic awareness in multilingual classrooms” (FFI2016-76425-P), supported by a grant from the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness.

19.2 Linguistic Landscape at the Margins of Super-Diversity: Arteixo

Our study is based on an understanding of public space as a place for communicative action, a place that reflects the scalar distribution of the community's linguistic repertoire and its continual transformation as a result of migratory flows (Prego Vázquez and Zas Varela 2015; Zas Varela and Prego Vázquez 2016). Taking this perspective, the LL approach allows us to observe how super-diversity and the hierarchical distribution of linguistic markets are spatially projected. The social inequalities connected to super-diversity can be observed in the LL in terms of the legitimation and commodification of certain languages in certain spaces to the detriment (absence) of others. Our work is centered on the so-called margins of super-diversity: rural and peri-urban zones that have received relatively little attention from this perspective, as described by Juffermans (2015), Prego Vázquez and Zas Varela (2015), and Wang et al. (2014). These spaces, nevertheless, are also affected by changes related to globalization and migrations, making it no less important to investigate the commodification of language in the LL in these margins. Such is the case with Arteixo, a municipality near the Atlantic coast of Galicia (Spain). Our research took place in a secondary school in Pastoriza, a rur-urban area to the north of the town. The Parish of Pastoriza is an example of a nucleus situated at the margins of super-diversity, since it is located in the peri-urban zone of the city of A Coruña (3 km away) and on the outskirts of the municipality of Arteixo (5 km from the town center).

Arteixo's strategic location next to the city of A Coruña has fostered an intense process of industrialization and urbanization since the 1970s. What was once a rural municipality has experienced the kind of intense transformations common to Galician peri-urban areas. The multinational corporation Inditex, whose internationally recognized fashion outlets include Zara, Berska, Zara Home, and Pull and Bear, is based here. It is one of the most industrialized municipalities in Galicia, with two industrial complexes and an international seaport.

Arteixo has been changing not only in terms of industrial development, but also in terms of demographic expansion. According to census data, the municipality had no more than 10,471 inhabitants in 1950, a number which has risen to more than 30,000, including 1,980 foreign residents, according to data from the council's social services in 2014. While 10 years ago foreign nationals constituted only 1% of the population, they now represent 7%. Most recent municipal data indicate that people from some 50 nationalities live in Arteixo, mainly from Latin American and European countries and from Morocco. Morocco has been the country of origin of most foreign-born residents for the past several years. As these characteristics indicate, Arteixo represents a clear example of super-diversity at the margins.

Our evidence indicates that the names chosen for the new business and streets, along with advertisements and institutional signage provided by the municipality, constitute a new LL produced by the commodification of the linguistic diversity characteristic of super-diversity (Prego Vázquez and Zas Varela 2015; Zas Varela

and Prego Vázquez 2015, 2016). We hold that the distribution, visibilization, and invisibilization of languages in the municipality's public space index the different ideologies toward the languages and varieties that constitute the new community's multilingual communicative repertoire (Zas Varela and Prego Vázquez 2016). Following Woolard (2007), we distinguish between ideologies of anonymity and authenticity. Languages, linguistic varieties, and linguistic resources that are based on anonymity received their authority from a universality that does not identify with any place and has no ethnic markers. They are hegemonic varieties and resources "from nowhere" that inhabit the contemporary public sphere (Habermas 1989). In contrast, authenticity is understood as "the genuine and essential expression of a community or of an I" (Woolard 2007, p. 131). Authenticity, on the other hand, is connected with a nationalism that emerges from Romanticism. As Woolard suggests, "the authentic voice is rooted in a place and, as such, its value is local" (2007, p. 131). As opposed to these *local ideologies*, ideologies of *anonymity* are presented as natural and objective truths, discourses specific to no one, and are represented by institutional ideologies. We will examine ways in which both can be found in Arteixo's LL.

The municipality's communicative repertoire is not fully represented in public space signage. In the everyday communicative practices of the social actors of this community, we can identify various dialects of the Galician language and several varieties of Spanish (that of the Galicia region of Spain, as well as varieties of Venezuelan, Uruguayan, Argentinian, and Colombian Spanish), alongside Moroccan Arabic, Wolof, Russian, Rumanian, and Portuguese, among others. These linguistic varieties constitute symbolic frameworks for self-identification and self-affirmation, as described by Bourdieu (1982). Nevertheless, despite the presence of a significant number of Moroccans, written Arabic is completely invisibilized.³ At the same time, Latin American varieties of Spanish, characteristic of another significant migrant population, are not represented in the central public space, but rather are relegated to the form of graffiti, symbols, and messages on the walls of the secondary streets (García et al. 2013). The language varieties of the migrant groups are situated in scalar form at the periphery of public space and are confined to the domestic and private realms. In contrast, the English language, which does not form part of the local linguistic repertoire, occupies a central space, located in hegemonic places. English operates on a global scale, representing the *lingua franca* or international language in the naming of local businesses.

The LL distribution we have identified in the broader municipality (Prego Vázquez and Zas Varela 2015; Zas Varela and Prego Vázquez 2015, 2016) corresponds with our analysis of the area immediately surrounding the school. For example, standard Galician plays an exclusive role in institutional top-down

³Arabic is barely reflected in the LL of this municipality. We have observed four signs written in Arabic. Three of these are *top-down* signs, situated in institutional buildings in central spaces: one on the town's Mosque, another on the social services building, and a third in the library to indicate a section dedicated to Arabic-language texts. The only *bottom-up* sign that we have found is located on a side street and belongs to a *Halal* butcher.



Fig. 19.1 Recycling instructions in standard Galician

signage, and occupies, along with standard Castilian Spanish, an important position in the public space. Examples include *Rúa da Furoca* (a Galician street name evoking an opening or cave) or the Early Childhood Education Center called *Galiña Azul* (Blue Hen, in Galician). Figure 19.1 shows a photograph taken of a garbage bin, in which the instructions for use are written in the standard variety of Galician. The primary text reads “Glass—deposit without lids,” and below we see a phone number to call for “user services and mobile phone collection.”

We find particularly worth noting the absence of local dialectal varieties in both the central and peripheral spaces of the LL, since these local varieties do predominate in residents’ communicative practices. Spanish is never found in institutional messages, but it is used as the *lingua franca* in advertising and in commercial messages employed by national businesses.

At the same time, the hegemonic role of English is evident in the streets surrounding the school. As we have observed throughout the broader municipality, the English language has a significant presence in the LL, representing the commodification of the voice of anonymity (Zas Varela and Prego Vázquez 2016). For example, one can stay at the *Washington* (Inn), or have a beer at the *Northside* (Pub).

The messages conveyed in the English language are also brief, usually names, and often presented in contact with the Spanish language. An example of this hegemony is shown in Fig. 19.2, where *Santi’s BIKE*⁴ has been chosen for the

⁴*Santi* is a shortened version of the proper name *Santiago*.



Fig. 19.2 Sign on a bicycle shop



Fig. 19.3 New technologies and the displacement of traditional orthography

name of an establishment that sells and repairs bicycles and motorcycles. The owner explained to us that his reason for naming the shop in English was simply, “Because it sounded good to me in English.”

Another interesting finding is that, on the same global scalar level as English and the standard varieties of Spanish and Galician, we find linguistic and communicative phenomena linked with the popularization of new information technologies and postmodern communication styles. For example, young people now often use the letter “k” (which does not form part of the Spanish or Galician alphabet) instead of the normative “c” or “qu” in their online communication networks. In Fig. 19.3 we see an advertisement for a “unisex beauty parlor,” in which the Spanish word *coqueta* (coquette) is graphically represented with both the *c* and the *qu* replaced with the letter *k* (Fig. 19.4).

Finally, the authentic voices in the LL appear in counter-space (non-central spaces whose voices are ephemeral). In these places, we can observe that authentic voices appear linked to Latin American varieties of Spanish, the kind of English used by youth, and Spanish–English code switching (see Fig. 19.5). It is worth noting that while commercial and institutional signage is stable and fastened to physical supports, the authentic voices of the counter-space take the form of graffiti and tags that don’t last very long in the public space, since they are usually erased by



Fig. 19.4 Trash bin graffiti

institutions and businesses. Figure 19.4 depicts English-language graffiti on a trash bin located near the school entrance. Note the dialogic relationship between the institutional voice (in standard Galician and permanent format) and the authentic voice of the English graffiti.

The spatial distribution of language around the school zone demonstrates the scalar distribution and the superposition of the global and local in the language market. The invisibilization of local varieties spoken by autochthonous groups and migrants and the central role of the new global, international, or *glocal* linguistic resources indexes the continuous reconceptualization of the authority of certain language varieties with respect to others. Such linguistic processes relate to the legitimization or de-legitimization of the voices of the groups and social classes

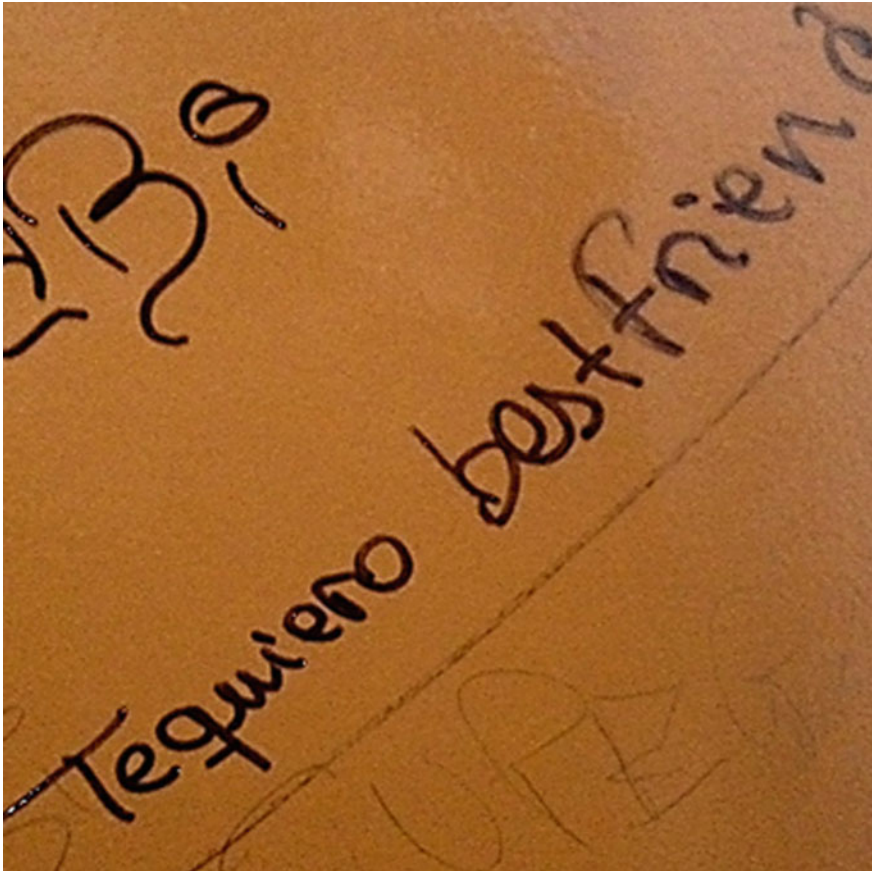


Fig. 19.5 Toilet door graffiti

associated with these languages and their varieties. The distributions and the values acquired by languages in the LL index the linguistic ideologies (Woolard 2007) circulating in this community.

19.3 Classroom-Based Action Research in a Multicultural Municipality Based on the Linguistic Landscape

The metalinguistic awareness project that we designed takes the representation of super-diversity in the LL as its point of departure. Metalinguistic activities focusing on the classroom, school, and neighborhood LL formed the nexus of our action research. Our objectives included that the students acquire and critically develop sociolinguistic understandings that would lead to greater appreciation for linguistic

diversity and adopt a critical stance toward language prejudices. We also aimed to promote critical linguistic education activities as a resource for social inclusion in contexts of social inequalities stemming from migration.

At the time of the study, there were approximately 302 students enrolled in the *Pastora* Secondary School, distributed among 4 years of obligatory secondary education, two groups of basic vocational training, and a class dedicated to students deemed to have academic difficulties (referred to by students and teachers alike as PDC, which stands for curricular adaptation program). Part of the student body came from a variety of different Latin American (Colombia, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic), African (Morocco and Senegal), and European (Portugal, Switzerland, Germany, Rumania, and the Ukraine) countries, as well as other regions of Spain (Catalonia, the Canary Islands, Aragon, and Andalusia). The primary language of most students was Spanish: Although some students come from Galician-speaking families, there has been an overall decline of Galician language use in the region. Students of migrant families speak a range of languages and varieties in their home contexts. The action research responded to the following key questions:

- (1) Are student languages represented in the classroom, school, and neighborhood LL?
- (2) How are international languages, linguistic varieties, and migrant languages valued?
- (3) Is there a correspondence between the ways in which super-diversity is represented in the municipal LL and the values and prejudices of the youth?
- (4) How do youth perceive their community LL?
- (5) What is gained, or may be gained, by these kinds of metalinguistic activities in postmodernity?

The project took place during one semester of the 2015–2016 school year, in the form of a 50-min session once a week in the fourth-year PDC classroom, as well as participation in the school's weekly radio program with the language-oriented program *The Language Corner*. There were eight student participants: six from Galicia, one from another region of Spain (Basque), and one from Morocco. The activities included:

- (I) A critical exploration of the classroom, school, and neighborhood LL.
- (II) Collection, analysis, and discussion of materials.
- (III) Preparation of a script for participation in the weekly school radio program.
- (IV) Proposal for a workshop entitled Lets Make Landscape: Labeling our own T-Shirts.

These activities allowed students to become conscious of the visibility and invisibility of the different languages in their school and its neighborhood. They observed the predominance of the standard varieties of Spanish and Galician in the institutional signage and noticed that these examples came from different contexts. While the academic institution usually posted signs in standard Galician (i.e.,

classroom labels and a variety of academic announcements), health and safety instructions and procedures were always written in Spanish (i.e., *Open in case of fire; Press here*). We also found examples in English and French, languages included in the official school curriculum. The majority of these were cases of academic or institutional top-down signage, which, in Woolard's terms (2007), indexes the voice of anonymity. However, the local varieties of Galician and Spanish and migrant language varieties, which represent the voices of authenticity, were found to be absent. Such is the case with Arabic, which was not found among the written comments on toilet stalls or in dialogic relationship with the institutional postings. For example, in the academic assignments written in standard Galician or Spanish and posted in the public space of the school corridors, students added comments either in Spanish or English.

This (in)visibilization corresponds to the values and prejudices held by these youth toward these languages and varieties. Standard varieties of English, French, Spanish, and Galician were considered to be more prestigious than local varieties of Spanish and Galician. We also observed that students barely recognized migrant languages as part of the new community repertoire, while English, a language not spoken among any migrant groups in the area, had a strong presence in the local LL and was highly valued by these young people. English hegemony has had a profound effect on this society; it is the primary foreign language in the school system and certain school-based bilingual programs. Among the materials we collected from the classroom for analysis, we noticed that the writing on students' shirts and sweatshirts was in English. In this sense, the English language has exceeded the space of anonymity and has been incorporated into the youth communicative repertoire as the "authentic voice." This process is illustrated in Fig. 19.5, an example of code switching between Spanish (*te quiero*—I love you) and English (best friend) (Fig. 19.6).

English hegemony also came into play during the t-shirt labeling workshop. Students expressed their preference for using English expressions, arguing that it was simply cooler (sometimes using the English word *cool* itself), or that it "sounds better" or "looks better"; some of them ended up labeling their shirts in this language (see Fig. 19.5). Other students labeled their t-shirts in Spanish, saying that it was difficult for them to think in English (see Fig. 19.7). Nevertheless, no student wrote in Galician. The Moroccan student revealed that the only time she ever wore anything with Arabic writing was when she visited her country of origin.

Overall, this activity provided an opportunity to reflect on the reality that, while there are no better or worse languages, they don't achieve the same level of visibility. It also invited students to reflect on linguistic diversity as a cultural asset, which served as the topic of the script they prepared for the radio program, which is broadcast weekly during school recess. In this way, students were able to share these reflections with the broader school community (see Appendix for the full transcript).

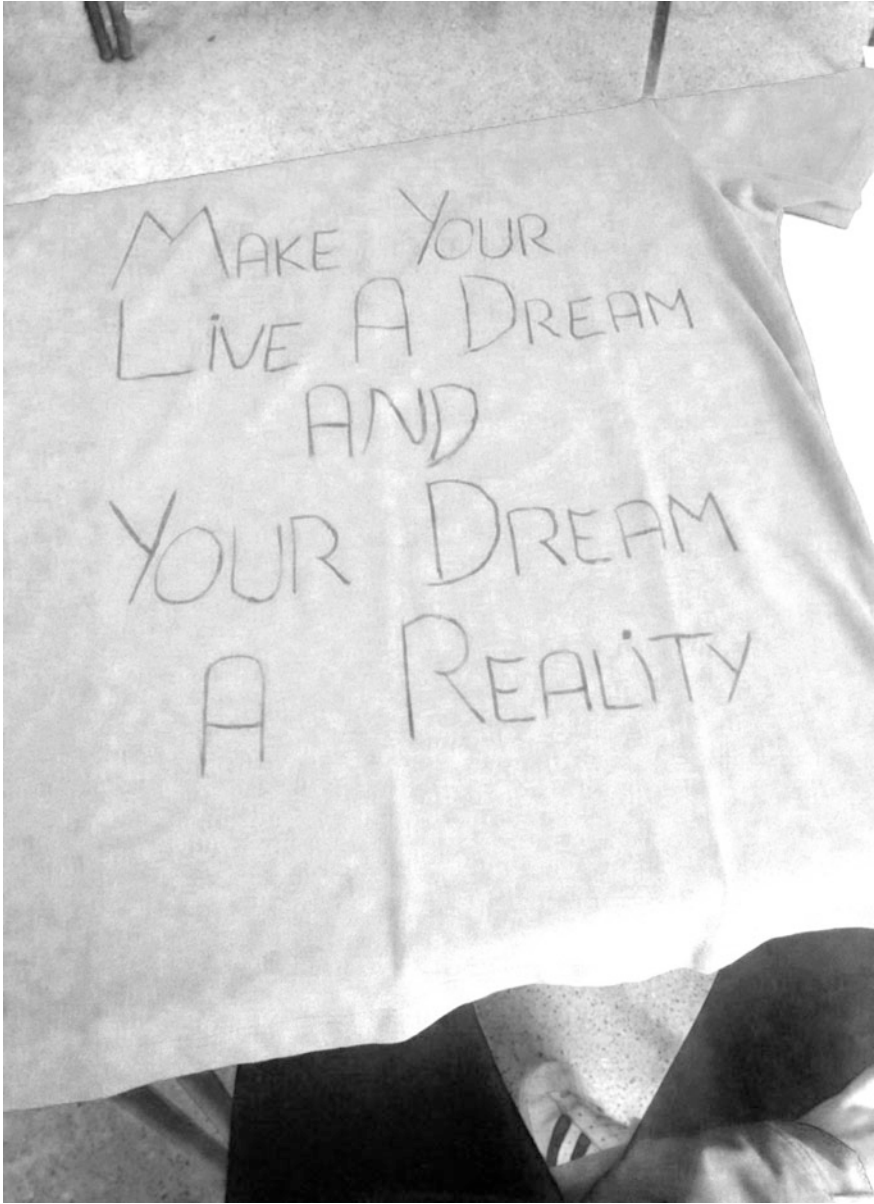


Fig. 19.6 Student t-shirt printed in English—"Make your live (life) a dream and your dream a reality"



Fig. 19.7 T-shirt printing workshop—student writing in Spanish

19.4 Conclusions

The project described here attempts to bridge the results of our ongoing sociolinguistic research into LL and a classroom-based action research initiative based on Multilingual Language Awareness (MLA) and Critical Language Awareness (Fairclough 1990, 1999) approaches. Such a combination aims both to contribute to socio-discursive investigation and to translate some of the results into educational innovation in these new contexts of super-diversity. In particular, the project we've presented here contributes to the implementation of a critical and inclusive language education in multilingual contexts related to migration. The action research provided an opportunity to observe the (in)visibility of languages and their varieties in and around the school and, at the same time, analyze from an emic and qualitative perspective youth perceptions and values of linguistic diversity in new migration-based multilingual contexts such as Galicia.

We have observed that the distribution and commodification of languages in the LL correspond to the hierarchy of values established by the youth themselves with respect to the community language repertoire. Linguistic prejudices toward local language varieties and migrant languages are deeply rooted in a community that has naturalized the de-capitalization of local and authentic voices. English hegemony and the capitalization of standard language varieties are visible in the local LL and have shaped youth language ideologies, as we were able to observe in their metapragmatic comments as they carried out the activities we proposed.

For this reason, activities focusing on analyzing the local LL became, in this project, a resource for encouraging students to value linguistic diversity. Carrying out these activities in the classroom showed us how they can serve as a tool for reflecting critically on cultural and linguistic diversity in the local environment and in the community's public spaces. By examining the ways in which different languages and varieties can be found in public space, students can reconstruct a critical vision of super-diversity and become aware of linguistic inequalities in their own surroundings.

As García (2008) points out, Multilingual Language Awareness (MLA) and Critical Language Awareness (Fairclough 1990, 1999) permit teachers and students to construct an ethical and critical language education by exploring and critically interrogating linguistic diversity. Such projects serve not only to develop students' sociolinguistic knowledge, but also to foster social inclusion in communities with significant social inequalities stemming from migration.

APPENDIX Radio Program Script (Translated from the Original Galician)

Good Morning

Today on our program we will talk about linguistic landscape.

Multilingualism, reflected in the European slogan "Unity in Diversity," is a challenge for everyone in Europe. Europe has a commitment to preserve cultural diversity and integration and tolerance through Intercultural Dialogue.

To see how multilingualism is distributed in the 4th-year PDC we are analyzing the LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE of our school and the surrounding neighborhood.

So what is Linguistic Landscape?

Well, it's about evaluating the presence of texts and language in walls, message boards, classrooms...in our school and outside of it. The objective is to analyze the different languages that are used, as well as the relationship between the written texts and other semiotic elements that contribute to the multimodality of communication.

We analyzed the relationship between the different languages used according to certain variables: authorship, the relation among languages (translation, dominance of some languages over others) and the symbolic and informational value of the different languages.

What language is present on the t-shirts and sweatshirts that you wear? DO YOU KNOW THAT ALL OF OURS HAVE TEXTS IN ENGLISH?

World of Pirates

Division Sport League

Hollister Pacific

UNTIL NEXT WEEK

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Chapter 20

Immigrant Women in Situations of Gender Violence: Towards Improving Communication with Public Service Providers Through Interpreters

Maribel del Pozo Triviño

Abstract What are the specific needs of female immigrant gender violence (GV) victims who lack proficiency in the language(s) spoken by the different public services in the host country? Do interpreters need specific training to mediate in these cases? These questions are answered based on data collected from 2012 to 2014 through focus groups with experts on gender violence, a Delphi survey of interpreters, personal interviews with victims and experts and a questionnaire survey of agents/professionals specialised in assisting foreign GV victims/survivors. The study sought to ascertain the real communication needs of agents and the GV victims who do not speak Spanish or the other co-official languages in Spain, and the problems associated with interpreters during such encounters. The practices and needs revealed by this research have been used to create resources for stakeholders (agents, victims and interpreters working in several fields, including law enforcement, judicial, medical and psychosocial).

20.1 Introduction

In 1993 the General Assembly of the United Nations, in its *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women*, defined violence against women as:

any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.

This violation of human rights affects thousands of women globally, as revealed in recent studies, one of which is *Violence against women: An EU-wide survey* (FRA 2014). Several national and international organisations (CEDAW, Amnesty International 2007; DGVG 2015) have warned that the prevalence of gender

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violence is higher among immigrant women since they usually have added barriers that prevent them from seeking assistance to escape such violence, these being language and social isolation, dependence on their aggressor, cultural and religious conceptions that discourage challenging male authority and, in many cases, illegal status in the host country, among others (Toledano et al. 2015).

Public administrations are aware of the magnitude of the GV phenomenon and have taken legislative and other measures to prevent and combat violence against women. However, many resources allocated for this purpose do not reach the women who do not speak the language of the host country, since they are not linguistically nor culturally adapted (Fernandes del Pozo 2014). Therefore, the different organisations insist that linguistically and culturally adapted resources must be provided. For instance, the Beijing Declaration of 1995 (Strategic objective D.1.b) establishes that when taking measures to prevent and eliminate violence against women one should “establish linguistically and culturally accessible services for migrant women and girls, including women migrant workers, who are victims of gender-based violence”.

Moreover, when these women are finally able to access public services and resources, they often do not have interpreters to help them to communicate and, whenever present, they often tend to be unqualified nonprofessionals without any special training to work with GV victims. This leads to harmful consequences both for victims and public service agents since victims’ rights are violated and scarce public services resources are wasted.

The need for providing quality specialised interpretation services for GV victims throughout the assistance process and the need for specialised interpreter training to work in these contexts has been pointed out by diverse organisations in different countries (DRCC 2008; Polzin 2007; Huelgo et al. 2006; Abraham and Oda 2000; Glasgow Violence Against Women Partnership 2011; Queensland Sexual Assault Services 2010; Standing Together against Domestic Violence 2008).¹ Moreover, the right of GV victims to translation and interpretation has been enshrined in international instruments and EU legislation such as the *Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence*, known as the Istanbul Convention, signed by the Council of Europe in 2011 (Article 56) and *Directive 2012/29/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2012 establishing minimum standards on the rights, support and protection of victims of crime* (Article 7).²

Despite international and EU legislation, Spain only recognises the right of victims to translation and interpreting in police and court settings. Language services in these settings are provided by companies who normally hire unqualified interpreters with no special training to assist victims (Del Pozo and Blasco 2015). This situation is also present in Galicia where victims are only provided free

¹A comparative study of training resources has been done by Del Pozo and Alvarez (2014).

²For an in-depth study of international and EU legislation on the rights of victims to translation and interpretation, see Naredo (2015) and Hertog (2015).

interpreters in police and court settings and not during encounters with professionals from the healthcare, social services, NGOs, etc. Moreover, in Galicia, the General Secretariat for Equality hires telephone interpreting companies to attend to the needs of social services and women shelters. These telephone interpreting companies offer a quick service that is highly appreciated by service providers since it facilitates urgent communications with victims, but unfortunately is not the right solution when giving advice or psychological treatment to victims.

In so far as training of interpreters to work in GV settings is concerned, the options are scarce worldwide and nonexistent in Galicia or in Spain. Interpreters are therefore thrown into the deep end without special training to work in the different social, health, police and court settings.

In the light of the above, in 2012, we approached the EU's Directorate General for Justice to co-fund a project with the following two main objectives: (a) Analysis of the needs of foreign female GV victims who do not speak the language or languages of the host country to communicate through interpreters and (b) Creation of materials to train interpreters who work in this field.

20.2 The Speak Out for Support (SOS-VICS) Project

Speak Out for Support (SOS-VICS), led by a Galician University, is the first of its kind in Europe whose objective is focussed on interpreter-mediated communications in GV contexts (SOS-VICS 2015a). The project is co-financed by the EU's Criminal Justice Programme. Nine Spanish universities, several professionals, entities and experts participated in the project in which the University of Vigo was the coordinator.

Besides the aforementioned objectives, the project also intended to inform and raise awareness among all agents (medical doctors, nurses and other health professionals, psychologists, lawyers, community workers, police, the judiciary, violence against women helplines, victim support organisations, social workers, etc.) involved in assisting foreign female GV victims about the need for hiring and using qualified professionals in interpreter-mediated communications, as manifested in Directive 2012/29/EU mentioned earlier (Article 7) and Directive 2010/64/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 20 October 2010 on the right to interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings. The project furthermore stressed the need that such interpreters be specifically trained for that purpose.

SOS-VICS lasted two years (November 2012 to November 2014) and was carried out in three stages: the first stage compiled and analysed information on the communication needs of victims and of the many agents that work in this context; the second stage involved creation of materials and resources (using results from the first stage) for all parties involved in the communication process: victims, agents and interpreters; and the third stage was dedicated to dissemination of research results and materials created.

20.2.1 *Fieldwork Carried Out by SOS-VICS*

The development of resources for victims, agents and, especially, for training interpreters to work in GV settings could not be undertaken without first ascertaining the specific needs, knowledge and skills required in professional practice during these communications, because their contextual characteristics differ from other linguistic mediation situations.

As explained in the Introduction, gender violence has provoked an institutional response which has materialised in the form of concrete laws and the creation of specialised bodies with specific staff to deal with the problem. Project fieldwork covered all types of settings and professionals involved in assisting GV victims and used diverse research techniques in accordance with the objectives and target population. Two workshops were held with agents (judicial, police, health, social and interpreters) experienced in assisting foreign female GV victims; a questionnaire survey of agents; a Delphi survey of interpreters; and in-depth interviews with professionals and victims from several countries completed the fieldwork.

20.2.1.1 Workshops with Agents

The two workshops gathered representatives from all fields that intervene in the communication process (agents, victims and interpreters). They provided information on the different situations experienced during interlinguistic communication between agents and victims, as well as on the expectations of the parties involved. The information was then used to define the training needs of interpreters. The workshops also helped create a wide network of contacts that were useful to implement the other research techniques such as the questionnaire survey and interviews.

20.2.1.2 Questionnaire Survey of Agents Experienced in Assisting Foreign Female GV Victims

The questionnaire survey was carried out throughout Spain, but the pilot questionnaire survey was done only in Galicia. The sample contained 586 agents from the legal, police, health and social fields. All project partners participated in designing the questionnaire, which was supervised by the sociological-statistical team, with input from the agents who participated in the first workshop. The results obtained, contained in the sociological-statistical report of the questionnaire survey (Del Pozo et al. 2014a), reveal that there are many communication problems with foreign female GV victims who do not speak the co-official languages in Spain. Some problems detected in the survey show that 32% were unsure whether the victim had fully understood them, while 30% stated that interpreters conversed with

victims but did not translate the same later back to them. Another problem with negative consequences on the entire process both for agents and victims is that 29% stated that they almost always or often used the same interpreter for both aggressor and victim in GV situations. Particularly, noteworthy in the case of Galicia is the low percentage of agents (just 34% compared with 80% in Catalonia or 74% in the Basque Region) who stated that they follow a protocol to obtain assistance from interpreters. Galicia is also one of the autonomous regions that stands out when it comes to fewer agents (57%) having used interpreters at some time during their work.

20.2.1.3 Survey of Interpreters

As stated earlier, one of the principal objectives of SOS-VICS was the creation of resources for specialised training in interpreter-mediated GV settings. They were prepared after obtaining the opinion of the several parties involved in the communications and encounters with victims. Additionally, the needs and opinions of the target group (interpreters) were also taken into account. To that end, a Delphi survey was carried out on a sample of practising interpreters. This is a qualitative social research technique which, through a systematic iterative process, provides us with information and consensus from a group of persons who are experts in a particular field of interest. Fifty-four survey requests were sent and replies from 27 were obtained. The research was carried out in two stages: in the first stage, based on their experience, interpreters were separately asked to respond to three open questions: (a) the contents they thought were needed for specialisation of interpreters in GV settings, (b) the obstacles or difficulties they encountered in finding such training, and (c) the strategies they considered to be the most appropriate for such training. The information received was organised into just the one list ordered by thematic areas and was fed back into the second round of consultation, wherein interpreters were asked to provide a rating depending on the interest and agreement on each of the elements presented. This stage permitted an in-depth reflection on the several areas concerned and facilitated reaching of consensus among the participants (Del Pozo et al. 2014b).

This survey provided essential information for the creation of training resources for interpreters. Participants considered the following contents and subjects to be most important: interpretation, psychology, specialised subjects, scope of intervention, gender, human trafficking and smuggling and knowledge of cultures. The contents with high consensus and high importance are related to acquiring communicative skills (and not just related to acquiring fluency in the working language and command of specialised terminology) and the correct use of pragmatic aspects, professional ethics and the interpreter's approach to the work. A command of the several interpretation techniques is also considered important, with particular

emphasis on liaison interpreting³ over other types such as telephone interpreting. Other very important considerations from the participants were related to psychology and included issues such as the way victims are treated and stress and emotion management. Extra-linguistic and thematic competence was also considered important. Knowledge of specific content in the several intervention areas such as legislation, resources, action protocols and their implementation, documents and forms relating to judicial, police, psychosocial and medical fields were also considered to be quite relevant. Also highly acclaimed was the development of cultural competence and training in cultural practices and differences. Training in gender, GV concept and manifestations, and the cycle of violence were also considered as high priority.

On the subject of obstacles encountered for specialisation, the interpreters pointed to the lack of specialised training, especially practice in the several language combinations, as a serious handicap. The imbalance between the cost of the existing scarce training and lack of support for training in the form of scholarships, grants, etc. and difficulties to access training due to lack of time and resources were additional factors. The survey participants stated that an important factor hindering specialisation is that agents, translation and interpretation agencies and interpreters do not consider training as an essential requisite for the provision of proper service.

Finally, interpreters were asked about the strategies they considered to be the most appropriate for such training. The responses indicated that the training method with the most consensus was professional practice, either through specialised modules within general translation and interpreting courses or through apprenticeships as part of training programs, simulation practice exercises, contact with practicing experienced interpreters, etc. Collaboration between professionals, trainers and interpreters and training of translators and interpreters' trainers were also considered as excellent strategies for specialisation (Del Pozo et al. 2014b).

20.2.1.4 Interviews with Agents and Victims

Twelve agents from different fields that assist GV victims were interviewed and 12 GV victims and survivors were also interviewed. The interviews with agents sought in-depth information on the most important aspects detected in the workshops and the questionnaires.

The interviews with victims were carried out with women from several countries (Morocco, Brazil, Ethiopia, Guinea, Nigeria, Romania, Russia) with ages ranging from 25 to 43 years.

The interviews with agents reinforced the data obtained in the questionnaires, namely that there are many communication problems with foreign GV victims and

³Liaison interpretation: the interpreter accompanies the parties to the conversation and intervenes in both directions (from source language to target language and vice-versa), by generally taking notes and delivery through short statements.

that the services of a professional interpreter (specialised in GV) during all stages of the intervention are required. Some extracts of the interviews are reproduced below:

The biggest problem is that the interpreter is not aware of police procedures and therefore these have to be explained first to the interpreter so that he/she can then explain the same to the victim (...) which slows the process a lot. (Inspector and Chief of the National Police's S.A.F.⁴ unit).

Interpreters are not specialised in the topic and make mistakes. They try to orient the parties involved, do not empathise with the victims, are not fluent in the language and are not aware of police and judicial formalities. (Inspector and Chief of the S.A.F. unit).⁵

The experiences and opinions of the foreign women highlighted the lack of linguistic assistance and improvisation when seeking solutions to overcome linguistic barriers, in addition to the poor quality of the service. This situation results in an inadequate, inaccurate and inefficient communication between agents and victims, and furthermore leads to misinformation and mistrust by these women towards the services offered, besides the constant violation of victim's rights. Also noticeable is the underutilisation of both human and material resources and the total absence of guarantees during assistance. The following extract from one victim's interview is a clear example of how they feel, trapped and totally isolated:

It felt like being on an island and I needed to reach the other one, which is better but distant.... My island is nearer, "easier", but I don't want to stay here forever. I need a BRIDGE, someone who knows how to mediate, how to convey my thoughts. I have no tools to send my message to those who can help me. I need someone who can make me believe I can reach the other end! Even when there are other voices who tell me I must stay. That person needs to know, needs to be prepared, trained. It is important to choose the right person, somebody selected, prepared, willing and with a gift... Someone with the essential human sensitivity to work in this environment, so he or she is able to reach those who need help like me.

(Moroccan victim, 41 years old).

The main conclusions of the research carried out by the project can be summarised as follows:

- Foreign female victims need to be guaranteed their right to understand and be understood during the entire assistance process and not just in judicial and police settings.
- Interpreters used during assistance must be professional and have specialised training to work with GV victims. Otherwise, consequences can be quite serious both for agents (who will not be able to perform their job well), and for the victims themselves (whose rights continue to be violated and therefore lose trust in the institutions and feel increasingly isolated and unprotected).

⁴SAF: *Servicio de Atención a la Familia* (Family Attention Unit).

⁵Interview excerpts translated by author.

20.2.2 Resources Created by SOS-VICS

In order to contribute to solving some of the problems identified during the field-work, SOS-VICS created a set of resources for interpreters, agents and victims, which included: (a) a handbook and a web portal for training interpreters, a good practice guide for agents on how best to communicate through interpreters and multilingual information videos, pamphlets and posters for victims.⁶

20.2.2.1 The Handbook and Web Portal for Training Interpreters

As explained earlier, one of the resources created by the project for training interpreters is a handbook entitled *Interpretación en contextos de violencia de género* (Interpreting in GV settings) (Toledano and Del Pozo 2015). This book addresses the training needs detected during the research by providing students, interpreters and interpreter trainers with the resources needed to work in GV settings. Both the handbook and the web portal can be used for self-study or as part of an interpreter training syllabus. Several Spanish and foreign universities are already using the resources as teaching material in graduate and postgraduate programs as well as in ongoing training programs.⁷

The book has seven chapters which are focussed on the conceptual and methodological issues required for specialisation in interpreting for GV victims. The first chapter is dedicated to training in gender and gender violence. This is followed by a chapter on interpreting techniques, role of interpreters, skills, and professional and ethical aspects. The following chapter is focussed specifically on the analysis of remote interpretation in its two modalities: telephone and video-conference interpreting. The next three chapters are focussed on the communication encounters in judicial, police, health and psychosocial settings. The interpreter must be familiar with the parties to the communication, the jargon and protocols used, the resources and institutions with which they work, the rules applied and documentation handled, the types of interviews held, the objective and function of each communicative encounter, etc. The book ends with a chapter that presents a set of tools and strategies which interpreters can use to develop self-learning skills for emotional and stress management both during and after the job.

The other resource for training interpreters in GV settings, the SOS-VICS web portal—*Web de formación SOS-VICS* (SOS-VICS 2015b), has been conceived as a supplement to the handbook. The content of the handbook is adapted to the web format and includes definitions of specialised terms and concepts and more details

⁶All resources are available free on the project web site: <http://cuautla.uvigo.es/sos-vics/blogs/ver.php?id=132>.

⁷For instance, Monash University in Melbourne (Australia) has designed a Family Violence and Interpreting course and is using SOS-VICS resources. <http://artsonline.monash.edu.au/translation-interpreting/family-violence-and-interpreting/>.

on the victim's assistance process within the different fields of intervention. One can also find material and documents used in GV communication encounters, as well as role-plays depicting the different intervention situations both in text and audio formats. The web portal is easy to use and has been especially designed for self-learning.

20.2.2.2 The Good Practice Guide for Agents

Fieldwork carried out in the early stages of the project highlighted that agents working in GV cases were basically unaware of the functions, role and needs of interpreters. This is basically due to agents' lack of experience in working with professional interpreters, which in turn highlighted the need to inform agents about the many aspects related to public services interpreting, provision of assistance, and working effectively with interpreters.

To that end, the project created a good practice guide for agents on how to best work with interpreters in order to address this situation in accordance with Directive 2010/64/EU, which mentions training of judicial staff to work with interpreters in order to guarantee the right to translation and interpretation in criminal proceedings.

This resource, entitled *La comunicación mediada por intérpretes en contextos de violencia de género. Guía de buenas prácticas para trabajar con intérpretes* (Interpreter-mediated communication in GV settings. A good practice guide to working with interpreters) (Borja and Del Pozo 2015), contains a common part and a specific part directed to the professional field of each agent that participates in assisting GV victims. The common part covers different issues such as the right of victims to be assisted by interpreters, the cultural aspects that influence communication, the definition of professional interpreters, their functions and training, the difference between translation and interpreting, the risks of working with non-professional interpreters in GV settings and the advantages of working with professional ones (sound knowledge of source and target language, professional behaviour, impartiality, capacity to resolve contingency situations, etc.). There is also mention of aspects which must be taken into account when working with interpreters (provision of as much information as possible in advance to the interpreter for preparing the job and better delivery, respecting each person's speaking time, clear statements directed to the victim in second-person narration, a diction speed that permits the interpreter to take notes, provision of pauses for the interpreter to deliver, etc.).

The specific part focuses on issues relevant to the different fields such as legal, police, health and social services. The section basically refers to the specific legislation applicable to the different fields, touching upon subjects such as how to correctly identify the victim's language with emphasis on the communicative situations that can arise in each field and what one should do in order to ensure quality interpretation both for the female victim as well as for the agent assisting the person.

20.2.2.3 Multilingual Videos, Pamphlets and Posters for Victims

Yet another set of resources created by SOS-VICS were directed specifically to foreign female GV victims, which include informative videos, pamphlets and posters in Spanish, English, French, Chinese, Romanian and Arabic (Del Pozo and Fernandes Del Pozo 2014). On the one hand, the video intends to tell victims how to identify gender violence, in accordance with the definition provided in Spanish Organic Law No. 1/2004, and it also provides a brief review of the information and support that victims can find in Spain. On the other hand, the video informs victims who do not speak the host country language that there are interpreters at their disposal for overcoming the linguistic barrier, and that it is best to get a trained professional interpreter rather than family and friends to help them in the communication process. The novelty of this resource is that the material is not only translated (dubbed) into the several languages, but it is also adapted culturally and provides specific keys for identifying GV situations in diverse cultural contexts (genital mutilation, economic dependence on the aggressor, social isolation, control by family members, illegal status in host country, etc.). Likewise, topics that are unfamiliar to foreign female victims (such as prosecution and forensic medicine) are explained in a simple manner with cultural adaptation using actresses with different ethnic profiles.

This approach has also been included in the other resources created for foreign GV victims: multilingual pamphlets and posters. These are products derived from the videos and the intention is to help victims identify gender violence in their own situation and refer them to the public services where they can find information and assistance, including telephone numbers such as 016 and 112⁸ written in their own languages. And lastly, the professional interpreter figure is presented as the bridge for effective communication with the public service agents.

20.3 Conclusions

As reported by international organisations, violence against women is a form of gender-based discrimination and a violation of human rights that is currently affecting many women all over the world. Foreign/immigrant women are an especially vulnerable group due to their linguistic and cultural isolation and, therefore, governments need to take special measures to address their needs. In order to guarantee foreign/immigrant women's right to justice and fair treatment, they need to understand and be understood. Therefore, interpreters must be

⁸Since 2007, Spain has dedicated the emergency call number 016 to attending calls from victims of gender violence and providing them with information and advice. The service is free and leaves no trace of caller. The emergency telephone number 112 is the one that can be used for general emergencies.

provided by governments through public services to those who do not speak the language or languages of the host country.

Interpreters, like any other service provider, must be qualified to do their job and also need special training to assist GV victims and survivors. The lack of specific training can cause serious damage to victims and, furthermore, lead to waste of valuable public resources. In Spain, the right of victims to translation and interpretation is only guaranteed in police and court settings, and, in the case of Galicia, telephone interpreting is also available for women who access certain social services, including shelters. However, most interpreters, including telephone interpreters, are not qualified professionals and lack specific training to work with GV victims. Training for interpreters to work in these contexts is not mandatory and worse still, is not even available in Spain or Galicia.

The SOS-VICS project pinpointed the communication needs between agents and foreign victims who do not speak the language or languages of the host country and created resources for all parties involved. The resources created by the project are being widely used both in Spain and abroad (including as far as Australia), but they are only a first step in the right direction. Social and public commitment through institutional and financial backing is now required to make multi-agency and multi-disciplinary cooperation a reality. The importance of the crucial and essential interpreter link in communication needs to be driven home now more than ever, especially in public services so that only qualified and specialised interpreters are hired when providing assistance to GV victims.

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Chapter 21

Collaborative Initiatives Between Immigrant Associations and Schools

Ana Sánchez Bello

Abstract Adapting to the dominant social model appears to be the underlying goal of current Galician educational policy. The programs are directed exclusively toward newcomers, with little regard for the necessity to prepare all Galician children for an increasingly diverse society. Galician educational practice aimed at integration focuses exclusively on foreign students without promoting actions aimed at mutual enrichment (of migrant and non-migrant students alike) through learning about different cultures. Such interventions related solely to students coming from other cultures, but not to those with whom they share classrooms, playgrounds, and other school activities, suggest an ideology of assimilation rather than integration. In this chapter, I analyze perceptions of needs and practices, based on interviews with immigrant associations, NGOs, and Galician teachers.

21.1 Introduction

Globalized neoliberal values have permeated educational objectives on a planetary scale (Ball 2012; Mouffe 2007; Torres 2007; Rizvi and Lingard 2010). One indicator of this is that education and educational culture have become mere instruments in the service of the marketplace. As a result of the neoliberal educational model that is currently spreading through our societies, academic results are prioritized over socialization processes. Education plays a principal role in reproducing current economic trends, being a powerful tool for instilling mechanical and technical skills that serve the interests of capital (Apple 2010; Chomsky and Dieterich 2002; Torres 2011).

At the same time, more critical theoretical approaches posit that democratic schools are responsible for teaching us how to live together, which means offering possibilities for experiencing different cultures, customs, and ways of being (Booth and Ainscow 2011; Darder 2012; Nussbaum 1997, McCarthy and Teasley 2008;

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Soriano 2007). Rather than the marketplace values of competition, individualism, utilitarianism, and instrumentalism, such a critical citizenship model fosters a more ethical and just education: to create a world worth living in (Nussbaum 2010). From this perspective, learning to live together has significant implications for citizenship in terms of democracy and social justice.

A fundamental assumption of the educational system is that of equal treatment, which may ignore the fact that people who attend school arrive with experiences and expectations that have been shaped by existing social inequalities. In this sense, students of mandatory education are forced to adapt to the dominant social model in order to reap the benefits that they hope for (Delval 2000; Gimeno 2001; Santos Guerra 2012). A democratic education perspective does not take this situation for granted, but rather calls for interrogating the situation of those who enter the educational system, in order to make their unequal circumstances visible and to act accordingly. Transforming schools into institutions that produce change rather than merely reproduce stereotypes means making possible an education built upon genuinely democratic values.

Adapting to the dominant social model appears to be the underlying goal of current Galician educational policy that outlines special educational measures for foreign students (DOG 2004). This approach also seems to characterize policy at the national (Spanish) level, in terms of government-designed guidelines that schools are expected to follow in preparing a newcomer reception plan (Consellería de Educación e Ordenación Universitaria 2005). The actions specified in the Galician policy refer exclusively to immigrant students and never to autochthonous ones, as we can see from the established objectives that the school as a whole design and implement educational measures required by *these students*, promote *for them* a gradual adaptation to the school, inform families and students about school organization, foster respectful attitudes *toward these students* and facilitate *their integration* (the phrases in italics demonstrate the emphasis placed on immigrant students).

In this sense, the policy places the focus of educational processes on the immigrant students, but not on the others. The notion of integration is related solely to students coming from other cultures, but not to those with whom they share classrooms, playgrounds, and other school activities, suggesting that this “reception plan” is based on an ideology of assimilation rather than integration (Teasley et al. 2012). As this chapter will demonstrate, Galician educational practice aimed at integration focuses exclusively on foreign students without promoting actions aimed at mutual enrichment (of migrant and non-migrant students alike) through learning about different cultures.

The qualitative data drawn upon in this chapter were collected as part of a research project funded by the local Galician government (Xunta de Galicia, from 2014 to 2017). We conducted interviews with representatives of immigrant associations and NGOs throughout Galicia, and asked them to nominate the primary schools serving their users (immigrant families). We then interviewed teacher from these schools. These interviews were semi-structured, with certain pre-established topics based on previous analyses but with enough flexibility so that participants

could raise and discuss unplanned issues. We have assigned pseudonyms to protect anonymity, and we do not distinguish between immigrant associations and NGOs, since we found no systematic differences across these categories in terms of the issues addressed in this chapter.

21.2 Identifying Needs from the Teachers' Perspective

Our interviews revealed certain recurring themes in terms of how teachers perceive the needs of immigrant students as well as their interactions with autochthonous students. This information is useful for understanding the relations that schools maintain with immigrant associations and NGOs.

The most frequently identified needs were related to the academic curriculum, and not so much to classroom relationships. Teachers were most concerned that newly arrived students did not understand the classroom language, and they considered this to be the determining factor in school failure:

Because sure, that's where they have the first...the most important problem. Because well, if a child arrives (they've come to me like that, speaking Bulgarian) without knowing any Spanish. They come and they're lost. [...] and then you have to work, even though they get help - there was a teacher, two hours outside of the classroom, and there they taught [...] basic things, to familiarize them. But then, the rest of the time you have them in your classroom, and in your classroom you have to come up with your own resources. I ended up using books with pictures. (Loli)

If you don't know the language, how are you going to read a problem? It's impossible. In other words, I think the language is fundamental, work with the language, that they speak it well, understand it well, comprehend it well, express themselves well...because later, from that point on, you can do math, but if they don't know the language, it's impossible. (Feli)

The language issue is not the only concern. Many teachers commented that students arrive with insufficient academic preparation, so that even though they know the language, as is the case for children from Latin American countries, they are not able to keep up with the classroom pace:

There are children that, for example, Chinese children, they don't have the language, but who in two months have got the language down and are advancing by leaps and bounds. Then there are children who might come from the Dominican Republic or Peruvians, whatever, that share our language but despite that, if they haven't gone to school they usually have a lot of deficits, all kinds. They're children, even in terms of fine motor skills...I mean, the kind of work that we do in Early Childhood, they haven't done it. So sometimes you have to start, not from literacy, but from the fine motor skills involved in writing, all those kinds of things. (Ángeles)

These situations mean that teachers feel overwhelmed, since they not only have to address the special difficulties of children recently arrived from another country, such as communication problems that stem from not knowing the language and significant minimum knowledge deficits, but they are also expected to provide

individual attention to autochthonous children in crowded classrooms, as this teacher explains:

I'm not exaggerating when I say six different levels, as well as two Individual Education Programs. I mean, I've got one student here in the fifth year, but I'm teaching him at the first year level, a girl who's at second-year level, and then...two that, we can call - quote - normal, but by themselves they do nothing. And you can't do what you want, because with 25 students, individual attention... And then you have diversity in the classroom, which you also have to take care of, and with 25 students it's really hard to be able to do that. (Concha)

These problems are seen as the fault of the education administration for not hiring enough support professionals—physical therapists, speech and language specialists, and teachers trained to address children's specific linguistic needs. Teachers pointed to the need for a specific language acquisition classroom, which some schools and teachers considered to be a crucial source of support for these children. The “reception plan” calls for schools with students who “completely lack knowledge of both official languages in Galicia” (DOG 2004, p. 2,629) to establish a classroom where these students spend a maximum of 10 h a week over the course of a trimester following a curriculum designed for rapid language acquisition, spending the remaining 25 h a week in the general classroom. These language acquisition classrooms have been disappearing with the onset of the economic crisis:

One thing they took away, and it was terrible, was the language support classroom we had. We had a teacher who was constantly there, with them, to address the language with these children. Because we have to remember that children come with...like the last one that I got, who came without Galician or Spanish, or Portuguese, or French, because sometimes you can even use a some French to be understood a little. The child spoke Creole.¹ (Concha)

The teacher took all the primary children, arranged them in groups, by ability, it didn't matter if a fourth year was with a first year, it was based on the child's language level because they only worked with vocabulary, teaching them to communicate with others. Because the important thing about these children, they're like sponges. You have to put them on the road, but then afterwards they learn everywhere, not just in the school. (Rosa)

They're even working with these children that come, especially those that come without language, or low academic level, the classroom teachers are working with them in their free time. (Ángeles)

Despite these difficulties, teachers uniformly claim that these students are not involved in disciplinary problems, even in schools that they describe as highly conflictive. Teachers hold these students in very high esteem—in none of the schools we visited did teachers mention any difficulty working with them because of their behaviors, attitudes toward teachers, or involvement in conflicts—on the contrary, teachers we interviewed describe these students as having strong values. They appreciate the fact that the figure of the teacher is highly valued by these

¹According to this teacher, based on a mixture of different African languages.

students and their families, a value which, according to these teachers, Galician students have been losing over time:

A certain veneration of the (teacher) figure...because this is being lost in students from here. They're grateful children, they're children who know how to behave, they're children with values, that talk to you... I, these things...you can see that they absorb this at home, from their families.

Nevertheless, this "veneration" of the teacher figure is accompanied by a certain inequality, since immigrant children are held to a higher standard, terms of their attitudes. Only when they demonstrate excellent behavior do people consider them to be successfully integrated. On the other hand, when these behaviors are undesirable, people are quicker to apply the stereotypical "conflictive" label:

They are held to higher expectations. That is, aside from seeming and all, they have to be... [...] a very responsible child, very hard-working, so that the families from here, well... normalize the situation that they can be friends with their son or daughter [...] The families of these students aren't exactly like ours. If the Cape Verdean is a very responsible boy, that sort, he can integrate, but if he's a bit...of a troublemaker, a bit...he'll have a lot of problems. And that's if he's no more of a troublemaker than a boy from here. (Álvaro)

These teachers don't believe that racism exists among primary-aged children, although it might come into play at other academic levels, because children are too young to have formed stereotypes. According to the teachers we spoke with, these children have no problem accepting differences; they're not even aware of them. However, here we see a tendency related to the one just described: Rejection is more clearly perceived in terms of relationships among immigrants than when it involves autochthonous children:

At the school level they're totally integrated here. They've been accepted and they've integrated quite well. [...] The problems are between them. [...] With each other they are racist, they don't help each other at all, I mean among the children, I don't know about the adults...Because also the whites help out the blacks more [than they help each other] (Concha)

Teachers believe that immigrant associations and NGOs have an important role in covering immigrants' needs, but not in relation to the teaching process. They are seen as valuable mediators, for example, for families that can't communicate with the teacher because they don't speak the language. They are also seen as useful for providing academic assistance outside of school hours, and even count on this help in their curriculum planning. In addition, they believe that if it weren't for the associations, these children would not receive enough attention, since their parents work long hours and can't always provide the necessary care, "They're children that spend a lot of time in the street" (Concha). They also see associations as providing important services such as help with bureaucracy, economic assistance, and guidance concerning available municipal resources, etc.:

Well, we [teachers] provide a bit of...information: there are NGOs that have after-school tutoring, activities, so right, we try to refer the children there by way of the families, or at least offer them this information. (Marisa).

21.3 Identifying Needs from the Association's Perspective

The work of these professionals includes a broad range of different kinds of services (Llevot 2002). They serve as much more than simple translators, as is often assumed. Cultural mediation includes activities such as providing information, interpreting, uncovering cultural meanings, negotiating value conflicts, managing conflict within diverse communities, facilitating communication, defending and promoting users, advising and accompanying them on appointments, helping with school work, and promoting community participation.

Our research has revealed that one of the most pressing necessities identified by representatives of associations and NGOs is the need to carry out awareness activities in schools. They believe that if this kind of learning were to take place in the earliest years of primary school, children would grow up to be citizens without prejudices, easily accepting diversity:

Overall, because we believe that in order to promote social harmony, the values of tolerance, you have to begin with the youngest children, because the older ones already have rigid and difficult mentalities. You have to start when they're young, trying to make them understand this diversity, from the youngest ages. (Valerio, NGO that supports immigrants).

They believe that social harmony requires that teachers receive training: to help them interpret cultural codes (since inadequate understanding can create problems), learn procedures for conflict resolution in situations of cultural diversity, and become aware of aspects of their own language use that, although unintentional, might be harmful to students:

We wanted to provide some kind of training sessions, depending on teachers' interests and the time available to them.... Provide some training sessions and then always be a source of reference and advice, that is, if there's any kind of question, they can call us, and we'll advise and orient them concerning specific cases or group work, and things like that (Saray, NGO supporting Ecuadoran immigrants)

The socially constructed imaginary of the immigrant draws upon negative stereotypes and prejudices, but these can be counteracted with coordinated and efficient group action that reinforces the positive side of cultural diversity:

Nobody talks to them about the reality of immigration; they only know what they show on TV, and there they only show the negative side of immigration. That's the reality of immigration here in Spain: it only shows the bad side, the makeshift dinghies [that undocumented immigrants used to enter Spain by water], the bad things; they don't talk about the good things about immigration. (Inma, NGO supporting Senegalese immigrants)

The immigrant associations express a clear and open desire to collaborate with schools, but they believe that schools do not share this interest. They complain that the associations seem to always take the first step toward any kind of school-based intervention, while they feel that it is the schools that should take the initiative to contact the associations. They interpret this situation as demonstrating teachers' and administrators' lack of interest in collaborating with them:

I have this ideal vision that one day schools will be aware enough to call [the associations] and ask them to give a talk [...] We'd be available for that, but it seems that they don't need our collaboration (Hosueé, Sociocultural Afro-Latin immigrant association)

Given this situation, contacts are usually established via personal relationships, which may later coalesce into institutional relations:

It happened by coincidence because my children were there and I was part of the parents' association and all...They're personal contacts, you might say, but we'd like it to be more at the official level, you know, those contacts. (Manel, Islamic association)

I have a very good relationship with the dean of students, on a personal level, from working in other entities (Zahara, NGO supporting immigrants)

For these reasons, associations demand better organizational involvement on the part of schools and less bureaucratic red tape, which tends to slow down projects and prevent them from taking rapid and urgent action:

Because often the problem is that when there's a funding call you need a letter signed by the school director, and of course...for the funding we have a month, to present the proposal. You call the school and make them a proposal, then the school has to approve everything with the "department of teacher orientation"...So then you have to prepare a proposal, they have to sign it, it has to be approved, I don't know what else...and you've lost it. The funding calls for education almost always come out in May...by June you're already outside of the school year. (Sofia, NGO for International Cooperation)

21.4 Proposals for Collaboration Between Schools and Associations

The activities carried out within schools are related to some aspect of awareness-raising. They consist of specific interventions that take place during school hours, with the classroom teacher's consent. In the case of whole school projects coordinated by the school administration, the activities may occupy more time and can involve all year levels.

When the request for collaboration comes from the schools, they perceive the need to address conceptualization issues with students; these are situations where schools serve a culturally heterogeneous mixture of students:

More and more they asked us for basic sessions, to work on "the concept of immigration," "the concept of social harmony," the concept of peace." I mean beyond...more elaborate concepts like interculturality and the richness of cultures...(Sofia, NGO for International Cooperation).

On the other hand, when there is a large community of immigrants in the same school, there may be a request for more specific work. The association's cultural mediator will be involved in the design of an activity related to this cultural group. For example, for one school with a large Moroccan population, an activity called "A magic voyage through Morocco" was designed with the objective that

students learn about the rich variety of Moroccan culture and also to be able to understand other cultures through their relation with their own:

We did a 50-minute session: A trip through Morocco using slides, sensory elements, Moroccan objects, food, henna tattoos, and at the same time, of course, undoing stereotypes about poverty, because sure, you highlight images from Casablanca, Marrakesh, [...] By way of this exercise your taking a little journey through different parts of Morocco and you're explaining cultural issues as well, and you're making little associations with Spanish culture: Ramadan, the sheep festival, you connect that with Holy Week here, the pig slaughter festival, Halloween, the festival of water... You start to point out little similarities that yes, they have a religion and other things, but it's still just another one like ours, that help to maintain our [Galician] traditions... (Sofia, NGO for International Cooperation).

When the whole school is involved, there is a deeper participation and so the activity is more interesting and more motivating for the students, and it's easier to make sure that a large number of students have access to these realities. One of the most interesting examples of this was an activity that involved 1,044 students from nine to twelve years of age throughout an entire week from 9 am to 2 pm. The objective was to construct a puzzle together, where each classroom had a little piece of the puzzle (with the goal of fostering a sense of school community). At the end of the session, everyone made their fingerprints in the pieces, and the completed puzzle was presented at the end of the intercultural week as a reminder of the work. The school kept the materials, which were small activities adapted to each grade level so that each teacher could work on intercultural activities over the school year and maintain a focus over time, without direct assistance from the association.

This activity resulted in a high level of motivation:

So of course, in the end everyone was waiting all week to find out what the puzzle was and what it had was the fingerprints of all the children in the school, because in the end, our fingerprint is the only thing that makes us different. (Sofia, NGO for International Cooperation)

This initial concrete activity was designed to recognize differences within an overall framework of equality, and gradually expanded to include a travel journal where children "visited" different countries and explored them in more detail: For example, in Brazil they worked with easily recognizable cultural aspects such as Carnival, while also introducing other issues such as the Amazon Rainforest. In this sense, the idea is to go beyond the stereotypes that we have about different cultures, so that aside from the typical touristic images there are also less widely known values and realities such as the Amazon rubber boom, deforestation, the situation of indigenous peoples, etc. The language was adapted for primary school children, to help them understand complex social realities.

As teachers engage students in these dynamics, they can see to what extent students hold ideas based on prejudices, without having reflected or analyzed how these unconsciously reproduced stereotypes help to construct their own thinking:

In these dynamics you notice that [students] repeat what they hear at home, on TV, it's not really a constructive thought of their own. (Sofia, NGO for International Cooperation)

Teachers can introduce simple activities such as “Position yourself,” where students are asked to agree or disagree with statements and justify their responses. Questions such as “Moroccans are lazy” reflect ideas that may be heard on the streets or transmitted through the media. Such activities provide a way of reflecting on the nature of stereotypes, interculturality, etc. This activity combines an element of entertainment with a comprehensive and reflexive look at basic concepts related to interculturality, social harmony, prejudice, culture, and identity.

There are also projects that take on a broader scope, seeking to involve the whole community rather than just the schools and associations. These kinds of projects can be even more effective because they work in parallel with families, neighborhoods, friends, etc. (see also Verdía Varela, this volume).

Some initiatives seek to demonstrate cultural experiences characteristic of the immigrant students’ countries of origin while at the same time improving family–school relations by providing a way for parents to participate actively in the curriculum. One interesting example of this takes place in a primary school with particularly high concentrations of families from Morocco and Bulgaria. Women from these countries were invited to develop and share life stories: They relate their migration experiences and then later students play a matching game where they are asked to identify the origin of certain things and activities that make up our daily lives. In this way, students reflect not just on people’s movements, but also on the movements of object, customs, and so forth:

It was a prior activity that they did with the teachers, and our part in this sense turned out really well, because the work was done, and by the children and the teachers who guided the activity, and all of the primary and secondary classrooms participated in preparing the stories, the Galician traditions, the legends, for the women. (Aroa NGO supporting both immigrants and returning Galician migrants)

This same notion of mobility provided the basis for another activity involving an exchange of stories from different countries. The association contacted immigrant women who accessed social services in the municipality where the school was located. These women proposed a traditional tale from their country of origin, which was told in the classroom, and later there was a discussion about the content, characters, and situations. The discussion led to the conclusion that these stories come to us thanks to people who move through the world and that we can learn more through interaction with these people than we would be able to learn on our own:

Specifically we made a bit of a metaphor about the stories coming to us thanks to other people who move about the world and the concept that we all move and all that. We work a lot with the concept of mobility without getting into terms like immigrant, emigrant, just simply the movement of people, see? That perspective. (Aroa, NGO supporting both immigrants and returning Galician migrants).

21.5 Conclusions

The relationship between schools and organizations dedicated to supporting immigrants has been complex, and never easy. It is clear that there are different interpretations of what happens in schools. The education system is organized according to certain criteria that can sometimes be based exclusively on academic concerns, placing relatively little emphasis on issues related to socialization.

The role taken up by associations and NGOs that work with immigrants is different from that of teachers, especially since people who work for these entities possess a more specific professional preparation and knowledge base concerning the economic, social, and familial situation of immigrant children and their families. At the same time, they are also familiar with the prejudices and stereotypes that most strongly permeate the communities where they work, which is fundamental for developing awareness-raising programs for people living in these areas. These professionals are aware that they should not try to do the work that teachers are already doing:

If we place educators in schools, but they follow the same line as the people who are currently working there, is it going to work? Or will it be just another advisor that is pushing papers in the office because “I’d rather not have to deal with the real world?” (Viri, NGO supporting both immigrants and returning Galician migrants)

Nevertheless, our resource suggests that representatives of these organizations do, in many cases, take on a semi-teaching role: in the majority of cases carrying out activities such as help with school work in after-school programs, as well as teaching units unrelated to the year-level course content, classroom activities, and tutoring. We would like to point out that there are other kinds of activities, such as those described in this chapter, that may be more effective and that may lead to more profound improvement in relationships, understanding, and social harmony involving all students.

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Chapter 22

Communicating About Migrations, Dismantling Prejudices: An Experience of Social Journalism Linking Galicia and Morocco

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Abstract In this chapter, we describe an experience designed to link social journalism and international cooperation that has been designed and implemented for the past five years through a collaboration between the Galician Association of Reporters for Solidarity (Agareso) and the Cooperation for Peace Assembly (ACPP). In 2015, this project once again sponsored the visit of three young journalists to Morocco in order to establish contact with local organizations dedicated to development work. Gaining a direct perspective by engaging in face-to-face contact with the people involved serves to unsettle stereotypes and prejudices that tend to be transmitted through hegemonic media representations. We also analyze some of the ways that western journalism tends to reproduce stereotypical representations of immigration, and present a series of recommendations for a more conscientious practice.

22.1 Introduction

According to the Spanish National Institute of Statistics, 6,727 Moroccan people resided in Galicia at the beginning of 2016. These 3,803 men and 2,924 women constituted a very small portion of the total population; nevertheless, in terms of nationalities present in Galicia, Morocco is surpassed only by Portugal and Rumania and is second only to Brazil among non-EU countries.

There are, however, little recent data concerning the intercultural relations between the Moroccan and local communities, with the exception of Otero's (2015) study in Xinzo de Limia, the Galician municipality with the second highest number of Moroccan residents (after Arteixo). Otero considers gender as key to understanding these interethnic relations, since women frequent shopping spaces while men assume a more prominent role in selling.

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Language plays an important role in these relationships. Most Moroccan women speak neither Galician nor Spanish, as the men usually arrived before them and began to work outside the home, which required them to learn these community languages. However, the traditional role of the woman as relegated to household tasks has begun to break down with the appearance of some women who are fluent in the local language, since they help to run the family economy and maintain contacts with the autochthonous population. These relations, whether friendly or romantic, are more characteristic of the younger generations, that is, those who migrated to Galician as children.

Another hypothesis supported by this study is that their own history of emigration does not necessarily ensure that Galician people have a positive view of the immigrants. Certain characteristics, such as the receipt of social services, also have a negative influence on these perceptions (Otero 2015).

The hegemonic news media also plays a role in shaping these perceptions. In this chapter, we describe the seminar “Social journalism and international cooperation,” a teaching tool designed to counter some of these discourses. We also explore a practical application in Morocco and propose some guidelines for eradicating irresponsible practice in coverage of migrations, aimed at both print and visual media.

22.1.1 Seminar “Social Journalism and International Cooperation”

In an increasingly diverse and globalized society, the division between the global north and south is fading while inequality continues to increase. Hegemonic media is still influential despite the emergence of alternatives, and fledgling journalists must be made aware of their role in the construction of worldwide equity. This is the aim of the seminar “Social journalism and international cooperation,”¹ which has been held every year since 2011 in the Faculty of Communication Sciences at the University of Santiago de Compostela by the Galician Association of Reporters for Solidarity (Agareso)² and the NGDO Cooperation for Peace Assembly (ACPP). At the end of the course, some students have the opportunity to complete their training by learning about and providing visibility for development cooperation projects in Morocco.

¹From the second edition onward, the seminar was supported by the *Xunta de Galicia*’s Directorate General of Foreign and European Union Relations, as part of a broader development education project.

²NGDO founded in 2008 to promote communication as a means of transforming the world, with the goal of social justice. To this end, the organization has carried out projects in the global north and south, especially involving people at risk of social exclusion (<http://www.agareso.org>). The authors of this chapter are journalists working for Agareso.

The main objective of the seminar is to provide future communicators with the skills and tools necessary to provide appropriate information about impoverished nations and disadvantaged groups, with the goal of eradicating prejudice and promoting inclusion. The hope is that students will learn to understand and practice communication for social change, defined by Gray-Felder and Deane (1999, p. 8) as “a process of public and private dialogue through which people define who they are, what they want and how they can get it. Social change is defined as change in people’s lives as they themselves define such change.”

Participants create a commitment network within the Galician journalism sector whose practice, with a critical perspective, can contribute to positive social transformation. At the same time, they publicize alternative media and projects where communities, including those of impoverished countries, participate in the communication process. Alliances between communication professionals and cooperation and social action sectors are reinforced, increasing their visibility and generating synergies.

The necessity of such an intervention was diagnosed through conversations with journalists, professors, and especially communication students, who revealed a deficit in the university curriculum. The program includes speakers specialized in various topics, who are academics, volunteers, representatives of NGDO’s and associations, etc. Aside from the basics of development cooperation and communication, the seminar addresses the situation of social journalism in Galicia, the ONDG code of conduct, and appropriate practice in graphic representation. Of particular importance are the gender roles propagated by media, news portrayal of migrations, and the representation of other groups at risk of exclusion (such as gypsy community, people with mental or other disabilities, and the economically disadvantaged). Nevertheless, the curriculum always includes current issues: For example, the 2016 edition addressed the crisis of refugees.

The relevance of such issues is supported by the reflections of discourse analyst Teun A. Van Dijk, “The portrayal of minority groups in the news generally remains stereotypical and focuses on problems, if not on deviance and threats” (1993, p. 288) For sociologist Rafal Pankowski, “It is important [that] the mass-media are sensitized to the vocabulary they use and realize their responsibility for maintaining good inter-ethnic relations.” (2007, p. 2).

Rodríguez’ (2014, p. 17) study of gypsy (Roma) representations in the Spanish press supports such arguments, with a particular emphasis on the Galician³ case, “the press continues to partially represent the gypsy community more often than we would like, offering a biased view and promoting a stereotypical image of the gypsies.” The Spanish Federation of anti-racist associations *SOS Racismo* recognizes that “the media ‘creates’ conflict and ‘ethnicizes’ what would otherwise, if the immigrant element were not apparent, be framed as everyday neighborhood

³According to the *Unión Romani*, a Spanish NGO dedicated to defending the rights of the Roma (gypsy) community, the percentage of Galician news articles depicting the Roma population in a negative light rose to 41.86%, situating Galicia in second place among the 17 Spanish autonomous communities and doubling the national average (20.41%).

problems... this media treatment generates certain kinds of opinions” (Mazkarian and Aierbe 2012, p. 99). It is crucial to prepare young communicators to eradicate this kind of hate speech.

According to Túñez (2011, p. 144), “Throughout the economic crisis, some businesses have opted to reduce personnel, eliminating permanent employees and/or collaborators or correspondents.” In a context where the media maintains fewer correspondents abroad, the seminar reinforces the importance of direct contact with events and the people who experience them—to access the voices of those who suffer injustices, always from a human rights perspective. This is the perspective adopted by the blog where students publish their work (which by collective decision always includes a section on migrations), as well as the entries uploaded from Morocco to the journal entitled “De Nador a Tánger” (From Nador to Tangier, referring to two cities on the northern Moroccan coast).⁴

Three to five participants are selected from the twenty seminar students, based on blog postings and class participation and attendance, to spend a week on site in order to experience firsthand the development work of local organizations. They visit international cooperation projects supported by ACPP in Berkane, Nador, Al Hoceima, and Tangier that focus on issues such as health, gender, migrations, education, and environmental protection.

Hosted by site-based partner associations *Homme et Environnement*, *Asticude*, *Azir*, and *Ahlam*, students visit women’s centers for gender equality, farming cooperatives, rural health centers, and fish markets designed to improve hygiene conditions. In addition to these visits, they have opportunities to speak with sub-Saharan residents, local journalists, and trade unionists who defend the rights of textile workers, providing students insight into the kinds of repression suffered by activists in these areas. These experiences are recorded in reports, interviews, photographs, and videos that help raise consciousness about these realities, while also demonstrating the results of international cooperation. Students are challenged to question dominant discourses and propose alternatives that promote social cohesion and call upon wealthy countries to take responsibility for their role in maintaining inequalities.

Students attend preparatory meetings in Galicia, selecting specialization topics and collecting documentation ahead of time in order to take full advantage of the on-site visit. In Morocco, each day begins with a schedule review and work distribution as in any other news agency, and the day ends with another meeting to decide how to focus, answer questions, etc. The process is accompanied by publication, to attract attention to the experiences via Galician media and to disseminate the blog postings through social media. Agareso and ACPP have a total of 6,500 Twitter and Facebook followers that can share and comment on student publications.

⁴The blog of the fifth edition can be consulted at <https://xornalismosocial5.wordpress.com/>. The entries on migration are collected under the heading “*diversidade cultural*” (cultural diversity). For “*De Nador a Tánger*,” see <http://agaresoseminario.blogspot.com.es/>.

At the end of the fifth edition of the seminar, students were asked to evaluate the experience in a questionnaire that demonstrated a high degree of satisfaction with both the 40 classroom hours and the expedition to Morocco. All of the invited speakers were very highly rated, particularly Jesús Blasco, a photojournalist from Melilla (a Spanish territory in Northern Africa) specializing in migrations, who received a unanimous score of five out of a possible five. A roundtable seminar involving radio broadcasters from Galicia (Cuac FM), El Salvador (Radio Tehuacán), and Guinea-Bissau (Voz de Tombali) was also among the favorites, with an average of 4.75 out of 5. The three young women who traveled to Morocco presented a video report (see <https://youtu.be/hnMBFCopWn0>) highlighting the practical application of what they learned in the theoretical classes and their direct contact with the people who benefitted from the different projects they visited. These students describe in positive terms an experience that allowed them to realize the importance of their own role as communicators in social struggles.

22.1.2 Morocco, a Country of Migrations

One of the central topics addressed by the site visit was migration, since Morocco is a key site for both incoming and outgoing migrations. Large numbers of Moroccans continue to emigrate to countries like Spain in hopes of improving their economic situation. At the same time, the country continues to receive immigrants, mainly from sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East, who often remain in Morocco longer than expected because it's impossible to cross the border into Europe.

In Tangier we received a firsthand understanding of the human rights work of *Ahlam* (Dreams), a nonprofit, secular, independent, progressive organization formed in 2006 dedicated to improving life conditions of people living in the Tangier-Tetuán area. *Ahlam* runs several immigrant integration projects that promote values of tolerance, equality, and respect among the population. We met Jahmal,⁵ a young Moroccan who participated in an exchange project run by *Ahlam* in collaboration with ACPP. The object of the project was to create a more tolerant society, countering stereotypes about immigration in general and the Moroccan reality in particular. Students from schools in Barcelona and Tangier exchanged their opinions about each others' societies and then traveled the streets of their city with a camera in order to challenge stereotypical images of the other. *Jahmal* was critical of both societies and expressed his commitment to fighting prejudices about Moroccan men and women as a journalist in his own country.

With *Ahlam*, we visited a school that organized summer camps⁶ for children lacking the resources that might permit a vacation away from home.⁷ One of the

⁵<http://agaresoseminario.blogspot.com.es/2015/08/a-opcion-de-que-darse-para-contribuir-ao.html>.

⁶<http://agaresoseminario.blogspot.com.es/2015/07/un-patio-sen-fronteiras.html>.

⁷<https://www.facebook.com/Altej.derbsultan>.

objectives of this initiative is to protect the children from the dangers of the street by offering them alternative leisure activities that will allow them to grow up with the values of equality and respect. We saw children playing together without regard for nationality, age, or gender, fully integrated and without discrimination.

In Berkane, the association *Homme et Environnement* showed us the realities confronted by thousands of immigrants from sub-Saharan and Arabic countries in conflict, as a result of the tightening of European Union borders, “With the construction of fences and border controls, the immigrants have nowhere to go. They can’t continue on their way to Europe, but they can’t go back to their country, either” (Najib Bachiri, President of *Homme et Environnement*, 2015).

We had the opportunity to meet three individuals⁸ who managed to overcome these adversities. Fabrice, Yahya, and Bernard told us of their reasons for leaving home, the trajectory that they followed to northern Africa, and how they were able to construct a new life in Morocco, thanks to *Homme et Environment*.

The three maxims of quality journalism are: go to where the events are taking place, observe the action, and speak firsthand to those involved. They are reflected in the words of Javier Espinosa, speaking upon receipt of the Manuel Leguineche International Award for Journalism, “Go to where the news is, talk with people, and publish a story” (FAPE 2012). Go, see, and tell. A practice that is increasingly removed from what actually happens in conventional media outlets, which are increasingly dependent on news agencies for their information.

Studies such as that of Gelado (2009, p. 270) have found this to be true for at least a portion of the Spanish news media, with serious implications, “the repetition of the same material in different media only serves to diminish pluralism.” Even when the journalist personalizes his or her articles, the same topics are reiterated, sometimes reinforcing stereotypes, since “such repetition contributes to the effect of agenda-setting”—that is, deciding which stories are newsworthy and how much space and attention to give them. The fact that a few voices are telling the media what counts as news increases the “possibility that some topics [and perspectives] are excluded from the news spectrum.” This is exactly the kind of situation the seminar aims to avoid.

Our experience in Morocco has taught us that, as journalists, we must insist on the need to report the news on the ground, because this is the only way to guarantee accurate and original reporting. The experiences described here are stories we would not have been able to tell without participating in the seminar. Despite the inequalities that they represent, they also invite a positive reading: They show how individual and group initiatives have managed to promote change toward a more just and equitable society.

It is important that the press also publishes these kinds of stories about migrants, who are usually depicted in a negative light: either criminalized or victimized (Nash 2005). We ourselves had preconceived ideas of what we would find before traveling to Morocco. It was only through meeting the people there that we realized that they

⁸<http://agaresoseminario.blogspot.com.es/2015/07/de-continuar-no-meu-pais-estaria-no.html>.

are just as diverse as we are, with their own traditions and cultural traits just like us. We need to put stereotypes aside and treat people according to the only factor that unifies us all: that of humanity.

22.1.3 Good and Bad Practice in News Reporting About Immigration: Print Representation

Journalists, just like sociologists and anthropologists, interpret social events. Yet their job is quite different. Production schedules and immediacy have little to do with the scientific method. Where migration is concerned, in spite of journalistic demands, information professionals must follow the established codes and controls (Rodrigo 2006).

Stereotypes, criminalization, lack of context, alarmism, failure to include migrant perspectives, over-reliance on official sources, association between immigration and poverty, and sensationalist language are the most common errors in reporting social news (Garrido and Sobrino 2014). Print media must therefore take into account the following aspects, included in the code of practice established by the Galician Immigration Forum (Foro Galego da Inmigración 2006). The code was developed in collaboration with Galician journalists specializing in the field of migrations and disseminated internally within their respective media outlets, with the goal of raising consciousness among colleagues about their influence on society's perceptions about immigration and, therefore, on the actual inclusion of immigrant people:

- **Headlining:** Headlines are fundamental to forming public opinion. Without the proper contextualization, they can have a devastating and perverse effect on readers' social perceptions. In the example "Moroccan arrested for trying to sell 13 year-old daughter," the country of origin is unnecessary and might also give the impression that such behavior is typical of Moroccan parents.
- **People or labels?** If it is necessary to specify the nationality of people involved in news stories, be careful to avoid journalistic essentialism and simplification, and use the same criteria for everyone. Eliminate examples such as "Two of the six train assailants may have been from the Maghreb"—What about the other two?
- **People (neither illegal nor aliens), just people:** Regardless of their origin, skin color, gender, or religion, individuals have rights. Terms like "illegals" or "(undocumented) aliens" are not only degrading, but they are also linguistically and legally incorrect. We recommend using adjectives such as "irregular" or "undocumented." If we analyze language such as "Detained—illegal Senegalese immigrant wandering through (the neighborhood of) Calvario," we realize that the words chosen imply a certain criminality, inflating a story that actually isn't particularly interesting. We need to do away with this kind of sensationalism.

- Humanizing means neither criminalizing nor generalizing: These processes can arise as a consequence of inappropriate language use and lack of reflection. Sometimes we give the impression that all immigrants wash up on the southern shores of Spain in small, precarious dinghies, without explaining that the majority actually arrives by plane. Similarly, we give the impression that they are criminals, pimps, prostitutes, and members of organized crime networks. News writing, always against a tight deadline, tends to cast the actions of a few as representative of the whole, so that it's not unusual to associate a particular nationality with certain criminal and sordid elements. Such is the case with headlines like "Young, Moroccan, newly Spanish, married with children—the profile of the Islamic State *Jihadist* in Spain," which implies that all those who fit this profile are fanatics. Foreign-born people are not, per se, mafiosos, or terrorists, just the same as the Basques, Italians, or Irish who happen to live in societies threatened by violence. Under the rule of law, a person is only convicted once the crime has been legally demonstrated.
- Document the news: Contextualize information and seek out the root of the phenomenon. It is important that news about migrations include explications that allow the reader to understand the phenomenon, for example, the reasons why people attempt to enter the country through illegal channels, rather than focusing narrowly on the event itself. This is not always so easy, since a culture of immediacy or a lack of resources often impedes in-depth reporting. Journalists should also take an interest in people as individuals rather than simply as part of a homogenous whole; NGOs can help by sharing information that balances information provided by official press releases. Without sufficient explication of the causes or contexts of events, headlines like "No activities for rural women while the [community center] is busy with courses for Moroccans" can lead to misinterpretations and even confrontation.
- Language and sources, keys to a responsible message: News agencies and communication outlets are common sources in news reporting and often operate under the same time restraints as many journalists. While being careful not to deviate from the original message, we should be sure to revise the original text to avoid expressions that might contribute to disparaging images of people. Descriptions such as "an individual of dirty and unkempt appearance" do not provide any objective data. In addition, media should employ editors trained in immigration issues, and journalists should be able to draw upon sources and informants from within immigrant groups.
- Highlight the positive: International organizations, political and social institutions, associations, and millions of people consider migratory movements to be positive phenomena because of the demographic, social, cultural, and economic contributions of migrants. This is demonstrated by some news reports of the integration festival celebrated by the Moroccan collective in the Galician town of Xinzo that, while not perfect, managed to highlight the inclusion of women.
- Give people a chance: Migration is reality. Thousands of people move throughout the world for multiple reasons. Wherever we happen to be, we all have the right to live in dignity, to have our differences recognized, and to be

treated with respect. Writing and speaking without prejudice about this phenomenon is the only way to hold people responsible for their obligations as citizens and to give them the opportunities that they seek and deserve.

“From Nador to Tangier” follows this code of practice by providing visibility for Moroccan society, especially in the three articles that look at migrations from unusual points of view. Titles like “A playground without borders” and “The choice to stay and contribute to change” don’t negatively influence public opinion, nor do they criminalize certain nationalities or people who lack proper documentation. On the contrary, they provide human stories with names (Bernard, Yahya, and Fabrice) of people whom we contact directly, without mediation from news agencies, but through NGDO’s like *Homme et Environnement*, which also help us to provide appropriate context. These stories also highlight the benefits of experiencing a summer camp where Palestinian, Iraqi, sub-Saharan, and Moroccan boys and girls play together. These reports use respectful language and counter stereotypes, for example, in describing the young, well-educated, and active Jalal, who demonstrates that we cannot generalize about issues such as religion or poverty.

22.1.4 Good and Bad Practice in News Reporting About Immigration: Photograph and Video Representation

Western societies tend to express certain prejudices concerning immigrants. These kinds of prior evaluations are usually negative and fed by stereotypes. Responsible communication should avoid transmitting such messages and support the integration of migrant people.

Visual representations in the press are not homogeneous and vary with respect to the person’s place of origin. Europeans and Latin Americans are generally portrayed in a less negative light than Africans or Eastern Europeans (Muñiz et al. 2006). Immigrants are more likely to be photographed in groups and are almost always men from the Maghreb or sub-Saharan Africa. This is not a coincidence and presents migration as a collective phenomenon, without delving deeper into the particularities of each case. These people are represented not as individuals, but as groups (Muñiz et al. 2006).

When planning visual representation, it is important to take into account the effect of the medium itself. The audience tends to interpret images as faithful to reality, without being as conscious of the way reality is manipulated as they might be with regard to written text. Although author intentionality is not quite as evident as it is with written media, images convey subliminal meanings that the audience receives unconsciously. Therefore, responsible communication should not leave to chance the selection of elements such as framing, focus, or content of the visual image. Images contain several important factors that play a role in bringing us closer to collectives: primary ones that are perceived immediately as well as secondary ones that require closer attention.

22.1.4.1 Primary Factors

The first thing that we need to examine is what we see in the photo. Who appears? What activity is depicted? Police or bureaucratic processes, such as immigrants standing in line to regularize their paperwork, are what we usually see in articles related to migrations. Exclusive portrayal of these themes only reinforces stereotypes of conflict and need. To avoid falling into this trap, we should also publish images that allow us to see the daily lives of these people, such as in their social gathering places, thus normalizing their inclusion and demonstrating that they make up part of the same society as the rest of us (Bertrán 2003).

Another element that we must consider is the use of stock footage. This practice should be strictly limited to cases where it is impossible to find relevant original material. The use of these images can be dangerous, since their meaning varies as a function of editorial policy. In case of necessity, always make sure to include their date, place, and author (Bertrán 2003).

Also we need to analyze how people are portrayed. While audiences tend to remember images that provide a strong impact, perhaps even of a morbid content, it is important to always prioritize information over sensationalism. It's also essential to confirm that a person is a migrant rather than simply assuming so based on skin color, physical characteristics, or style of dress (Bertrán 2003).

22.1.4.2 Secondary Factors

After analyzing the aspects that are immediately apparent, we should examine as well the secondary factors: How is the image presented, what resources are used to demonstrate reality? We need to carefully plan how we photograph or film events. Whenever we frame an image, we are manipulating reality—selecting what we want to appear in the shot and leaving out the rest.

One of our first decisions is to include in the foreground, since this is what feels closest to the audience, and what they tend to remember more easily. The aspect of the image that will have the most impact, therefore, should be situated in the foreground.

Our focus technique also transmits meaning in photographs. A wide-angle shot usually communicates distance with respect to subjects (Bertrán 2003). We need to be conscious of this effect when using a telephoto lens from a distant vantage point. The camera angle also produces strong connotations. For example, if we record an image from a great height, we automatically transmit a feeling of inferiority or submission. On the other hand, shots taken from a lower angle can provide a sense of intimidation.

We need to avoid, whenever possible, visual barriers between the audience and immigrant people (Bertrán 2003). If the camera captures barrier, whether a wall or a police barricade, it may be perceived as an element that impedes relations between foreigners and natives. This can reinforce feelings of isolation, distancing, and even fear.

In sum, journalistic imagery should blend informative and artistic features, and it's a good idea to include statements from the people in the photographs. This brings autochthonous and foreign people closer, highlighting the fact that they are members of the same society.

The only protagonist in the photographs and videos featured in “From Nador to Tangier” is Moroccan society—its organizations and the people who participate in them, whether or not they are native to the country. They are usually active (working, playing, talking), sometimes participating in the kinds of day-to-day activities that help normalize perceptions, and are never treated with sensationalism (the idea is to inform, but with a pleasant tone). In the specific case of immigrants, for example, the children in the urban camp or the sub-Saharan people, distance is minimized, camera angles that might denote superiority are not used, and barriers between the subjects and photographer are avoided.

22.1.5 Conclusion

Educational activities like the seminar “Social journalism and international cooperation,” both the classroom work and the practice week in Morocco, are important for preparing future generations of journalists. They help them develop appropriate guidelines for practice in providing news articles not only about immigrants, such as the Moroccan community in Galicia, but also for other groups at risk of exclusion. The daily work of media professionals can contribute to social inclusion and help people understand the potential benefits of intercultural contact.

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