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Context Analysis and Methodology Review Report (WP2)

Spain

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Context Analysis Review in Spain

1. Introduction

According to the national statistics institute (Instituto Nacional de Estadística), data collected from municipal registries demonstrate that Spain has 45.2 million inhabitants, of whom 4.5 million are foreigners, a figure which represents 10% of the registered population in all state municipalities (INE, 2008).

As for place of origin, the foreign population is predominantly drawn from Morocco (582,923), Romania, (527,019), Ecuador, (427,099), the United Kingdom (314,951), Colombia (261,542), Bolivia (200,496), Germany (164,405), Argentina (141,159) and Italy (135,108), which together comprise more than 60% of the total registered foreign population (INE, 2008). By sex, among Spanish nationality holders, proportions are roughly equal: 49% male and 51% female. However, among foreigners, 53% are men and 47% are women (INE, 2008). Latin American immigration is the most feminized, with a rate of 54.5%, and thus constituting almost 50% of all the foreign women in Spain (Solé and Parella, 2005). If we take into consideration place of origin, populations from Colombia and Bolivia (56.4% female in both cases) and Ecuador (51.3%) are those with the highest grades of feminization; in contrast, immigrations from Morocco (35.6% women), Romania (47.3%) and the United Kingdom (49.2%) are the most masculine (INE, 2008).

By age, 25 to 29 year olds make up 15% of the foreign population—almost double than that of the same group among the Spanish and a factor which makes the overall Spanish population more 'youthful'. By sex, the highest proportion of women is found among the Colombians and Bolivians (over 56%) and the lowest among Moroccans (35.6%) and the Portuguese (38.3%) (INE, 2008).

Immigrant women, particularly Latin Americans and Africans, are preferentially represented within the care services industry: internal and external domestic service, childcare, eldercare, and hospitality. These trajectories are the hardest to change and are characterized by a high degree of instability and legal irregularity, more so for women than for men (Colectivo IOÉ, 1991, 2001; Martínez Veiga, 2000). In Western societies, independent migration for the purpose of working in domestic service is growing exponentially among women, a consequence of a series of factors: the aging of the population; changes in family structures; the transforming social and economic roles of women; and the increased prevalence of dual income households among others. All of these changes are taking place in a context of shrinking welfare states in Europe (insufficient services and benefits for families, especially in southern Europe) and a lack of parity in the sharing of domestic chores between the sexes (Ribas, Díaz, García, 2004; Solé and Parella, 2005).

The foreign population within Spanish territory shows an important concentration in residence, as 65% of the total reside in only three autonomous regions: Catalonia, Madrid and the Basque Country. In contrast, Extremadura and Galicia stand out for the low proportion of foreigners among their populations: (2.7% y 2.9% respectively) (INE, 2008).

The territory where we will conduct research, the city of Barcelona, has a 17.3% foreign population according to the 2008 census. On the district level, neighborhoods in Ciutat Vella and Nou Barris have over 30% foreigners among their populations. In some of these districts certain concentrations constitute over 20% of the foreign population, such as in Ciutat Vella,

where 14.6% of the population is Pakistani and 10.2% Filipino or in Nou Barris, where 20% are from Ecuador and 10.9% from Bolivia.

In the city of Barcelona, the composition of the population by sex presents significant differences. On one hand, nationalities with a higher proportion of men include Pakistani (88% male and 2% female), Moroccan (62.2% male and 37.8% female) and Chinese (53.5% male and 46.5 female). On the other hand, greater proportions of women are found among Bolivians (59.3% women and 40.7% men), Ecuadorians, Peruvians, Filipinos, and Colombians, each with a similar distribution (around 54% female and 46% male) (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2008).

These data reflect the importance of considering the local scale in migration studies. It is on the municipal scale that the knowledge generated by general data acquires the more marked tones of daily reality and where diversity, needs, opportunities, and conflicts structure both day-to-day community relations and the agenda of social interventions and public administrative policies.

A renewed Spanish migration reality has prompted numerous studies and research projects; it has also become a central and daily theme in mass media, not to mention in political agendas and in the projects of various levels of public administration. Most importantly, it has given rise to more socially and culturally complex daily life in many places, over the course of just a few years.

One of the most notable conditions implied in the consolidation of studies is the fact that this phenomenon is considered a State question consequently separating the political dimensions of immigration from the administrative. Due to their close ties to the State's vision, one of the characteristics such studies have shared is a strong demarcation of the State's territorial realm, a choice which directly contradicts the international and transnational nature of contemporary migration flows. In this sense the demarcation of the phenomenon around a closed territory can only be sustained via determinate strategies—the control or the utilization of immigrants—or by ideologies which take the nation-state to be the 'natural' realm from which such phenomena should be analyzed (Colectivo IOÉ, 1999a).

Congresses on immigration in Spain since 1997 provide the most recent studies of immigration in our context (Madrid, 1997 and 2000; Granada, 2002; Girona, 2004 and Valencia, 2007). Such state congresses have become social and academic reference points on immigration issues and they constitute an example of the changes in focus and methodology produced over the last decade, of which the principle were: a) a greater diversity of themes, b) the growing presence of research using qualitative methods and c) an increase in studies from transnational and gender perspectives.

<i>Discussion groups from the 2000 Congress</i>	<i>Discussion groups from the 2007 Congress</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Migration Flows - National Groups and Migratory Realms - Immigration, Economy, and Labor Markets - Theories, Topics, Methods - Legislation and Immigration Policy in Spain and its Milieu 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Immigrant Population, Demographics, and Territory - Economy and the Labor Market - Identity, Integration, and Culture - Sociability, Ways of Coexisting and Living - Education, School, Family, and Youth in Immigration

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strategies for Immigrant Social Integration - Immigrants, School, and Intercultural Formation - Work Experience - Immigration in El Ejido and el Poniente Almeriense 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Associationalism, NGOs, and Participation - Gender and Immigration - Migration Policies and Human Rights -Co-development, Transnationalism, and Migration Networks - Social and Media Images of Immigration - Social Services, Health, and Policies for Wellness
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In the present report we will focus on the gender perspective, concentrating on six realms: "National Identity and the Media", "Intercultural Violence", "Religion", "Intercultural Education", "Space and Intercultural Urban Movements", and "Transnational Families", with the intention of generating a perspective on the state of the issues. We will take into consideration different works, projects, and their methodologies, which we believe are relevant to the Spanish case. This is not an exhaustive analysis of all the available material that has been generated on this topic, but rather general points that make references which we believe are essential for the geographic realm of study.

1.1. National Identity and the Media

Analyzing the theme of national identity and the media in Spain requires us, in the first place, to point out that this theme is not very simple. The State is organized into autonomous regions where some of the capacities fundamental for socialization and collective identity are transferred to autonomous communities. For a more exhaustive analysis of the uses of central political power on the media in democratic Spain, the obligatory reference is the monograph written by Isabel Fernández and Fernanda Santana (Fernández and Santana, 2000).

From this Spanish idiosyncrasy we must move on to another scale. In terms of urbanity and daily life, we do not focus on the conflict between national identities, opposing a Spanish identity with other national identities outside the State, but rather our focus is on the construction of *the other*. In social relations we compare ourselves with those unfamiliar in daily life who we categorize as different, as *'others'*. In our realm of interest—non-EU immigration to Spain—the construction of the other has become ingrained in legislated discrimination, that is, by consolidating an institutional racism through the legal classification of EU persons (either Spanish or for from the other EU nations-states) and non-EU persons (Sánchez Garrido, 2003).

In terms of the mass media, from the mid-1980s through mid-1990s, extra-EU immigration was hardly a recurring theme, sporadically masking over the human drama lived on the frontiers of Ceuta and Melilla and along the narrow Straits of Gibraltar. It was not until the mid-90s that the new immigration reality broke into the media due to conflicts in coexistence, particularly toward the end of the 90s and in 2000. At this stage, the proximity, familiarity, and social dimensions of non-EU immigration interrupted academic, political, economic, social, and media agendas. From the academic and NGO perspective we highlight the example presented in *Informe Girona* in 1992 (Navales, 2002).

Within this context, at the end of the 1990s there was an important change in the media's handling of extra-EU immigration. The idea of an 'avalanche' that could generate severe race-based conflicts saturated television, radio, and print media on a daily basis, justified by racist aggression on the part of local native residents against foreigners in Terrassa and El Ejido (in 1999 and 2000 respectively). The hardly ethical viewpoints expressed were subsequently critiqued in exhaustive articles, many written by members of the media themselves, which analyzed the treatment of these acts (Giró, 1999; Velázquez, 2001; Checa, 2001). This episode gave impetus to experiments linked to the science of communications, such as Migracom, an observatory and research group focusing on migrations and communications at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (Universidad Autònoma de Barcelona) (Migracom, 2000, 2002 y 2006) or Migra Mèdia, a collective that works to stimulate debate and reflection on the role of the media in a diverse society (Migra Mèdia, 2000). In addition to these projects, journalism schools from different parts of the state began to work more conscientiously in generating critiques and in creating stylistic materials to improve the coverage of migration phenomena in Spain (Aierbe, 2003). This period also witnessed poor coverage of immigration issues and the woman migrant only became visible when linked to male violence. Gender and ethnicity mixed to produce a negative image of immigration, particularly that originating from South America. A critical look at this treatment can be found in a doctoral thesis written by Jéssica Retis: "The Public Discourse on Latin American Immigration in Spain. An Analysis of the Construction of Images of Latin American Immigrants in the Media of Record" ("El discurso público sobre la inmigración latinoamericana en España. Análisis de la construcción de las imágenes de los inmigrantes latinoamericanos en la prensa de referencia") (2006).

A third stage in mass media coverage has emerged over the last few years. This tends to use an image of non-EU immigration that focuses on the financial contributions made to state treasuries and on the benefits that the Spanish population enjoys (Balaguer, Barreda and Cuadros, 2000). This more ethnographic treatment looks at daily life in neighborhoods and cities. Works produced by the Chandra and Directa foundations (Retis, 2007) provide references for analyzing this stage with respect to the media coverage of non-EU immigration, giving special attention to good practice and to resources on the subject.

1.2. Intercultural Education

Another realm which has taken on non-EU immigration problems is that of education. By education we mean the basic mechanisms for socializing people, elemental for social cohesion and integration. Over the last two decades debates and discussions about relationships between cultures have intensified; it is in schools, among other places, where conflicts and agreements related to cultural, ethnic, social, and gender diversity emerge. However, while school can be an institution for the reproduction of social relations, it can also be a powerful instrument for social transformation.

Formal education, with the supposed objective of social integration, starts from the assumption that it should attend to the school-aged, lower income immigrant population with scarce material and cultural resources. This assumption is intimately linked to a representation which sustains that educating these children can only generate conflict. In this sense, some works analyze the *ghettoization* that many centers demonstrate (Carbonell, 2000), with immigrant children relegated to segregated classrooms (Serra, 2002). Often the education of these children is associated with poor academic performance, an increase in

classroom violence, slowdown in teaching-learning, and general academic difficulties. Within the Spanish context, it is worth noting the university program "Multiculturalism and Education" at the Institute for Education Sciences at the Autonomous University of Catalonia. There, since 2002, teachers have been trained with foreign-born students in an attempt to break stereotypes and incorporate other variables into migrant academic success such as class, circumstance, characteristics of origin, and access to education. Along the lines of this perspective are works by Carrasco (2004), Pàmies (2006), Pires (2007), Kaplan, Ballestin (2008), Saiz, (2004), and Pedone (2004b and 2006).

Also, since 1998, the private Jaume Bofill Foundation (Fundació Jaume Bofill) has sponsored the program "Between Cultures", focused on the analysis of education processes, the welcoming of foreign students, and the roles performed by diverse actors. Special focus is given to foreign student trajectories. Another of the program's goals has been the generation of knowledge about the administration of diversity in learning centers. In this sense, the project "Intercultural Fellow Citizens" offers rigorous materials on such administration.

Although the study of gender has been a more recent focus in these studies, works have identified conflicts which, while seeming cultural, are gender-related. Diverse authors reflect upon the need to recognize not only cultural diversity but also internal diversity within the receiving society and to accept the pluralism encountered in classrooms via other types of "markers" (political, social, economic, or related to gender) (Cobo, 2006; Agrela *et al.*, 2008a y 2008b).

1.3. Intercultural Violence

In terms of race-based violence in Spain, we need to distinguish that which is organized from that which erupts more spontaneously. Both have developed within the state without any forceful political, judicial, or police action. On one hand, organized racial violence in Spain is intimately linked to organizations and political parties from the extreme right (Sánchez Soler, 1998). On the other hand, non-organized violence has broken out occasionally in certain areas, such as in the previously mentioned cases from Terrassa and El Ejido, outbreaks which have been subject to analysis from the perspective of social geography (Martínez Veiga, 2001; Díaz, 2004). This latter type of aggression is generally justified by public authorities as a simple problem of coexistence, a move which downplays any racist or xenophobic connotations. Concurrently, the mass media tends to express the same position, when not minimizing or obscuring such events. We also cannot underestimate the role played by conservative political parties which, like the Partido Popular, have no problem linking immigration to crime, giving cover to racist and xenophobic expression (Bazzaco, 2008).

An important event related to this phenomenon occurred on November 20, 1992, a year in which Spain celebrated the Quincentennial of the Founding of America. A young Dominican woman, Lucrecia Pérez, was killed in Aravaca (Madrid) at the hands of militants from the far right. Since then, other murders and aggressions of a political nature have occurred, while the extreme right has taken a clearly xenophobic public position and has publicized racial hatred in programs and at electoral events, protests, and concerts, yet without triggering either judicial or police action. In 2002 the *Report of the EU against Racism* remarked that racism and xenophobia persist in Spain due to inadequate legislation to combat these phenomena, among other reasons (ECRI, 2003). In any case, it is worth noting the association work that occurs daily to combat racism in all of Spain's geography. Without a

doubt, the initiatives and joint actions we call the anti-racism movement in Spain, with educational and constructive public awareness projects, roundly outnumber the implementation and presence of organized racism. Numerous entities and groups organize daily to argue for the peaceful coexistence with and incorporation of the recently arrived in Spain, a movement reflected in the contribution "Spaces and Urban Intercultural Movements".

As for the systematic denouncing of this reality, it is worth highlighting exemplary organizations such as Amnesty International, Movimiento contra la Intolerancia (the Movement against Intolerance, 2007), and SOS Racismo (SOS Racism), which periodically publish reports of aggressions and denounce varied expressions of racism, as well as being active in the fight against xenophobia and intolerance. It is not a coincidence that here we make reference to NGOs, as in Spain, official public data on incidents, complaints, or race-related crime is not published (Amnistia Internacional, 2008). In its last report, SOS Racismo warns that racism is becoming normalized at the social and institutional levels. It denounces the following situations: at the institutional level there is still inequality before the law, and the infringement of human rights is fostered for those who either want to go to Spain or for those who are already there; on the social level, racist gatherings and discrimination continue to brew as a consequence of political discourses and media coverage; there is no space allowed either for charges of racism or their prosecution, which are the first steps necessary to fight it (SOS Racismo, 2008). In the academic realm, we must refer to a compilation of academic literature on this subject by a professor of critical discourse analysis at the University Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona, Teun A. van Dijk (Van Dijk, 2003).

The methodology normally utilized in these works has been the compilation and classification of different episodes of racist violence, with the intention of generating analyses and denouncements. On the other hand, in terms of the more concrete study of racism in society, techniques have centered on discourse analysis and on surveys in which social racism in Spain is analyzed (Cea, 2007). In additional reference to the study of the Gypsy community, it is worth noting works by Teresa San Román, some of which are more focused on the ethnographic method and which stand out for their deconstruction of the 'natural' character projected upon the marginalization and poverty suffered by this community (San Román, 1997).

1.4. Religion

The study of racism in Spain has always been connected in an important way to the analysis of Spanish attitudes toward the religions with which the Spanish have always had close contact, such as Islam. In this realm, other important works include those pertaining to discourse analysis and to the perception of the population in general, with works on 'Islamophobia' gaining importance, given the light they shed on much contemporary racist expression in Spain and in the western world (Bernabé, 2007).

Beyond the study of racist expression with respect to Islam, we also want to highlight the increasing complexity of daily life, public space, and proximity from the religious point of view. In a related fashion, having a public presence and engaging in religious expression have become progressively more significant. Without a doubt, one of the ways in which migrants maintain active and effective relationships with their societies of origin is through the reproduction of religious expression (Moreras, 2006b). In Spain, some researchers have

analyzed increasingly plural religious practices and the multicultural and cosmopolitan transformation of our cities (Estruch, 2006; Moreras, 2006a and 2006b). Despite this production, we have not found any works dealing with new residents' religious expression from a gender perspective, although the study of the veil, used by women who practice Islam, is making an increasing impact on research (Lacomba, 2001). We cannot forget, however, that this involves a form of religious expression that tends to engage stereotypes and stigmas, where being a woman and Islamic presupposes a 'double' source of discrimination.

1.5. Space and Urban Intercultural Movements

We have previously introduced the changing focus in the study of non-EU immigrations to Spain that began in the second half of the 1990s, passing from a stage in which a new reality was relatively invisible to one of heightened visibility, where proximity and everyday life are put at the center of studies and politics, particularly in the local and municipal realms. In this second stage, interest focuses on integrating and incorporating the recently arrived into their new places of residence and into society more generally. This stage is one in which studies focus on national collectivities and specific places and in which gender and the study of non-EU immigrant women are increasingly relevant, as are transnational approaches (Kaplan, 1998; Gregorio Gil, 1998, 1999; Oso, 1998; Aparicio, 1998; Ribas, 1999; Roque, 2000; Pedone, 2004a).

At the present time, an increasingly greater number of studies promote the valorization of the social process, in which the foreign-ness of the 'other' changes to a familiarity with 'Hamid', and where proximity and the local gain centrality without breaking away from a structural analysis of the processes being studied. This turn toward proximity facilitates a better understanding of a new reality while challenging prejudices and stereotypes; without isolating conflict, it highlights experience and spaces of coexistence even when cultural and ethnic realities are diverse. This includes works from the sociological perspective (Torres Pérez, 2002), in geography (Ortiz, 2003; Díaz, 2004), urban anthropology (Aramburu, 2002; Aparici, 2001) the anthropology of education (Pàmies, 2006) and on pedagogy (Pires, 2007). These focus their analyses on research techniques that better adapt to daily experience, as is the case with qualitative techniques, basically, interviews and observation, and which take a special interest in analyzing life experiences in public spaces and facilities. The importance of place; the recuperated study of concrete realms such as the neighborhood; and research on social dynamics in plazas, schools, call centers, and civic centers are increasingly more common in academic migration research.

In terms of the activities undertaken by universities in migration studies, it is worth noting both the important research conducted as well as the elaboration of proposals for co-operation with public and private sector entities, work performed with important assistance from the public sector. In the Catalan case we emphasize the work undertaken by private foundations with a clearly public and social objective, such as: la Fundació Jaume Bofill, la Fundació CIDOB (Centre d'Investigació de Relacions Internacionals i Desenvolupament), Fundació Servei Gironí de Pedagogia Social/Fundació SER.GI, and la Fundació CIREM (Centre d'Iniciatives i Recerques Europees a la Mediterrània). Other organizations that collaborate with public administrations and universities include the *Institut d'Infància i Món Urbà*, while the *Institut Europeu de la Mediterrània* engages the public and private sectors.

In terms of organizations that work in the closest proximity to the recently arrived, it is important to note the vitality and importance of not-for-profit organizations, often organized by volunteers and clearly anchored in the local sphere. A clear example of such associationalism from the most local, municipal realm is the group GRAMC (*Grups de Recerca i Actuació amb Minories Culturals i Treballadors Estrangers*). Union organization is another realm in which the self-organization of immigrants is increasingly more important, for example in the cases of *Associació sociocultural Ibn Batuta*, *el Centre Xino-català*, *la Associació de Residents Senegalesos de Catalunya*, *el Casal Argentí de Barcelona*, *la Federació d'Associacions Americanes de Catalunya*, *la Federació d'Entitats Llatines*, *la Federació d'Associacions i Comunitats d'Immigrants de Tarragona*, *la Associació de Treballadors Pakistanesos*, *Magribins sense Fronteres*, *la Associació de Treballadors Marroquins de Catalunya*, *la Associació de Dones Amazigues*, *la Associació E'waiso Ipola*, *la Coordinadora d'Associacions d'Immigrants de la comarca d'Osona*, and *la Federació d'Associacions Romaneses*. This demonstrates that foreigners' rootedness in their new places of residence is intensifying and becoming a more integral, normal feature of daily life in many towns and cities, even though in legal terms many foreigners are still denied certain basic rights such as the right to participate in local municipal elections and to have a say in the election of their own political representatives.

1.6. Transnational Families

Following the turn toward proximity, if in the prior section we dealt with a realm previously understood as strictly personal, now we turn to one which breaks the traditional barrier between the public and the private. Here we should mention pioneering works on transnationalism focusing on the Gambian and Senegalese collectivities (Kaplan, 1998, Suárez Navas, 1998) which, while not focusing on gender, broke with 'methodological nationalism' in introducing a transnational dimension in fieldwork, a tendency followed in the works we will mention shortly.

Transnational and gender perspectives appear in studies on Spain starting in the 1990s, coinciding with an era in which migration flows were increasingly headed by women (Gregorio Gil, 1998; Escrivá 2000). In these works, the roles of women and of the younger generations became more decisive in the execution of migration projects, and the productive and reproductive strategies of domestic groups both in the places of origin and destination were analyzed. The transnational nature of migrations was analyzed as fluid relations between family members in different countries and as the circulation of resources and information between homes and borders (Solé and Parella, 2004a y 2004b; Pedone, 2004a, Herrera *et al.*, 2005; Suárez, 2007a; Zontini, 2004). Studies on transnational migrations explored social relations and networks across borders. They have demonstrated that transnational practices comfortably coexist with strategies for assimilation and integration in the destination country. Transnational practices are not new; what is new is an analytic perspective that gives priority to making visible and analyzing practices and institutions that cross borders (Suárez, 2007b; Parella, 2007; Parella and Cavalcanti, 2007).

There is an extensive array of work on Latin American transnational families. Over the last few years, migrations to Spain have clearly accelerated and feminized. Despite the fact that the female Latin American immigration flow is heterogeneous, multi-class, multi-ethnic, and involves various generations, certain common features can be noted. It usually involves young women with family responsibility, many of whom have studied at the secondary and higher educational levels and whom have high rates of employment in the receiving society

(Solé and Parella, 2004a and 2004b). In Spain, these women work in domestic service, elder care, and nursing care: precarious jobs with long hours and difficult conditions.

Over the last decade, numerous qualitative studies have emphasized the diversity, heterogeneity, and complexity of the projects, dynamics, practices, and strategies of migrants from Latin America. A double process—acceleration and feminization—has had a double impact on family structures. As a consequence of the migration context and its characteristics, it has produced a re-accommodation of gender and generation relations in affective ties and in the power of the domestic group, as can be seen in forms of family reunification and in the experiences of immigrants' children, both in the sending and receiving countries (Herranz, 1998 for Latin American immigration; Gregorio Gil, 1998, 1999 for the Dominican Republic; Escrivá, 1997, 2000 for Peru, Carrasquilla Coral, Echeverri Buriticá, 2003, Echeverri Buriticá, 2004, González 2007 for Colombia, Gómez Fayrén, Pellicer Balsalobre, 2003, Ortega Castellanos, Pedreño Cánovas, 2001, 2003; Pedone, 2004a, 2004b, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c; La Parra and Mateo 2004, Herrera *et al.*, 2005; Suárez, Anadón, Castañón, 2007; Wagner, 2007 for Ecuador; Oso, 2002 for Ecuadorian and Colombian women, Parella, Calvancanti, 2007 for transnational Peruvian and Ecuadorian homes).

As for the acceleration and increasing complexity of family reunification processes in the receiving society; the return of children to the place of family origin; and the consolidation of transnational social spaces, works have focused on: forms of family reunification; the sending of remittances; the migration trajectories of young children; accommodation strategies in the place of destination; and the return stories of the younger generations, emphasizing gender and generation perspectives (Pedone, 2006c, 2007, 2008; Moscoso, 2007, Echeverri, Pedone, 2008).

It is worth mentioning the transnational and gender perspectives in works dealing with other national groups, such as Moroccans, Rumanians, and Filipinos. Authors such as Zontini (2004), Bottom *et al.* (2007), Suárez and Crespo (2007), and Oso, (2007) address the role of women in the consolidation of transnational processes, and they analyze the impact of remittances in reducing poverty and covering basic family needs in the country of origin.

The restrictions migration policies place on the right to live among family are consolidating the management of everyday life for migrants in transnational social spaces. One contribution that attempts to fill this void in Spanish scientific production is that by Pedone and Gil Araujo (2008) which relates family reunification policies to the empirical processes of family migration. In this work they link certain family migration policies with transformations in family relationships, gender and generational strategies for family reunification, and varied forms of inclusion/exclusion.

Finally, one of the consequences of the immigration and permanent settlement of immigrants in southern European countries is the increase in mixed and bi-national marriages and the formation of transnational families. This phenomenon is studied by Rodríguez (2004 and 2006), whose work undertakes a complex analysis of interculturality, critiquing interpretations of 'mestizaje' and segregation as contradictory or exclusive realities. Rodríguez analyzes patterns of endogamy and exogamy (marriage within or outside a certain group or category) among African immigrants in Catalonia, focusing on the unions between Senegalese, Gambians, and Spanish women and on multi/trans-cultural identity formation. The conclusions suggest that mixed pairs and their descendents produce many localizations and cultural consequences, and thus it would be an error to merely criticize them or to suggest that multicultural ties cannot be either revitalized or functional.

From the point of view of methodology, some of the research conducted on transnational families comes from works of transnational ethnography which employ qualitative techniques. Participant-observation, life histories, in-depth interviews, focus groups, and discussion groups (Botton, 2007; Parella and Cavalcanti, 2007; Suárez, Anadón and Castañón, 2007; Suárez and Crespo, 2007; Zontini, 2004), as well as interviews with experts in various subjects (e.g., NGO workers, directors of educational centers, etc.) (Elejabeitia, 2006; Wagner, 2007) are the techniques most utilized. To a lesser extent, some studies which we refer to in this document use quantitative techniques to generate data. Questionnaires (for example, Botton, 2007, distributed a questionnaire to 1860 Arabic and/or Muslim people in Catalonia) and the use of secondary data (Elejabeitia, 2006) are most commonly used. A large portion of the works we review here stem from research projects financed by state, autonomous, and municipal public entities such as the Ministry of Education and Sciences (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencias), the Women's Institute (Instituto de la Mujer), Institut Català de les Dones, the Jaume Bofill Foundation (Fundació Jaume Bofill), and to a lesser extent, by private entities such as the bank BBVA. Finally, it is worth mentioning the book edited by Enrique Santamaria (2008) "The Epistemological Challenges of Transnational Migration" ("Retos epistemológicos de las migraciones transnacionales") with a critical analysis of the transnational perspective in Spanish literature from the last decade, from theoretical and methodological viewpoints.

2. As a Means of Conclusion

Without a doubt, the public realm and the realm of proximity are gaining greater protagonism in the urban Spanish social reality. Social research has taken an important turn toward themes and methodologies dealing with proximity, for example, in the study of public spaces or in the analysis of life ways characterized by transnationalism. Finally, it is important to say that research from an explicitly gendered perspective is mostly practiced in the area of family relations, and much less in the other areas we have identified for the project.

3. Thematic and Methodology Review in Spain

3.1. Thematic

Among the diverse themes addressed within the study of urban public spaces, we focus most concretely upon the issue of **public space**. This focus obliges us to define this concept. Within academic literature there are many definitions of public space, more complementary than mutually exclusive, from which we borrow requisites and attributes, without being exhaustive in our selection. One of the main characteristics associated with public space is that of being an open space, tolerant in the sense of allowing a great variety of uses and users (Walzer, 1986), spaces for which access and enjoyment are not limited by the logics of the market or of power. At the same time public spaces include a participatory and even festive dimension, when groups of citizens or even local or other administrations use it as a space for gathering and celebration, as it the case with large-scale festivities, street markets, etc. (Francis, 1989).

Other authors emphasize the socially cohesive dimension of public spaces, integrating and democratic, also linked to political expression in events such as protests and rallies, etc. (López de Lucio, 2000). This positive dimension is also associated with attributes such as

openness to otherness and the potential for public spaces to be inclusive and accessible (Delgado, 1999).

Another characteristic authors evaluate is that related to the arts, aesthetics, or more concretely to design. In this case authors consider public spaces to be spaces of cultural and artistic expression (Berdoulay and Morales, 1999) and they express concern over the quality of the urban project, over the materials and furnishings used for adornment (Borja and Muxí, 2001; Paravicini, 2000).

Finally we should also mention attributes which favor communication, encounters, and exchange between people with different characteristics (Borja and Muxí, 2001). This aspect is of interest in our research, in the sense of considering public space as privileged in the manifestation and development of intercultural relations between persons of diverse origins. If public space is seen as open to all people who live in or visit a city, aspects such as governance, cultural identity, and citizenship (Low, 2001) are reinforced.

In addition to these multiple and always reinforcing definitions, urban public spaces have also motivated the elaboration of indicators of their 'successes'. Among these we highlight the excellence profile devised by Whyte (1980), based upon the presence of: sociability, the continued and regular presence of women, the diversity of users and the variety of activities. The presence and intensity of social interaction and intercultural and interpersonal communication are also cited as indicators of success by other authors (Paravicini, 2002).

A **gender** focus has contributed notably to the definition of public space and has even reinterpreted them. Fundamentally, feminist geographies have emphasized the role public spaces play in the everyday life of cities, particularly stressing women's perceptions, uses, and specific necessities within them (Coutras, 1996; McDowell, 1999). We need to recognize that women establish a very close relationship with the public spaces of their residential and work environments given that the combination of domestic and labor responsibilities makes women not only users of these spaces but also experts in their daily urban environment (García Ballesteros, 1989, Coutras, 1996, Justo, 2000).

Numerous research projects based upon different cases have started with such multisided and complex conceptualizations of public space (Monnet, 2002; Ortiz, 2003; 2004; Pedone, 2004a; Guzmán, 2007; Aramburu, 2008). These works, among others, focus on different aspects but share the desire to situate public space at the center of their analyses. They also frame public space as an articulating element for concerns over variables such as gender or migration processes.

The presence or perhaps co-existence of people with distinct identities (according to origin, sex, age, sexual orientation, etc.) in shared public spaces has also been the object of analysis. Of particular focus have been processes of exclusion within public spaces that can impact certain collectivities or persons. For example, the temporal co-existence of people of different origins makes way for a great diversity of situations that can go from a "polite disregard" (Delgado, 2007) to an open conflict. Even in studies which demonstrate a high ethnic concentration in public spaces, it has been observed that this does not necessarily generate a negative situation, but rather it can create a situation of peaceful if distant co-existence (Torres, 2004). In this sense the author highlights the need to understand and explain the diverse forms of managing the proximity-distance axis which characterizes multicultural public spaces and the dynamics they generate (Torres, 2004, p.10).

Finally, in the case of our research, it is important to keep in mind the connections between variables such as gender and migration with a **transnational** perspective. Following Liliana

Suárez (2007), we attribute the adjective transnational to “economic, political, and socio-cultural processes and practices that are linked to and configured by the logics of more than one nation-state, and which are characterized by the constant crossing of borders” (Suárez, 2007:1). This author warns us about the uses and misuses associated with this concept, adding a critical perspective which we consider to be of great use for the future development of our research. For example, analyses of social networks undertaken from the transnational perspective and which have also been attentive to gender have allowed family dynamics to emerge as fertile terrain for the production of knowledge about migratory movements. Such analyses have permitted researchers to challenge the representation of international migration as a fundamentally masculine decision (Pedone, 2004a). However, we cannot forget that the geographic context of the place of origin can generate different decisions and dynamics (Ribas, 2000; Sow, 2004).

The concept of transnationalism has also been used to relate migration to development in the sense that transnational economic, cultural, and political practices allow migrants to overcome the limitations imposed upon them by the labor market (Scribal and Ribas, 2004).

The use of the concept of transnationalism allows for a much richer and more complex approximation of the reality of intercultural relationships in public spaces. From the transnational perspective, interest in public spaces crosses borders and takes into account the macro-social consequences that arise from their use (Moraes, 2006).

3.2. Methodology

The study of the everyday use of public spaces and its meanings from a gender perspective requires a primarily qualitative methodology. Practically speaking, most gender-sensitive studies on the uses and appropriations of urban public spaces employ qualitative methodologies because these allow researchers to explore the processes that produce certain phenomena and promote an awareness of socio-spatial experience.

As has already been stated, public spaces are spaces of identification and of relationships, of inter-personal contact and at times of community expression (Borja and Muxí, 2001, p. 48). Their analysis embodies attempts to evaluate the effects and repercussions of the spaces on the people who inhabit a city, as in this way we can learn about the strengths and errors involved in planning, allowing for the improved design of new urban operations (Ortiz, 2004). Another object of this research focus is how public space is lived and perceived in different ways by men and women according to their sexuality, social condition, age, and ethnic and cultural origins. Therefore, instead of requiring the recompilation of many events, the analysis of public spaces benefits from detail about lived experience in all its complexity.

On the other hand, it is known that feminist thought is constructed from distinct methods and methodologies, a diversity united by the common thread of its conscientious critique of the social context and of the consequences brought by the contexts in which research occurs (Madge et al., 1997). For feminists, knowledge is experiential and interpretive, and the appropriate methodology is that which recognizes the social relationships of research and which has emancipatory objectives for all involved. Qualitative methods offer perhaps the most direct route toward producing such situated knowledge. In any case, discourses proposing ‘feminist methods of investigation’ have moved beyond rejecting quantitative methods for their connection with positivism and toward developing new strategies which

recognize the complementarities of techniques and, over all, insist more upon feminist objectives than upon the utilization of certain methods (Baylina, 1997; Prats, 1998).

Feminist researchers start from the premise that different women have different experiences that need to be compiled; that the space of research is never neutral but rather it is a certain changing political, social, economic, and cultural context; and that what we decide to research, discover, or value is determined by the positioning of our identity (age, religion, gender, ethnicity, cultural origin, sexual orientation, and location in space and time, among others). At the same time, in the research process, the researchers assume complex and dynamic social relations which raise many ethical dilemmas to be resolved. Finally, research results are interpreted taking into account the researcher's context, understood as her or his system of values, behaviors, attitudes, and sentiments, and it is written up in conscious consideration of the intended audience (in this sense, co-authorship with an informant or at least the literal reproduction of their words strengthen the final product).

Within this framework, qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews, narrative analysis, informative interviews, participant observation, discussion groups, life histories, or the use of visual materials (mental maps, drawings, photographs, film, etc.) are the most appropriate for investigating the use of public spaces by both locals and new residents, in the widest possible frame of practice and daily experience and with attention to the importance gender has for behavior.

Studies on recent migrations are diverse, and efforts have been made based on the analysis of demographic data, reports of legislative activity, regulations and jurisprudence, statistical data related to the economy and the labor market, and above all, of qualitative data (Ajenjo *et al.*, 2008). Even when the objective has been a more general analysis of a country's or region's immigrant population and when statistical data have been used, normally the door is left open for more in-depth analyses that support quantitative results.

Most studies on the migration phenomenon are aimed at analyzing living conditions and at understanding immigrants' realities and expectations, and as such it is difficult to obtain such information without employing in-depth qualitative methods (Oso and Ribas, 2004; Wagner, 2004). On the other hand, we must consider that not all immigrant populations enjoy fully legal conditions and that not all participate within the formal economy. Much of the population, particularly women, undertake informal activities, such as domestic service, child and elder care, the care of the sick, construction work, agriculture, and prostitution, etc. (Reyneri, 1998; Campani, 2000; Bettio *et al.*, 2006). To gain access to such subjects and to understand the conditions of their work environments and daily lives it is necessary to turn to qualitative methods. One of the pioneering studies on recent immigrations to Spain analyzes the living conditions of the African and Latin American populations in the Barcelona metropolitan region, taking, as its title states, a qualitative approach (Domingo, Clapés and Prats, 1995). The study originated out of a concern for and interest in improving the lives of people in precarious situations, and its results detail the problems and necessities that should be taken into account when considering political measures. This study's primary sources are data collected from in-depth interviews.

The in-depth interview is the method that is perhaps most used by researchers and which has given the best results. Its use requires strong narrative analysis that attempts to focus on how people speak and think about places, experiences, and situations, including about what they express. The job of the researcher, then, is to decide what elements to record and how to record and interpret them (Wiles *et al.*, 2005). Most current migration studies use in-depth interviews, either exclusively or complemented by other techniques. For example, Ribas'

(2000) analysis of new female immigration to Catalonia, conducted among groups of women from the Philippines, Gambia, and Morocco, utilizes in-depth interviews to capture their knowledge and experiences. Her originality lies in her organization of fieldwork around three models of migration related to gender—highly feminized, masculine but in transition, and highly masculine—and in the importance it awards to the migration context in each country. The interaction of the two axes allows the author to better understand the immigration of women from these three counties to Spain. From a different direction, Mendoza and Ortiz (2006) use in-depth interviews to analyze the qualified migration of Spanish employers and high-tech professionals in Mexico City, particularly their labor experiences and social insertion. The authors stress as much the person who makes the decision to migrate as they do those who accompany them. In this sense the gender variable is crucial for understanding the positioning of each.

Casal (2002) uses interviews and discussion groups to address the migration trajectories of Moroccan women in Lleida (Catalonia), with the aim of identifying the elements involved in the gender politics of the local public administration. Aguilar, Cruz and Lozano (2007) use the same techniques to analyze the lives of women working as domestic servants in Castilla-La Mancha. Their objective is exploring the employee-employer relationship and to detect possible discrimination. Discussion groups allow them to gather information via interpersonal interactions in a situation in which individual interviews or surveys would be difficult to administer. The contribution of multiple ideas, themes, debates, contradictions, collective affirmations, etc. is very useful for strengthening a research project.

Visual methods are increasingly utilized by feminist researchers of all analytical themes, including that of migration. Keeping in mind the importance of the visual in contemporary western societies, their use is particularly interesting. Those researchers who have done so think that visual images are not innocent but constructed via practice, technology, and diverse knowledge, not as 'natural', and they recommend that potential users assume a critical stance, one which considers how the meanings of images are linked to their production, to the image itself, and to the intended audience (Rose, 2001). In this sense, images have been used in distinct works dealing with the use of public spaces by women and children. In the first case, Fenster (2004) uses the analysis of cognitive maps to give meaning to drawings made by different people about notions of comfort, belonging, and commitment to others. In the second case, Young and Barret (2001) use mental maps, thematic drawing, and photographs to obtain information on the interactions of street children in Kampala (Uganda) with their environment. The authors particularly value how this method permits a high level of participation by the children involved.

Qualitative methods provide a privileged source of information for studies on migration and public space. In his work on the imaginary of immigrants' territorial control in Barcelona, Aramburu (2002) uses interviews. In a study in which Barcelona's public spaces are both backdrops for and products of social action, Monnet (2002) uses qualitative techniques and also goes further, offering a profound reflection on the technical and ethical problems involved in methodology and ethnographic practice more generally. Garcés (2007) addresses the construction of new public spaces by Peruvian immigrants in Santiago de Chile, widening the very idea of public space: on one hand they are abbreviated versions of the concrete spaces in which immigrants reside, while on the other, they extend along the transnational fields with which 'concrete' spaces articulate. It is also necessary to highlight that new perspectives require new analytical methods and approaches that include the scope, heterogeneity, and scale of the social transformations associated with processes recently incorporated into migrations such as transnationalism (Moraes, 2006).

If we incorporate the gender variable into consideration, we confirm the aforementioned interpretations. Works by Vaiou and Lykogianni (2006) on the daily life, practices, and life strategies of women immigrants and locals in Greece offer examples of the importance of narrative. In a more distant context, Yeoh and Huang (1998) explore the case of Chinese domestic workers in Singapore, denouncing their triple marginalization via the sexual division of labor, the spatial expressions of patriarchy, and racial segregation. Beyond merely denouncing these conditions, they highlight different styles and strategies for the use, colonization, and even challenge of public space. And in Spain, Garcia Ramon, Ortiz and Prats (2004) and Ortiz (2004) analyze, from a gender perspective, the use of certain public spaces in Barcelona by women and men of different ages and origins, mainly making use of participant observation and in-depth interviews. From this they offer a series of suggestions to improve the planning of urban public spaces if, as the authors assume, their success indeed lies in the intensity of their use and in the social diversity of users. Díaz (2004) analyzes the changing use of public space in a neighborhood in Terrassa after the arrival of new immigrants from countries of 'the south'. The author gives special attention to everyday community life and to the relationships between locals and newcomers, using public space as a focal point for social life. In-depth interviews, participant observation, and discussion groups are fundamental in a study in which the involvement of both the researcher and research subjects in all processes is close and fertile.

3.3. The presence of the Citizenship

When it comes to analyzing migrants' participation in public spaces we should consider some of Saskia Sassen's theoretical suggestions (2003), referring to the practises that update the citizenship as constant social inventions that have an equivalent in the law. The author relates this de facto citizenship with the presence but also with actions in the public domain which provide subjects, who are not usually taken into account in the public sphere, with recognition and legitimacy. The term presence refers to the condition of political agents of subjects who are subordinate or stripped of power. So, immigrants without documents are people whose unauthorized presence generates rights. On the opposite side Sassen places women: in the case of immigrant women their role as sustainers of survival and family welfare often functions as a transforming element that drives their participation in the public space. The home, the community, the neighbourhood and the school thus become spaces where women are key actors. When they are lived or experienced as non political spheres those spaces are turned into "microenvironments with a global scope" (Vega Solís and Gil Araujo 2003).

This dynamic idea of citizenship linked with the production of the presence of the powerless enables us to see citizenship as a field in dispute, which can be occupied. A view which in a way is connected with the definition of political society proposed by Chatterjee (2008), referring to the never unified presence of the citizens as fragmented groups with particular interests. From his point of view in contemporary societies, far more than through the law, rights are acquired through claims and demands. "The success of those claims depends completely on the skill of the particular groups of the population that express them in mobilizing support and influencing the implementation of public policies in their favour" (Chatterjee 2008, 134). The political society is a direct expression of social antagonisms and its logic implies the heterogeneous and fragmented conquest of rights.

The city is turned into a space where non-formal political subjects construct a political scene that allows a wide range of interventions (neighbourhood assemblies, self managed spaces, struggles for immigrants' rights, protests over cutbacks in public services), and encourages the formation of new subjectivities and territories for experiments, aside from the formal political system. The potential of the exercise of citizenship as the "right to the city" and the mutual recognition of subjects connected in many cross border circuits involve assuming the capacity for action which is exercised against the constraints of state and economic citizenship. According to Sassen's analysis, global citizenship today occupies a special place in cities and in the interconnection of transnational networks and circuits.

Perhaps we should start to pay attention to the meaning and value assigned by the migrant population to local belonging, their ways of appropriating the spaces where they live and their imaginaries around the idea of citizenship (Leitner and Ehrkamp 2006).

3.4. Research proposal

The purpose of this research is to analyze the role of urban public spaces in the creation of intercultural and social inclusion/exclusion relations. We focus in the use and appropriation of these spaces from a gender approach that considers specifically the migrant families experiences. Besides, we use the feminist concept of positionality to understand how the social situatedness of migrants conditioning their practices of citizenship (gender, ethnicity, education, immigration status, social class, age and generations, length of stay, and migration experiences).

We consider public spaces as privileged places of interaction and participation, and crucial to the formation of the identification processes and to the construction of citizenship. Public spaces are understood in a broad sense, that include those in the open air and those in premises, public and private, such as squares, streets, parks, commercial areas, cultural, health, entertainment equipments, etc.; in sum, public places of encounter and confrontation in the city. An specific area of study has been chosen considering its diversity in terms of the origin of the population. As people's daily practices and experiences are very important to evaluate places and taking into account the social diversity and difference, the challenge is to see the different uses of these spaces and the access to the social rights linked at gender, age, social class and origin variables.

We propose the idea of citizenship as social practice that migrants engage at multiples scales and with multiples public spheres across national boundaries. From this point of view the urban spaces are a privileged place to understand migrant citizenships practices.

Place, in this logic, is not regarded as a static, determinate and bounded 'object' but as temporary and open, as the varying outcome of the dynamics between specific relations and processes, conceptualizations, demands and claims by the individuals and groups that inhabit it as subjects of divergent experiences and needs.

3.4.1. Starting Points

-Public spaces as privileged places of conflict, encounter, interaction, participation, political action, and intercultural relations.

- Public spaces as crucial for the identifications processes, in the elaboration of senses of place and belonging, and in the construction of citizenship
- Gender as a transversal variable crucial in the unequal access and use of urban public spaces.
- Positionality as power relations¹.
- Migrations are triggers for intercultural relationships.

3.4.2. Research Questions

3.4.2.1 About urban transformations

- ✓ Do recent transformations in European cities generate processes of social exclusion for unfavorably evaluated groups (women, migrants) in urban public spaces?
- ✓ Which role for the migrant community in the transformation of the urban spaces and its borders?
- ✓ How the public spaces – that is, the spaces of creation of intercultural relations – put in question the traditional ideas and concepts of neighborhood and community, related to the local and national framework?
- ✓ In which terms the use of public space by migrants put in question the gender, class, cultural, symbolic borders within the urban spaces?

3.4.2.2 About use public spaces

- ✓What are some of the urban population's daily practices for the use and appropriation of public spaces?
- ✓ What roles do gender and origin play as structuring and differentiating variables in the use of public spaces?
- ✓ Are public spaces prominent in the creation and development of intercultural relations?
- ✓What elements favor social inclusion, including in terms of gender, in urban public spaces?
- ✓ What policies favor social inclusion, including in terms of gender, in urban public spaces?✓ Which other spaces are used by migrants as places of social inclusion, or citizenship practices (i.e. union)?

3.4.2.3 Relationship between labor and urban spaces

- ✓ Which role for the work in the use of the public space, first of all on a gender standpoint?
- ✓ What relation between public space and workplace?
- ✓ What relation between the workplace, the use of public space and the change in the migrant family (i.e. the case of domestic workers)?

¹ "...in the sense that uneven power is associated with the placement of individuals in social, cultural, and material space, and within nation-state and the global economy" (Leitner and Ehrkamp, 2006, p. 1616)

3.4.2.4 About social movements

- ✓ In the context of such processes, what are some of the strategies undertaken by local governments in relation to public spaces?
- ✓ What roles do NGOs and immigrant associations play in the use of public spaces?

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