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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

**Being Andalusian in Catalonia:  
A challenge to nation-state construction**

**A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
Requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy**

in

**Sociology**

by

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**2002**

DEDICATION

To Oriol: this is half yours

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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**ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION**

**Being Andalusian in Catalonia:**

**A challenge to nation-state construction**

**By**

**Adela Ros**

**Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology**

**University of California, San Diego, 2001**

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**In the autonomous Spanish region of Catalonia Andalusian cultural organizations and festivities have reached a high level of intensity –participatory, social, and political-- during the last fifteen years of minimal immigration from southern Andalusia and of the consolidation of Catalan culture, language, and political institutions. This dissertation examines the meanings of these cultural forms in the context of the construction of the Catalan nation. In doing that, this dissertation deals with how ideas of nation and integration coexist with structures of social class and power.**

**The problem of Andalusian cultural organizations in Catalonia is that, far from simply offering spaces for recreation to working class Catalans or for promoting**

immigrant traditions and needs, they need to be framed in an oppositional context. The Andalusian revival is used in this study as a means of understanding how Catalan society creates the very problem of national integration that it is trying to solve. By using an ethnographic methodology in Tres Barrios, a working class area in the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona, this dissertation shows that Andalusian festivals, associations and fiestas are only the visible tip of an intricate conflict for social and political power in Catalonia.

Each chapter in this dissertation deals with a different issue in the interaction between national identity, migration, and social class. After the first two introductory chapters, Andalusian public cultural forms are analyzed (chapter 3) as expressions of urban ethnicity and it is shown that they have adjusted very well to working class conditions and possibilities. In the next chapter (chapter 4) it is explained how the intersection of immigration, class, and nationalism produces many unsolved identity dilemmas for working class young people. Being Andalusian in Catalonia is an alternative way of *being* in a context which, as has been shown (chapter 5), implies multiple definitions and constraints for people in working, immigrant areas. Finally, it is shown (chapter 6) the extremely intricate way in which politics and ethnicity interconnect. 'Being Andalusian' in Catalonia cannot be understood without acknowledging the political role that ethnicity plays.



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Chair

University of California, San Diego

2002

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Signature Page .....	iii
Dedication .....	iv
Table of Contents .....	v
List of Symbols .....	vii
List of Tables and Graph .....	x
Acknowledgements .....	xi
Vita .....	xv
Abstract .....	xvi
<b>I. Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
A. A challenge to nation-state construction .....	2
B. Ethnicity as a life experience .....	10
C. Creating identities .....	12
D. Proposing new ways .....	19
E. Meanings of being Catalan .....	23
F. Politics of ethnicity .....	29
G. Some notes on research and methodology .....	30
<b>II. Immigration and culture in Catalonia .....</b>	<b>36</b>
A. Immigration to Catalonia .....	37
B. Tres Barrios .....	54
C. The emergence of Andalusia in Catalonia .....	64
D. Concluding remarks .....	83

III. The material experience of Andalusian cultural forms .....	84
A. Ethnicity as a way of sociability .....	86
B. Ethnicity in times of precariousness .....	98
C. Ethnicity as a consuming activity .....	104
D. Ethnicity as relationship .....	114
E. Ethnicity as businesses .....	117
F. Concluding remarks .....	119
IV. Identity Dilemmas .....	121
A. Ancestries .....	123
B. The obstacles of language .....	130
C. Denials .....	143
D. Dual identities .....	158
E. The political meaning of Catalonia .....	163
F. Concluding remarks .....	173
V. 'Being Andalusian': a way of interpreting life .....	174
A. The re-creation of origin .....	175
B. "El Mundillo" .....	203
C. "El Ambiente" .....	227
D. Concluding remarks .....	233
VI. The Politics of Andalusia .....	235
A. Non-Catalan ethnicity in Catalan politics .....	237
B. The political role of the Andalusian cultural movement .....	244
C. Control of Andalusian organizations .....	258
E. The perspective of the participants .....	277
F. Concluding remarks .....	279
VII. Conclusions.....	281
Appendix .....	295
References .....	321

## LIST OF SYMBOLS

This thesis contains a significant number of extracts from natural conversations, interviews and fieldnotes. Because these are essential to understand my argument, I have sought to adopt transcription conventions that make reading as fast and as clear as possible.

Because many episodes contain people speaking in either Spanish or Catalan, these languages are represented consistently throughout the thesis.

Spanish is always represented in normal characters.

Catalan is always represented in normal underlined characters.

The English translation of a Spanish utterance is always in **normal bold characters**.

Notice that I use Spanish as the language for foreign words. Additionally, I never use italics for words belonging to any other language. These will appear between inverted commas. Because translation always involves interpretation, I do include punctuation in the English version to make reading easier. For quotes of written material, I considered that the original version was not strictly necessary and I provided the English translation only.

In addition to these conventions, I use the following signs in the transcriptions:

**AR:** Adela Ros

**M** (First initial of the speaker name)

**(xxx)** Brackets indicate stretches that are inaudible or difficult to interpret.

**[xxx]** I use Square brackets to give contextual information, including interrogative intonation in question tags, such as "no[?]". In the English translation, I also include in square brackets fragments of text that do not appear in the original but which may help to understand what is being said or meant.

**(..)** 3 dots in brackets indicate that some lines of the original conversation are not showed.

**{xxx}** Words between Curly brackets are missed words that I write in order to make interpretation easier.

**/s/** A "s" between two slashes in the middle or at the end of a word indicates one of the phonological traits of many speakers accent: the suppression of the 's' ("e/s/cuela" instead of "escuela", "má/s/" instead of "más"),

**Line numbers in quotes** (in the English translation only): These numbers are used in the text to comment the quote.

In many of the episodes I transcribed, speakers use dirty language and unconventional expressions that have no clear equivalent in Standard English. I have sought to translate these stretches by drawing upon the most common forms of English slang. However, this has often not been possible. In these cases, I have provided the

equivalents in Standard English only and I have indicated which expressions were unconventional in the original when this was of importance to the discussion.

## LIST OF TABLES AND GRAPHS

### TABLES:

Table 2/1. Aspects of Population growth in Catalonia (1900-1990).....	36
Table 2/2. Incomes-Spanish Regions (1973).....	41
Table 2/3. Population by origins (1955-1994) .....	43
Table 2/4. Educational level according to origins (1973) .....	45
Table 2/5. Socio-economic category according to geographical origins of families (1985) .....	45
Table 2/6. Population density (1950-1994) .....	55
Table 2/7. Living area (1975) .....	59
Table 2/8. Type of association .....	68
Table 5/1. Birth Place of people attending 'Andalusian Week' .....	177
Table 5/2. How often do you visit your or your parents birthplace? .....	179
Table 5/3. Ethnic definition of the "fiesta" .....	202
Table 5/4. Would you like to move somewhere else? .....	212
Table 6/1. Electoral results in Tres Barrios .....	268
Table 6/2. Does your City Council collaborate with the Andalusian associations? .....	275

### GRAPHS:

Graph 1/2. Evolution of residents of Catalonia born outside (1887-1987) ..	37
Graph 2/2. Registration of regional associations (1966-1996).....	65
Graph 2/3. Geographical distribution of regional associations .....	67



## VITA

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## Chapter 1. Introduction

Behind rich, modern Catalonia in general, and its capital city of Barcelona in particular, a less well-known world exists in peripheral Catalonia. Andalusian cultural organizations belong to this world. In the autonomous Spanish region of Catalonia these cultural forms have reached a high level of intensity –participatory, social, and political-- during the last fifteen years of minimal immigration from southern Andalusia and of the consolidation of Catalan culture, language, and political institutions. This dissertation examines the meanings of these cultural forms in the context of the construction of the Catalan nation. The Andalusian revival in Catalonia constitutes a challenge to traditional discourses on nation and identity in Catalonia and Spain. The new Andalusian movement raises fundamental issues of social class, ethnicity, agency and politics in contrast to conditions of national identity.

Through this study, I aim to highlight a basic contradiction affecting many state nationalisms in the industrial world: cultural diversity. As highly industrialized regions attract people in disadvantaged areas, diversity becomes an intrinsic element in “transnational nationalisms” (Wicker 1997:31). However, immigration and nationalism are often seen to be contradictory: migration is frequently interpreted as a force which ‘complicates’ the regional identity of nationalisms which claim to uphold the homogeneity of the population and to see in diversity a threat to their own personality (Shafir 1995). As Linz shows in the following quote, the relationship between immigration and nationalism has always created many difficulties for

peripheral nationalisms in Spain:

Particularly in highly industrialized regions, as in the case of the Basque country and Catalonia in Spain, internal migrations since the late nineteenth century have produced a heterogeneous population largely made up of the descendants of immigrants and immigrants of recent decades. Natural processes, as well as deliberate state action, have led to a loss of traditional languages, cultural assimilation, and identification with the larger nation-state. In such a context, the construction of a national consciousness, a hegemonic national movement, and ultimately a nation-state based on primordial characteristics, is plagued with difficulties. (1985:204)

This work sheds some light on this challenge to modern State nationalisms. In this chapter, I introduce the main issues and the theoretical framework which will constitute the starting point of this study.

#### **A. A challenge to nation-state construction**

With the death of Francisco Franco in 1975, new opportunities for political reconstruction became available to all Spaniards, particularly to the so-called 'historical nations' within Spain: the Basque Country, Catalonia, and Galicia. With the approval of the Statute of Autonomy of 1979, Catalonia became an autonomous political community within Spain, recovering some of the rights and political privileges that had existed before Franco's victory in the Civil War (1939)<sup>1</sup>. The

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<sup>1</sup> For a historical review of Catalan nationalism see Woolard (1989) and Díez Medrano (1995).

period of 'national reconstruction' or of 'Catalanization', still under way at the present time, has been based to a large extent on the recovery and promotion of the Catalan language<sup>2</sup>.

Earlier this century, immigrants from impoverished regions of Spain (Andalusia, Extremadura, Galicia, etc.), had arrived in Catalonia as a cheap labor force and had helped to fuel Catalan economic growth. This immigration was particularly important in the early 1950s and declined in 1975, when an economic crisis affecting all economic sectors resulted in high rates of unemployment. Migratory movements within Spain respond to patterns of unbalanced rural and industrial development to be found in many countries. Today 30% of the population of Catalonia was born in other areas of Spain (Reixach 1990) and more than half the population are descended from this migration movement. Migration flows have thus played a fundamental role in the development of the social structure in Catalonia.

Immigrants came to Catalonia looking for a land of opportunities. Although some of them were able to find better opportunities for themselves and for their children, new constraints conditioned their "Catalan dream" (Pernau 1995). Catalonia evolved as an 'ethnified' social structure in which, to a great extent, there was a correlation between class-status positions and geographical origin. The direct consequence of such a social division was the formation of a dual society: one of mainly Catalan origin, expressing itself mostly in Catalan; and another, basically of

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<sup>2</sup> The 1978 Spanish constitution recognizes and guarantees "the right of autonomy for the different nationalities and regions which constitute [Spain]." Spain became a state which was made up of autonomous communities.

non-Catalan origin, communicating in Spanish. Resources and power were unevenly distributed between the two communities (DiGiacomo 1986) which, even in small towns, constituted separate social realities (ICESB-Laboratori de Sociologia 1992).

Andalusian cultural organizations entered a new phase in the early 1980s, which still continues today. Although Andalusian bars, clubs, fairs and religious celebrations had existed in Catalonia since the first immigrants arrived in the 1930s, a new period for the Andalusian organized culture in Catalonia began in the 1980s. This new period was not only characterized by an increase in the number of voluntary Andalusian associations but also by the expansion of the better-known Andalusian "fiestas". Andalusian immigrant associations and "fiestas" exist in all places to which Andalusians have immigrated, both within Spain (Basque Country, Castille, Valencia) and outside Spain (Latin America, North America, Central and Northern Europe, Australia). But it is in Catalonia, that this celebration of Andalusia has become particularly important.

In the last fifteen years, the existence of an Andalusian 'world' in Catalonia has increasingly gained recognition and both the mass media and politicians have started looking at the new phenomenon with greater interest than ever before. Although this has also been a successful period for other regional cultures of non-Andalusian origin (Extremaduran, Galician, Aragonese for example), Andalusian festivals and "fiestas" have undoubtedly enjoyed the most success. It is not only Andalusians who participate in the Andalusian "fiesta" however; something that

makes it especially interesting is the fact that the celebrations attract many participants of non-Andalusian as well as Andalusian origin.

The problem of Andalusian cultural organizations in Catalonia is that, far from simply offering spaces for recreation or for promoting immigrant traditions and needs, they may also be an indication of a much more complex situation. The Andalusian revival is but the tip of the Catalan iceberg. To look at the Andalusian cultural forms is therefore a way of studying the Catalan model of social and cultural integration. The Andalusian revival is thus used in this study as a means of understanding how Catalan society creates the very problem that it is trying to solve.

#### Is Catalanization in danger?

For many years, the situation in Catalonia has been considered a successful example of acculturation and of immigrants' support both for the autochthonous political model and for the local Catalan language (Balfour 1989, Johnston 1991). The fact that no apparent conflict has emerged<sup>3</sup> and that certain patterns of Catalan culture and identity –most significantly the language-- have been adopted by many new Catalans has led to the commonly held belief that Catalonia is a good example of the

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<sup>3</sup> One of the most successful attempts to organize an opposition movement against the hegemonic model of Catalan identity and linguistic policy is Foro Babel. Foro Babel was set up by a group of professionals in 1997 and it has developed into a permanent opposition group. The strategy of this group of academics, intellectuals, educators, and other professionals is to produce manifestos and publish articles in the press. (Their last manifesto was in 1998, entitled "For a new model of Catalonia"). For additional development on opposition movements in Catalonia, see Santamaría (1999) and Voltas

integration of two communities into 'one people'. In addition, and more importantly, this is seen as proof that certain collective identities can not only be attractive to other people but can also absorb these people within their society.

However, in recent years, the idea that there is a 'ceiling' to 'Catalanization' has started to emerge. On one hand, one of the most critical issues is the acquisition of Catalan as a second language (Woolard 1989:4). Evidence shows that a large number of young people in the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona (inhabited by 4 of the 6 million inhabitants of Catalonia) do not actually use Catalan very often. The fact that the majority of young people in Catalonia know Catalan as the result of an educational system that uses Catalan as the vehicular language makes the issue of 'non-Catalanization' even more intriguing. Contrary to the expectations and efforts of Catalan institutions --who have tried especially hard to make the Catalan language a civic rather than an ethnic language-- many young working-class people use Spanish (or Castilian, the name used for Spanish in Catalonia) as their main language. Although Woolard (1991) has shown that the ethnic value of the Catalan language has diminished alongside a more neutral, public value of the language, in this study I will use linguistic practices in Catalonia as available sources of information about consciousness and identity. Following Gal (1987), I believe that patterns of language in Catalonia are part of an actively constructed response that is opposed to the established position.

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On the other hand, the idea that the national construction of Catalonia is based on a common, unified, and distinct culture does not seem to be equally appealing to everybody. Even if Catalan nationalism (language and identity) is used as a resource that is supposed to provide prestige and help in the acquisition of upward social mobility (Johnston 1983), many inhabitants of Catalonia do not identify with the rules regarding ethnic status and instead create their own symbols of social value and their own patterns of behavior. This lack of interest in the hegemonic Catalan model of nationalism has been highlighted in some surveys on national identity. A very recent study found that in Catalonia, among young people whose mother tongue is Spanish, 20% think of themselves as Catalans, 24% as Spanish, and 54% as having a dual identity<sup>4</sup> (Moral & Mateos 1999:55).

Some Catalanist circles are worried about the deceleration or even interruption of the process of 'Catalanization' among certain groups, especially of young people, but these concerns are not generally expressed openly. At a public meeting in 1996, one of the political leaders of *Convergència i Unió* (CIU), the nationalist coalition that rules the Catalan government, expressed the need for Catalan nationalism to be more closely in touch with people's real problems. In addition, he acknowledged that the model of the Catalan nation, as it has been constructed, has not been successful among some groups of the population. However, instead of this being the starting point for a debate on the possible need to change some of the basic tenets of Catalan nationalism,

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4. According to Moral & Mateos, among young Catalan speakers, 82% see themselves as Catalans, 2 % as Spanish, and 15% as having dual identity.

his words provoked strong reactions from some nationalists and he was promptly silenced.

In schools –institutions that are supposed to play a crucial role in the process of 'Catalanization'-- there is general concern about the scarce use of Catalan among young students in urban Catalonia. Nonetheless, any overt, public acknowledgement of discontent with this aspect of the education system would be interpreted as public recognition of failure in the process of the construction of Catalan national identity. For this reason, a recent article by two high school teachers published in a newspaper of nationalist ideology and entitled "We are worried" ("Ens preocupa") was highly significant. The teachers expressed their anxieties when faced, on a day to day basis, with young people who firstly have great difficulties in speaking and sometimes understanding spoken Catalan (but, interestingly, not in writing it) and secondly who hold political views which are 'against Catalonia' and 'in favor of Spain'.

Certain vital questions undoubtedly lurk in the back of many people's minds: Why do so many people not follow the Catalan model of integration? Why do they reject the Catalan language? What have we done wrong? Why have some people in Catalonia now started to find significant meaning in the word 'Andalusian'? Sociolinguistic scholars have begun to examine the unexpected effects of social class, gender, and group cultures (e.g. age, urban) in generating new meanings for the Catalan language, which has not always benefited from its expansion and use (Pujolar 1997, 1999; Rodríguez 1993; Woolard 1989, 1997). Are other models emerging which work more effectively for people who have not found an easy way 'to be Catalan'?

Has this something to do with the impossibility of integration? And how do all the above questions relate to the upward mobility that 'Catalanization' was supposed to offer? (Solé & Laitin 1989).

It is in this oppositional context or in a situation of the "politicization of ethnicity" (Grillo 1980) that the Andalusian culture in Catalonia needs to be framed. The Andalusian cultural organizations may be signaling the possibility of a pattern of opposition (Woolard 1989:43) in contrast to the way in which contemporary Catalonia has been constructed. There is inevitably some concern about the possible emergence of an alternative ethnic identity to which people can relate more easily. In Catalonia, as in other peripheral nationalisms in Spain, Andalusian cultural references are frequently interpreted as endorsements of Spanish domination over this type of nationalism. The Franco regime further accentuated the negative image associated with Andalusian culture (see chapter 6). In the Basque Country, for instance, participation in expressions of a non-traditional Basque culture are sometimes interpreted as "getting into trouble" (Aierdi 1993: 432).

'Being Andalusian' is more than an oppositional culture (Williams 1973). 'Being Andalusian' in Catalonia has become a way of coping both with the current ideology of national identity and with the possibilities and constraints of daily life. Andalusian cultural forms are interpreted as being in opposition, both politically and ideologically, to the Catalan national project and in competition with it, as regards public resources (basically at the local level). In the context of Catalonia these cultural forms are thus in conflict with the ideology which is 'politically correct'. In addition,

through 'being Andalusian' it becomes possible to determine the high price involved in the process of integration, the struggle to define identity and to decide what it means to be 'Catalan'. But, in addition, the case of being Andalusian raises many other issues that I introduce briefly in the following pages.

### **B. Ethnicity as a life experience**

Studies on ethnic revivalism and/or ethnic persistence have frequently ignored this important aspect of the ethnic 'puzzle'. In contrast to considerations of ethnic identity in Catalonia which have usually ignored the ways in which life is organized in the Greater Barcelona, this study will show that 'being Andalusian' only has any meaning in the context of the urban working class where it has been shaped.

The analysis of ethnicity in the urban context has suggested that it is precisely because social interactions between cultural groups are more frequent in the urban context that the phenomenon of ethnicity is more apparent here (Cohen 1974). The 'urban ethnicity' approach also emphasizes the importance of understanding the role played by members of a community in developing a common life style and a feeling of common identity. In the urban context, there may be some "routines of action" (Whyte 1943) that do not necessarily coincide with those of the outside world. Calling them ethnic routines is simply an analytical distinction. Whyte observes how 'paesani' relationships remain a central tenet in immigrant communities, both as shapers of

social networks and as creators of social meaning.

Working-class urban areas are especially rich in the generation of ethnic identity and ethnic cultural forms. Hannerz (1969) pointed out that in ghettos, the fact that members witness the same things makes them more conscious of what they have in common. Residential segregation, in this sense, is a key factor of ethnicity, as Yancey, Ericksen and Juliani have shown (1976). Rogers and Vertovec (1995:22) insist on the role that ethnicity plays in immigrant urban contexts as a provider of a set of expectations and cues for appropriate behavior based on common sense.

In the urban context, ethnicity may be a mobilizing resource. In urban, working class immigrant contexts, ethnicity may provide people with new opportunities and for powerless groups, ethnicity may be the only resource they can mobilize (Yancey et al. 1976, Weinreich 1986). This important point helps us understand why certain Andalusian cultural forms are more likely to exist in working-class areas. To what extent, as Cohen (1969) suggests, does ethnicity in the urban context provide an idiom, and also a social tool, for fighting unequal power and for contributing to the development of new expressions of local identity, especially in new areas where no local identity has existed before?

### **C. Creating identities**

Definitions of 'who we are' and decisions about ascribed positions of different groups are complex social processes that respond to particular interests and situations. The answers to questions such as 'who am I?' and 'who are we?' and their mutual and constant negotiation occupy a central role in nation-state construction. Catalonia is a case study of the ways in which states and nations create hegemonic models of identity and the limits of this capacity.

#### **Who are we?**

The construction of a Catalan collective identity, which has been one of the principal goals of the leading political coalition party in Catalonia, the *Convergència i Unió* (CiU) (Laitin 1989:303), requires extremely careful definitions of the concept of "the people" (Balivar 1992). In Catalonia, as in many cases of nation-state construction the answers to the 'who am I' and 'who are we' questions, and their mutual and constant negotiation, are crucial (Toland 1993). In peripheral nations in particular, these questions are of central importance. Social boundaries of inclusion and exclusion and issues of membership are constantly redefined in the construction of the Catalan community. The question of 'who is Catalan?' is asked again and again in Catalonia. As Woolard suggested, in a context where civil rights or obligations based on ethnic identity do not exist, the formulation of that question becomes especially

intriguing (1988). In my opinion, beneath intricate strategies of either homogeneity or heterogeneity lie the need for legitimization of a certain status quo and the consolidation of power.

The model of ethnic relations that has helped to shape contemporary Catalonia is based on three main factors.

a) Homogeneity and cohesion

Homogenization is the first, central priority. Politics of ethnicity in Catalonia are defined around the concepts of 'assimilation' and 'integration', meaning that immigrants are able to become Catalans. Catalan nationalism is a case study of a nationalism dealing with immigration and it has solved this complex and disturbing element of nationalisms (Handler 1988) in inclusive terms. The present President of the Catalan Government has provided the following definition of 'Catalan' as "every one who lives and works in Catalonia and who helps to create Catalonia via their work and efforts" (Pujol 1976). In Catalan politics and society, this definition is well rooted not only in the political world but also in the consciousness of many people<sup>5</sup> (Rodríguez 1993:235). It constitutes a rejection of any understanding of a definition of the new Catalan citizen based on his/ her ancestry (Llobera 1997). For Rodríguez, this is the origin of the concept of a new Catalan social person, built on the idea of work,

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<sup>5</sup> The Statute of Autonomy attempted to shape this homogeneity by granting the condition of 'being Catalan' to all those "Spanish citizens residing in any of Catalonia's municipalities" (Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia, article 6, 1979).

which provides the opportunity "to conceal difference and in so doing, to highlight the affinity of interest for a Catalan class and status, a culturally and linguistically divided society encompassed and constrained by the Spanish state" (1993:13-14).

In the study of Catalans, homogeneity is also found in a bipolar classification that allows only perceived and even countable differences in relation to a single nominative variable: born/ not-born in Catalonia. Research on immigration has also reflected this homogeneous vision. The fact that we need to study the diversity of origins more carefully has only been recognized very recently (Recaño 1995, Parramón 2000).

Social cohesion and the idea of 'a unified people' have become central to this model. Any attempt to divide the Catalan people ('original' Catalans versus immigrant Catalans) is rejected and has negative cultural and political connotations for all political parties: conservatives, left wingers, those in the center or the supporters of independence. Any elements seen as threatening the apparent balance and consensus of Catalan society are accused of being alarmist. The most common of these, which emerges from time to time, is the language issue. When it appears, all the political forces urgently try to revert to the idea of a peaceful Catalonia as quickly as possible.

The politics of ethnicity in Catalonia cannot be understood without acknowledging the constant, latent fear of a possible division of Catalonia into two communities. The fear that difference (in ancestry, culture, language, etc.) could lead to a divided society is alive in many societies that consider themselves to be multicultural (Shultz 1994, Shapiro 1992). As Woolard (1989:43) observed, the



dichotomy between 'native-born' and (working-class) 'immigrant', even with political attempts to abolish it, is too obvious and "too significant to be easily ignored" (1989:44). As she also perceived in her ethnographic observation in Barcelona, these distinctions between some Catalans and some 'other' Catalans often surface in everyday life. From my personal experience, and based on close observation of these issues, I would agree that, far from disappearing, boundaries between different kinds of Catalans remain alive and surface in many private 'backstage' situations.

#### b) Language identity

The Catalan model of ethnicity has been closely linked to the Catalan language (Woolard 1986, 1989, 1991) and being Catalan cannot be separated from speaking Catalan. Catalan nationalism has given paramount importance to language (Conversi 1990) and as a result, in Catalonia the presentation of the self emerges, to a large extent, through the use of 'which language and where'. Although speaking a language with a particular accent signifies 'membership' of a group and is the general rule, an increase in codeswitching may be starting to indicate changes in the relationship between language and identity.

c) High prestige

Catalan identity and language are considered as having the prestige necessary in order to be accepted into the job market and, in general, they represent upward mobility. As Woolard points out (1985b), despite the repression of the language during the Franco regime, Catalan remains the language of prestige in Catalonia. In the seventies and early eighties, the fact that upper and upper middle income Catalan speakers were faced with immigration movements bringing thousands of lower income Castilian Spanish speakers to Catalonia helped to maintain the social prestige and power. It is impossible for sociologists to know how Catalonia would have developed socially without the enormous influx of low-income migration.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the Autonomous Catalan Government implemented a process of 'institutionalization' of Catalan. After 1979, with the establishment of the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia, it became possible for the local government itself to be responsible for such basic areas as education, culture, public health and for political decisions related to language issues.

As in Bourdieu's view of language (1977), language is associated with social class hierarchies, and therefore, with power. In Catalonia, the Catalan language is associated with participation in powerful institutions and, in general, with access to upward social mobility and social power. Catalan serves as a gatekeeping device which plays an important role in processes of inclusion and exclusion in particular social milieus of friends, family, and work.

However, in the case of Catalonia there is not a direct relationship between language, prestige and social class. For example, in the upper-income neighborhoods of Barcelona, it is more common to hear Castilian Spanish spoken than Catalan and among some very restricted upper-class professional groups in Barcelona – businessmen, publicists, lawyers, doctors, etc.-- Catalan is not used frequently.

I am also interested in presenting some empirical evidence of delicate, conflictive moments of tension experienced by individuals when they try to adjust their images and attitudes to certain given ethnic patterns of assimilation and prestige. Bloomaert and Verschueren (1991b:526), referring to the situation in Belgium, suggest that the manipulation of ethnolinguistic boundaries is a key strategy for maintaining open spaces for non-assimilation and differentiation . Some of my data will show that people in Catalonia are tired of having to constantly show that 'they are Catalans' while simultaneously aware that the boundaries defining the concept of being Catalan are more and more complex and unclear. Using Whyte's words, they feel that "the society around {them} does not let {them} forget" (1943:274) who they are. A participant in a symposium on immigration organized in 1983 expressed this idea as follows:

We were all interested in learning how to speak Catalan. The truth is that during these last years, there has been a progressive lack of interest, with many of us turning away because our expectations of integration have been disappointed (El Periódico, 9/19/1983).

When language becomes a barrier of differentiation, as this participant suggested, a lack of interest in that language may occur.

### Conflictive identities

In this study, we will be examining the ways in which the problems inherent in the complex situation involving the merging of identities are solved.

On one hand, we will see how the Spain-Catalonia duality affects the process of acquiring an identity. The political framework of the formation of the Catalan nation within the formation of the Spanish state has created the context in which Catalan ethnicity exists. Some studies have already indicated the existence of profound contradictions and difficulties at the level of identity in peripheral nationalisms in Spain (Linz 1985, Linz and Stepan 1996, Pérez Agote 1986). Linz and Stepan have argued that in plurinational states, the relationship between the regional part and the whole state is not an easy issue to deal with. They suggest that people who live in multinational states usually identify "with more than one culture and history, have intermarried, have friends of different nationalities, and have moved back and forth within the state" (1996:33). They want to maintain multiple identities, resisting the choice between partial (regional) and wider (state) options. According to Linz and Stepan, both the dominant nation in the state and the dominated nationalisms try to make 'either-or choices'. As some analysts have already pointed out, in Catalonia some identities turn out to be less problematic than others since they offer better solutions to the citizens of particular urban areas (Pujadas 1993).

On the other hand, the case of Catalonia calls into question the primacy of class identity and the place of local identification with the territory. In addition,

“dispositions and attitudes towards language learning and usage” (Pujolar 2000:233) and also towards identity itself, depend on the political framework in which people feel they live their lives. Thus, the political and the socioeconomic spheres in these contexts may generate different, sometimes contradictory systems of prestige and value (Pujolar 2000, Woolard 1985, 1989). For example, Castilian speakers, as well as people with strong family or cultural connections with Spain, may feel confused. A conclusion to be reached based on the case of Catalonia is that being a cultural minority within a cultural majority may blur the attraction of Catalan forms for many people.

In this work, I will try to shed light on particular moments of conflict, contradiction, rejection, or even miscommunication, in the specific context of minority languages.

#### **D. Proposing new ways**

In this work, an understanding of ethnicity implies an awareness of the active process of constructing oneself in relation to others, within a framework of power relations. Ethnicity always implies a creation and re-creation of distinctive new growth which does not signify a transplantation of origins but rather an invention of them. Ethnicity, in this sense, is a way of solving past, present and future at the same time and of blending the three into one. Ethnicity is shaped between opportunities and

constraints and it constitute a dynamic process combining economic realities, cultural traditions and definitions.

By participating in the Andalusian fiesta, a large number of working class Catalans of immigrant origin, mainly Spanish speakers, *propose* a new way of doing things. This way is more consistent both with how they live their daily lives and how power relations are organized in this context and does not simply accept or reject the model of Catalonia proposed in the last 20 years. 'Being Andalusian' is an active way of resisting and also of being integrated into Catalonia. It is a way for working class groups to fill a void and it provides a space for them to demonstrate the contradictory trends of social life. This case illustrates an intriguing trend of ethnic relations, which is that the acceptance of collective identity can imply demands on new identities. As other cases have started to point out: the more American you are, the more Latin you become; the more French you are, the more Muslim; the more Catalan you are, the more Andalusian you become.

The case of Andalusian cultural organizations in Catalonia is relevant to our understanding of how, instead of the inevitability and linearity of assimilation, new forms of ethnicity emerge as dynamic processes of "pluralistic integration" (Shultz 1994:20). Ethnicity may signal a voluntary attempt to integrate while being different (i.e. an idea that they 'want to be different') (Basch et al. 1994, Bilu 1991, Breton 1990, Goldstein 1985, Schultz 1994). New forms of identity that do not respond to traditional schemes of assimilation-disintegration surface and create new challenges.

People may choose a different form of social integration through a public recognition of their distinction.

We will see to what extent 'being Andalusian' in Catalonia represents an example of a hybrid, flexible identity which presents a form of Catalanization while also choosing ethnic ties. 'Being Andalusian' could therefore be seen as the expression of a new situation, created only in the context of contemporary Catalonia as an emergent present, and as a response to it. Ideas of Andalusianess as expressions of common culture and a common commitment become reshaped as they appear to have little to do with the past (Conzen 1989:46). Being Andalusian thus appears as a form of resistance and negotiation, a way of constructing a narrative of who we are and how we are related to history (Shultz 1994:123). In addition it can be seen as a new expression of Catalan identity which, within the local context, signals new forms of integration based on difference (Bilu 1991:67). Andalusian festive ethnicity –festivals, fairs, and all kinds of public representations-- consequently plays a very important role in providing a space for the generation and recognition of a sense of a new commonality and "comunitas".

In recent research, social resistance has been viewed as a possible explanation for some of the phenomena of ethnic persistence, and ethnic identity is presented as a contested territory for people in non-hegemonic positions. Ethnicity is therefore seen as a field for collective resistance and not simply for the acceptance of domination. Leonard (1992) proposes a creative production of identity where actors are participatory agents in shaping their world and in transforming "their sense of

individual oppression into collective resistance” (Leonard 1992:217). In this sense, being Andalusian may be a reaction to hegemonic discourses and dominant actors. Both the following factors –disproportionate emphasis on ethnic boundaries or pushing too far peoples’ imaginations and idealization in creating the Catalan community-- may be helping to shape people’s need to create “their own imagined communities” (Anderson 1983, Schultz 1994, Smith 1981).

Although it is clear, as Hannerz (1974) pointed out, that attempts to progress in society may require some groups to re-examine their ethnicity, Catalonia is a case in point showing that people who occupy non-central positions in society do not always follow patterns of assimilation. The Catalan case suggests that the ethnic and linguistic experiences and practices of low-income groups are not always consistent with either assimilation or reproduction. In some areas of Metropolitan Barcelona, working-class people do not seem to be acting simply as passive agents. Instead, participants in low social status Andalusian “fiestas” appear to be active agents who select, manipulate and give new meanings to their linguistic and ethnic practices, sometimes by inventing new ways of being, sometimes by organizing values of prestige in different ways. One of the aims of this work is to explain how this appears to be happening.



### **E. Meanings of being Catalan**

Another of the main goals of this work is to contribute to the understanding of the new meanings of being Catalan for many people living in the Metropolitan area of Barcelona. My position here is that individuals perform certain actions in a highly symbolic way. Comments on this subject will be developed from two different approaches: language choice in Catalonia as a symbolic opposition from the sociolinguistic perspective (Gal 1979, Gal 1987, Gal 1993, Woolard 1985) and the 'celebration of society' as anti-structural response to hegemonic expressions from the analysis of popular culture (Manning 1983, Turner 1983, Lipsitz 1988) emerging from the fringes of Catalan society.

Firstly, as Gal (1979) suggests, each language in a bilingual community conveys some kind of symbolic force and both Spanish and Catalan are good examples of how class and authority structure the way in which languages are experienced (Urciouli 1996). Adapting Kulick's idea (1992), we need to investigate why and how people come to interpret their lives in such a way that they abandon or maintain an ethnic identity. Following Gal, what symbolic meanings have Castilian and Catalan language and identity acquired in recent times for the Castilian working-class community in Catalonia, in view of the economic and social changes that they have undergone? Could we see the Castilian-speaking working-class in Catalonia as constituting a speech community, in the sense that they give similar meanings to the same linguistic elements (Labov 1966, Gumperz 1968). In the case of both Castilian

and Catalan speakers in Catalonia, we will need to take careful note of the extent to which Catalan ethnicity is being understood by young working-class people as the more institutionalized political norm, although other forms of ethnic identity can also be seen as a positive, non-institutionalized identity of their 'own'.

In recent years, sociolinguists and sociologists have started to show interest in the new meanings of 'Catalanness' emerging from the changing social and political context of Catalonia. For the first time in many years, there are now different works concerned not so much with the 'demography of language' (who speaks what and where) corresponding to a correlational model of language use, but with an interest in the interpretation of the meanings emerging from both Catalan and Castilian<sup>6</sup>. Pujolar (1997, 2000) for example, analyzes how working class cultures affect the way young people talk. For him, Catalan is being interpreted by these young people as something which is incompatible with rough, masculine traits of their youth culture. Catalan, in contrast to Castilian, is interpreted as being 'soft' and middle class. Woolard shows that in peer groups there are some connections between friendship patterns, gender, and the use of Castilian or Catalan.

Secondly, celebrations of Andalusia are performative actions which question structure, and because of this, they become political processes. The term 'celebration' is used here to refer to those cultural expressions that "articulate and modify power

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<sup>6</sup> There is much debate between the two types of language analysis: the correlational and the interpretivist, concerning the nature of language and its relationship to context. While a correlational approach sees language as determined by the nature of context, the interpretative approach implies that the way people talk not only reflects context but constitutes it. (Giles and Couplans 1991).

relations" (Manning 1983:6). As a 'contested territory', it is a celebration of release from the constraints of the social order, thus attracting the more oppressed. Cultural celebrations challenge the hegemony of the dominant group by reversing symbols and social relations within the activity and imitating the outside world. To celebrate is to go through a process of "mundus inversus", as Manning puts it, or of liberation of structures, what Turner calls "communitas". It is in this sense that the 'rituals of ethnicity' of immigrant festive culture and organizations in Catalonia are used as celebrations of a new order whose power lies, in Conzen's words, "in their ability to quickly and efficiently condense complexity, finesse, contradiction and evoke intuitive comprehension" (1989:46).

#### Low status

Andalusian cultural organizations in Catalonia are considered to have low social prestige. In Catalan society, they occupy the symbolic space of those working-class "fiestas" where people with low incomes go to enjoy themselves. As Rodríguez indicated, already in the 1960s the Andalusian label had become a crucial category in the classification of the inferior 'other' (1993:276). As in many other societies (Berger 1960, Steinberg 1981), in Catalonia in the last 50 years the culture of the working class had been tinged by ethnic connotations that the Andalusian revival is likely to make even more visible.

One of the most striking aspects of the situation in Catalonia is precisely how some cultural expressions (Andalusian being the most visible) and some forms of language (the Andalusian Spanish accent for example) have become elements indicating low-status. In the case of language, an Andalusian Spanish accent – reminiscent of the Andalusian Spanish rural accent<sup>7</sup> – identifies the way working-class people speak in Catalonia. As Pujolar states “An Andalusian accent and inner-city slang are clearly associated with uneducated working-class milieus” (Pujolar 2000: 6). Like the Brooklyn accent in New York City, middle or upper class Spanish and Catalan speakers identify the Andalusian accent as being the language of the working class. This clear separation between ‘us’ and ‘them’ helps to maintain and reproduce the social structure that benefits the power of certain groups to the detriment of others.

Cases of cultural forms of low prestige (linguistic variations, places of origin, ethnic celebrations and identities etc.) have already been used to show how people give positive meanings to concepts of community and solidarity (Labov 1966, Leonard 1992, Milroy 1987, Woolard 1985). However, these positive meanings do not work in a social void. I aim to show how issues of solidarity and social power interact and in what ways social and cultural integration are related to one another. I am interested in understanding the mechanisms people employ in order to survive when historical, political, economic and social conditions lead to complex, multifold and sometimes even contradictory systems of social power. I will therefore be examining

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<sup>7</sup> Pujolar (1997) uses the term “stylized Spanish” (“*espanyol estilitzat*”). According to him, some of the phonological traits of this accent are suppression of the ‘s’ (“*ehcuela*” instead of “*escuela*”), guttural resonance, suppression of the ‘j’ and suppression of the final ‘r’ (“*muhé*” instead of “*mujer*”).

how patterns of prestige and stigma are experienced in people's daily lives. As I will show, 'being Andalusian' is the way some people have attempted to neutralize a highly stigmatized identity.

Interpretations from the perspective of the ethnography of language are very useful in understanding how prestige and solidarity exist in juxtaposition. From this perspective, the study of low-prestige languages has shown the connection between prestige and use of a language to be problematic. Many works have attempted to deal with the following questions: why are low-prestige, stigmatized linguistic varieties in use? And why does it sometimes seem as if people actually 'choose' marginality through their linguistic practices (Kuipers 1998). The use of low-status linguistic varieties is a resource that can have different purposes in different contexts. Both issues of loyalty to a local community (however the latter is defined), and the rejection of certain values denoting prestige (maybe class, metropolitan area etc.) need to be considered when trying to explain the continuing use of vernacular languages. If we apply ideas from the perspective of the ethnography of language to the phenomena of ethnicity, we then need to ask: to what extent do low-status Andalusian cultural forms emerge as expressions of a new sense of solidarity within the community?

Thanks to the ethnographic findings, we can now identify a few elements that *mediate* language and power in such a way that prestige associated with a particular use of language does not always function as a visible value. Woolard (1989) shows how solidarity mediates between prestige and linguistic practices, contradicting certain traditional suppositions. In this work, I want to pursue the Woolard's idea (1985b) in

relation to alternative ways of thinking of linguistic capital. In trying to understand why low-prestige 'illegitimate forms of speech' survive, she argues that modern societies do not necessarily constitute value-integrated linguistic markets. Linguistic practices should not be interpreted only in terms of competition for social status. People sometimes rely on linguistic use to display solidarity with their own communities.

Solidarity in working class communities may work as an alternative capital in an alternative non-competitive market (Pujolar 2000) thus having reproductive effects on the social system. But, as I will try to show, the existence of low-prestige alternative markets does not mean that there is no connection between these and the hegemonic ones which link certain cultural patterns with social advance. In many cases, individuals' experiences are contradictory. Depending on the specific situation, these will move between solidarity and prestige, two forces frequently in conflict with each other (Gal 1987). I will be considering the extent to which the hegemonic model of ethnicity and status in Catalonia is perceived as being necessary as soon as one embarks on the route towards class mobility (Urciuoli 1996:133). Or, to what extent it is true to claim that there is a "symbolic devaluation of Catalan" (Pujolar 2000:230), in the sense that the relationship between prestige and language is becoming diffused due to the lack of obvious advantages in adopting a particular language or identity.

## **F. Politics of ethnicity**

In order to study the organization of Andalusian cultural forms in all their complexity, it is also vital to consider relevant political aspects. The Andalusian "ethnic encounter in the polity" (Ben-Rafael 1982) is a key aspect which needs to be analysed. The perspective taken in this work is that even in cases where ethnicity seems to be missing from politics, such as might be the case of Catalonia, the ethnic resource is a very useful tool. The politics of Andalusianess provide a rich framework within which to analyze ways in which ethnicity and politics come together in hidden, unrecognized ways. As Herzog (1988) suggested, in the case of Israel, the failure of some kind of ethnic organization of politics --such as ethnic lists or ethnic parties-- does not necessarily mean that ethnicity does not have a role to play in politics. There are certain subtle forms of co-optation, clientelism, electoralism and even political socialization that undoubtedly function with the help of ethnic politics and the Catalan case is a good example of this.

Throughout this work, I refer to different aspects of the social life and culture of working class people in Tres Barrios, an invented name for a working class area in the Metropolitan area of Barcelona. I would like to be able to contribute to a more realistic vision and understanding of working class life, in which heterogeneity and internal conflict have a vitally important role to play.

### G. Some notes on research and methodology

This study is the result of two years (1995-1996) of observation and analysis of a reality which had been geographically close to me all through my life, but which I had never seen or experienced personally. For this reason in 1993, when my dissertation advisor pointed out to me the sociological interest of the Andalusian revival, I felt completely ignorant; a person born in Spain who knew nothing about this supposed revival, and who had never even been to the Feria (which my advisor had already visited!). I believe that without the distance and perspective acquired as a result of studying at a university in a foreign country, I would have never been able to choose this subject for my research, the main focus of which is the process of the formation of identity in Catalonia.

Nevertheless, I had to distance myself from the Catalan reality in order to recognize that one of the most challenging movements within the society that I wanted to know better (my own), was something about which I only had anecdotal information. It was a subject about which I was hardly able to say anything at all at that time and, very importantly, it was considered to be a devalued, outdated, and non-politically correct area of research. In Catalan society, choosing the Andalusian revival as an area of study not only led to reactions of surprise but also of suspicion. Although this was not always the case, throughout my two years of fieldwork, I experienced a number of situations in which some people showed me that they dislike my topic of research (with sentences such as "this is not an issue anymore" referring to



the "issue" of immigration) which inevitably made me reconsider the "appropriateness" of my subject and, also the difficulties and implications this would have both during and after the research period. Trying to deal with this situation, not getting caught in the midst of ideological battles, and always aiming to maintain the necessary balance between social research and political ideology were some of the major difficulties I encountered in the process of developing the work presented here.

This study combines a different number of sources of information which lead to the reconstruction of the "original picture". My fieldwork focused on the community of people experiencing Andalusian cultural forms in Tres Barrios. I used Tres Barrios, an area considered by many people in the Metropolitan Area as being one the most Andalusian, as my major source of information. With its own particularities, this neighborhood is no doubt typical of many other contexts of immigration in Catalonia. Tres Barrios is an invented name for an extensive area (of more than 80,000 habitants) of the city of l'Hospitalet de Llobregat (referred to in this study as 'Hospitalet'). The decision to define Tres Barrios as my area of research was based on the great similarity between the three areas and the perception of its inhabitants that they were all living in the same place. It is not my intention to argue that the people with whom I worked closely are representative of the whole population of Catalonia which emerged as a direct or indirect result of the immigration of the 50s and 60s. However, I believe that the processes undergone by a large section of the immigrant working class are very similar (if not identical) to the ones that I will discuss in this chapter. I also argue that "being Andalusian" is just one possible result

of these processes, but one that provides us with a good picture of the life experiences of many people in Catalonia.

In addition, Tres Barrios was selected for another important reason. I believe that the local context is vital for the analysis of processes of identity, as I understand them. Working at the local level enables us to understand the role that our immediate life and surroundings play in the definition of who are we and in processes of the formation of identity in general. However, this study was not limited by local boundaries. At some moments, it was necessary to look at other social contexts in order to find an answer to some of my questions. For example, I interviewed some of the most important representatives of the Andalusian movement within the Catalan community, as well as some political figures from outside Tres Barrios.

As a general framework, I used the existing literature on this topic and some demographic data from official sources. On two different occasions, I handed out questionnaires in order to obtain information that would help me to get a more complete picture: first at the Semana Andaluza (91 people); the second time during a journey on a short bus trip made by young people in Andalusian organizations (29 young people). I also organized some preliminary interviews with both experts and non-experts and I interviewed many people in Tres Barrios, both from within and from outside the Andalusian world. I also attended the fiestas and celebrations that were organized in and outside the area by the people of Tres Barrios ( the Feria, the Rocío, Semana Santa, the Semana Andaluza). During the years I did my fieldwork, I spent many days each week in Tres Barrios. Every day there was something different

happening. On occasions, I simply sat in the bar of the Centro (a place in Tres Barrios where 'active' Andalusians meet almost every day), a very noisy, smoky little bar where young and older people frequently go in the evening on their way home.

My informants were a central element of this work. I used a group of young people (4 girls and 3 boys) who were very active in the Andalusian movement of Tres Barrios, as the most important source of high quality information. Jose, Millán, Jordy, Emi, Blanca, Bea, and Camila allowed me to accompany them at different moments of their lives and I was thus able to experience an extremely valuable reality since I lived so many different moments and different situations with them. Because many of these encounters were unplanned, with no previous design or structure, I feel able to generalize that the social world that I saw with my young informants is very similar to many other worlds of young working class people in Catalonia. After meeting very often over a period of some months, and with the aim of not influencing our mutual perceptions, I asked each of them if I could interview them. Thanks to my informants, I was also able to meet many other people from Tres Barrios. I talked to more than 60 people, including those responsible for the Andalusian organizations of Tres Barrios and some participants, at times actually interviewing them, at other times just sharing their moments of leisure with them.

During the years of my research, I shared some parts of my own life with this group of young people. They got to know some members of my family, they came to visit me at my summer home, and they were always aware of my trips to California. We also shared secrets and good and bad times and I developed friendships with some

of the group which continued until very recently. Nevertheless, I am conscious that there were always some moments at which it was perhaps obvious that I was not "one of them". I believe that these close relationships gave me a unique opportunity to observe how subtle and multi-layered issues of identity and power are lived in everyday lives.

Through all these people, I got to know the Andalusian cultural organizations. My approach was multiple. On one hand, I observed different moments of the fiesta. I went to the places where they met; I went to their homes; I spent days with them during the Rocío. However, when audio registering was not recommended for methodological reasons, I made notes in my ethnographic notebook, recording the words that I had just heard. I filled eight of these notebooks, usually coming home, at night, on the subway.

Sociocultural contextual structures are necessary at each "moment-to-moment sequential organization of talk" in order to make inferences (Cicourel 1991:64). The study of discourse will refer to the larger and local contexts in which words are pronounced, and in which conversation gains meaning.

In the two year period during which I pursued my research, my own experience (and presentation of self) as a Catalan woman with an immigrant mother and Catalan father, emerged as a useful resource in order to capture the reality of people moving between different identities. Having an "immigrant" mother from the southeastern part of Spain made it easier for my newly acquired friends to relate to me as I simultaneously rediscovered some of my own dilemmas of identity.

Finally, the analysis and results of this dissertation are limited by the time period during which my fieldwork and immediate work was carried out. (1995-1997). Thus, more recent political changes at the State level — the arrival of the conservative Popular Party in 1998 — and the possible consequences of this, are not taken into account.

## **Chapter II: Immigration and culture in Catalonia**

Very often, researchers find it difficult to deal with the organization of those materials of a dissertation –or any kind of research work-- which do not constitute central elements of the research, even though they are relevant to the information they want to interpret. This chapter has precisely this purpose: to consider some important aspects of the general context which need to be explained before getting to the other chapters of this work.

This is therefore a somewhat descriptive chapter which is organized into three parts: i) the characteristics of immigration in Catalonia and the value of immigration in that society ii) a description of the area of Tres Barrios, the chosen setting for this study and iii) a description of some of the most important elements of the emergence of Andalusian cultural in Catalonia, including an examination of the reorganization period and the most important personalities and activities, and finally, some notes on culture.

## A. Immigration to Catalonia

Sin un sólo llanto salí de mi casa  
oliendo a alhucema y a la blanca cal  
en busca del aire que allí me faltaba  
y al verme tan lejos me puse a llorar  
Popular song

En aquellos años sesenta, la ciudad {de BCN} estaba  
siendo cubierta por el espeso aluvión del río gris, hosco,  
miserable, de la inmigración (...)  
(Félix de Azúa, El País, 6/29/1996)

Between 1950 and 1975, 1.4 million people arrived in Catalonia from other regions of Spain. During this period, this movement generated the most important increase in population in the whole of Europe (Recolons 1987). As shown in Table 2/1, the demographic increase was due almost entirely to immigration.

Table 2/1:

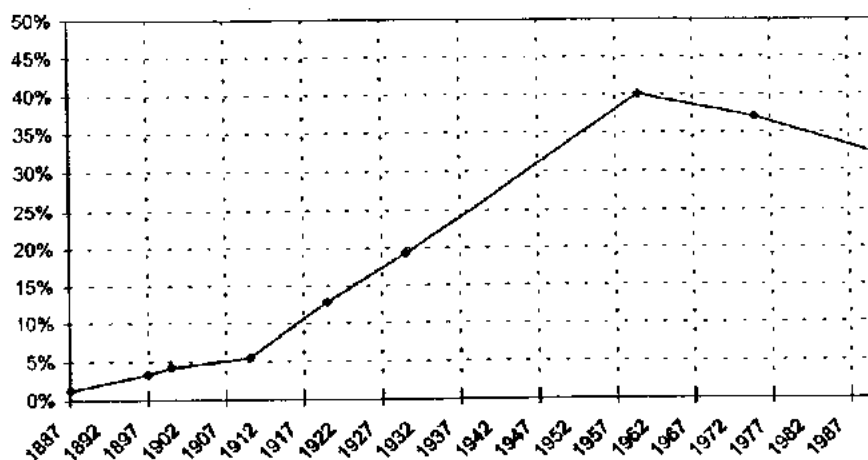
Aspects of Population growth in Catalonia (1901-1990)				
Years	Total	Growth	Difference	Migration
1901-05	58.160	42.564	15.596	27%
1906-10	60.326	42.253	18.073	30%
1911-15	55.181	33.489	21.692	39%
1916-20	204.670	2.062	202.608	99%
1921-25	166.922	59.569	107.353	64%
1926-30	279.651	64.925	214.726	77%
1931-35	99.062	49.177	49.885	50%
1936-40	620	-59.310	59.938	9667%
1941-45	182.280	21.406	160.874	88%
1946-50	167.059	71.215	95.844	57%
1951-55	293.871	93.994	199.877	68%
1956-60	391.595	151.598	239.997	61%
1961-65	567.628	213.466	354.162	62%
1966-70	629.160	262.880	366.280	58%
1971-75	640.224	308.393	231.831	36%
1976-80	297.554	262.182	35.372	12%
1981-85	22.224	117.364	-95.140	-428%
1986-90	80.856	45.834	35.022	43%

Source: Pujadas 1982

The population of Catalonia in 1950 was 3,240,000. In 1975 Catalonia had 5,660,000 registered inhabitants, the 1960s being the period of most significant growth. By 1975, 38% of the population living in Catalonia had been born outside Catalonia (see graph 2.1). By the end of the 60s, immigrants accounted for 50% or more of the population of several conurbations in the area of Greater Barcelona (Balfour 1989). This represents one of the highest percentages of inhabitants born outside their place of residence ever to have existed in contemporary world history (Recolons 1987).

Chart 2/1:

**Evolution of residents of Catalonia born outside (1887-1987)**



Source: Census 1887-1987



The history of immigration to Catalonia is not new. The phenomenon of migration has been intrinsic to Catalonia throughout its history. The great differences in the migratory processes of the second part of the twentieth century are in inclination and intensity. Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Alanis, Visigoths, Arabs, Gypsies, and Jews, among others, have all left their mark on Catalonia. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the large numbers of French and Occitanians in Catalonia led to confrontations between immigrants and Catalans.

From the 18th century to the mid-19th century there was huge demographic growth, complemented by seasonal migration within Catalonia, as well as male emigration, towards the end of the 18th century, to other parts of the Iberian Peninsula and America (Vila 1984).

Once the 19<sup>th</sup> century had begun, with the first industrial revolution in Catalonia, the immigration phenomenon entered a distinct phase. The loss of the Spanish colonies in America (1811-1821) forced the "excess population who habitually emigrated to the New World to look for other possible destinations, and Catalonia would be one of them" (Vila 1984: 62). Incipient Catalan capitalism was able to take advantage of a cheap labor force that was ready to work night and day. The construction of the first railroad infrastructure in Catalonia was one of the main areas where immigrants' participation was vital. In the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was a large wave of Catalan emigration to America (Cuba and Puerto Rico), as well as to Europe, as a result of the economic crisis that affected Catalonia (Vandellós 1935). Records also show that some Catalan textile traders settled, with their families,

in other parts of the Spanish territory in order to create networks for the sale of their products. The Universal Exhibition of Barcelona in 1888 raised hopes for job possibilities. The Barcelona area was converted into an area which was attractive for thousands of people who arrived from other parts of Catalonia and Spain (Vila 1984).

The years of the First World War and the post-war period were a time of great economic development for Catalonia. Since the allied nations needed staple products, those countries that had stayed outside the war, especially areas with a barely developed industrial network, enjoyed years of wealth and productivity. Between the years of 1921 and 1930, during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, there was a great wave of immigration to Catalonia, the likes of which had never been seen before. Besides working in industry - in very precarious and unsafe work conditions - laborers were also needed for public works (the construction of Barcelona's subway system for example) and in mining. In the 30s, more than a quarter of Barcelona's population had come from other places in Spain (Termes 1983). The majority were from Valencia, Murcia, and Eastern Andalusia (the province of Almeria). Some immigrants returned to their hometowns a few years later (Raya 1988), while others were joined by their families once they found work (Vila 1984). In some cases, they were returned to their place of origin by police controls waiting for them at the Barcelona train station. Due to the technological advances in rural agriculture emigration within Catalonia was also common during these decades, usually going from the country to the cities.

Barcelona became the principal destination of these immigrants. During the early years, while the first urban concentrations of immigrants appeared in the Barcelona area, the immigrant's hometowns were left all but empty. Their urban settlements were segregated, with authentic "immigrant concentrations of shanty towns" (Sentis 1994). Furthermore, this concentration led to situations like the one described by Candel (1964). He notes a sign in a Barcelona neighborhood that said: 'Murcia starts here' in reference to the enormous concentration of people from the southern region of Spain in that area.

The immigration movements to Catalonia in the second part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century responded to economic factors during the years of industrialization that 'pushed' people living in poor areas of the world from rural into industrialized areas. Earlier in Europe, and in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Spain, the flow of cheap labor went from the poor South to the industrialized areas that were traditionally in the North. This model worked at the intra-European level and was reproduced within some of the Southern European states.

In Italy, Portugal, and Spain, for geographical as well as for political and social reasons, the North and the South were growing at very different economic rhythms. In Spain, there was an acute split between a rich, industrial North and a poor, rural South. By 1972, as we see in Table 2.2, the income per capita in the northern regions (Basque Country and Catalonia) represents double the income in the Southern regions (Castille, Murcia, Andalusia, and Extremadura). With some exceptions (such as the

Northwestern region of Galicia), the pattern of a rich North versus a poor South was consolidated.

Table 2/2:

Incomes-Spanish		Income per
Region		
Basque Country & Navarra		46.345
Catalonia		40.102
Castille		27.964
Murcia		22.281
Galicia		21.537
Andalusia		19.427
Extremadura		16.475

Note: 1 US\$ = 56 pesetas

Source: Annual statistical Report 1972-1973

The socioeconomic split between more and less developed regions of Spain has led to a high level of residential mobility in terms of people living in a different place from the one where they were born. Economic and social progress has been possible thanks to internal population movements. Today, while those regions of Spain with a higher level of economic development contain high percentages of non-native population (according to some recent analysis, 1 in every 5 residents of the provinces of Madrid and Barcelona were born outside the provinces), poorer areas consist totally of the native population.

In the 1960's, many immigrants from the poor South emigrated to the rich European North: Germany, France, Switzerland, and Belgium. Others left for other

continents, the American continent being the one attracting most Spaniards. Many of them however, seeing that there were job opportunities within Spain itself, decided to try first in the richer Northern regions of Spain (Basque Country, Madrid, and Catalonia), which also meant not having to cross state borders. On some occasions, staying in Catalonia or in the Basque Country were only gradual steps on the route to more distant emigration. In other cases, Catalonia and the Basque Country were simply a way to return 'home' from a foreign European country. At this time, Catalonia was undergoing a period of high economic development, especially in the industrial sector. The Stabilization Plan of 1959 had triggered the period of the opening of the Spanish economy to the rest of the world. This decree introduced a series of measures to purge the less productive sectors of economy and ended the restrictions that had banned free trade between Spain and the rest of the Western world during the years of Spanish autocracy. (Balfour 1989:39).

Table 2/3:

Population by origins (1955-1994)					
Catalonia	Catalonia	2.932.557	3.177.710	4.089.710	4.165.361
	Hospitalet	52.248	145.247	148.013	146.013
	Tres Barrios	12.087	12.013	42.563	41.648
Andalusia	Catalonia	396.504	840.093	861.787	810.483
	Hospitalet	13.694	69.795	53.095	49.190
	Tres Barrios	7.150	19.625	21.937	20.250
Rest of Spain	Catalonia	596.718	1.023.921	1.005.971	-
	Hospitalet	17.762	81.187	57.196	53.182
	Tres Barrios	5.291	24.619	23.099	21.897
Total	Catalonia	3.925.779	5.041.724	5.957.468	-
	Hospitalet	83.704	296.229	258.304	248.385
	Tres Barrios	24.528	56.257	87.599	83.795
Catalonia	Catalonia	75%	63%	69%	-
	Hospitalet	62%	49%	57%	59%
	Tres Barrios	49%	21%	49%	50%
Andalusia	Catalonia	10%	17%	14%	--
	Hospitalet	16%	24%	21%	20%
	Tres Barrios	29%	35%	25%	24%
Rest of Spain	Catalonia	15%	20%	17%	--
	Hospitalet	21%	27%	22%	21%
	Tres Barrios	22%	44%	26%	26%

Source: Official Censuses 1955, 1975, 1991, 1994

Andalusia, a vast Southern region of Spain, contributed more than 860,000 inhabitants (11% of the current Catalan population) to the development of contemporary Catalonia. In the Barcelona Metropolitan Area (which accounted for 68% of the total population of Catalonia in 1986) people who emigrated from Andalusia represented 16% of the total population. Compared to other regional origins, Andalusia has represented the most important source of new population for Catalonia.

In recent years, some people have returned to Andalusia and their number increased during the economic crisis from 1979 to 1985. In 1984, the largest number: 4,632, returned (Institut Català d'Estadística) and in many cases, money from redundancy payments was used to start a new life in Andalusia. In the 90's, this phenomenon was almost non-existent.

Economic incentives, as well as a lack of future expectations, stimulated the Andalusian exodus of the 1950s. Poverty and hunger were present in a society based on a semi-feudal model. The land was owned by a tiny minority, for whom a huge majority worked, in extremely precarious conditions, for almost nothing (Botey 1986). Those who emigrated were generally very young (between 10 and 30 years old) and already knew someone who lived in Catalonia<sup>8</sup>. Andalusian emigration worked in networks, which produced strong connections between territories. Andalusians who arrived in Catalonia were generally unskilled workers who occupied positions of low-status (both in industrial and service economies) and were concentrated in working class neighborhoods with very poor urban planning. As the following table shows, there was a correlation between people's educational level and their cultural origins.

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<sup>8</sup>. There are significant differences between emigration from Eastern and Western Andalusia. In East Andalusia, massive waves of young emigration affected whole families and even entire villages, which were left abandoned. Andalusians from provinces in the West, not so young as the first group, had developed a greater political awareness of social justice (Recaño 1995). This study points out different waves of emigration in relation to the size of the place of origin.

Table 2/4:

Educational level according to origins (1973)		
Education	Catalans	Non- Catalans
High	12%	3%
Average	15%	7%
Low	73%	90%
Total	100%	100%

Source: Pinilla de las Heras, 1973

In the same way, the following table shows that the immigrants' social class was directly linked to their place of origin. In other words, it can be said that the social structure generated by immigration was based on a high degree of ethnic ranking.

Table 2/5:

Socio-economic category according to geographical origins of families (1986)					
Socio-economic category	All from outside Catalonia	All Catalans	Mixed marriages	Rest	Total
High	14%	26%	19%	13%	19%
Middle	24%	46%	43%	29%	38%
Low	60%	27%	38%	57%	42%
Unclassified	2%	0%	1%	2%	1%
Total	208	907	585	876	2.577

Source: Metropolitan Survey, Barcelona 1986

### The value of immigration

During the last century, immigration has been considered as something exogenous to the Catalan character. The perception of immigration as 'external' implies an interpretation of Catalonia as a social reality that has its own personality



(culture, language, social traits, etc.) which immigrants, by their mere presence, alter and to a certain degree, endanger. Thus, instead of the emergence of positive values of diffusion such as difference and pluralism, elements of inclusion such as homogeneity, social consensus, assimilation and integration have been predominant. Although reactions to immigration have changed at different times, the interpretation of immigration as an exogenous factor has always remained, even during the years when many Catalans themselves had to leave Catalonia for political or economic reasons.

During the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century we can find many different references to immigration as a social threat. Political debates on 'the immigrant problem' occupied a central role in Catalan politics in the period before the Civil War (1936-1939). During the 30s, the prevalent attitude towards immigrants was one of rejection. Immigrants were accused of creating all the social problems of the moment, including poverty, unemployment and the lack of social services (Sentis 1994). They were also accused of importing ideas of revolution, radicalism and anarchy to peaceful Catalonia and there was a general assumption that immigrants were enemies of Catalonia who opposed anything Catalan (language, customs, and political ideas).

There is also some evidence of nativist tendencies during these years. As Raya (1988) showed, pamphlets encouraging Catalan men not to contaminate the Catalan 'race' by marrying Castilian women were distributed in university circles. The publication in 1935 of Vandellós's book "Catalunya, poble decadent" (Catalonia, a decadent nation) introduced a new risk factor. His main concern was that the Catalan nation might eventually have too many immigrants –more outsiders and descendents

of outsiders than Catalans-- and, as a result, Catalonia might, in the future, lose its national character. Since Vandellós, this 'demographic concern' has surfaced at different moments in debates about immigration in Catalonia. Assimilation was proposed as the "natural tendency" (Termes 1983:151) for immigrants. The idea of a high potential level of assimilation within Catalonia appeared then and has been used for many years since. However, open Catalanness and the attempt to become Catalan may cause difficulties when it refers to certain subliminal aspects of Catalanness that cannot be either learnt or adopted, as Vandellós stated in 1935:

We have all been able to observe how they, people who have lived in Catalonia for a long time, and were maybe even born and educated here and speak our language perfectly, act in a somewhat discordant manner at crucial moments of their lives. These actions lead us to doubt their Catalanness. Later after studying this behavior more closely, our first instinctive impressions have been confirmed (1985:136).

After the second wave of immigration, under Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975), anti-Franco resistance unified Catalans and non-Catalans and blurred part of the idea of immigration as a political problem. For many workers, fighting for Catalonia also meant fighting for democracy. (Provansal 1994). The clandestine Catalan communist party (PSUC) played a decisive role in helping working class interests to coincide with nationalist ideas. Communists bridged the existing gaps between Catalans and immigrants among the workers (Balfour 1989:104). In addition, no contradictions existed between the nationalist and existing working-class consciousness in new industrial suburbs in cities like Barcelona (Logan 1978).

Since the new age of a democratic Catalonia, the immigrant component has not been openly questioned any more. The definition of Catalonia as a "terra de pas" (halfway house/ country en route) or as a 'land of immigrants' changed the old vision of a place where immigrants were unwelcome. The dominant, more inclusive expression: 'other Catalans'<sup>9</sup> referring to immigrants, implied a change in relation to the highly stigmatized term "xamegos" generally in use at that time. To a large extent, the fact that during these years the percentage of the population born outside Catalonia reached its highest point was the main cause of the important changes in the way immigration had to be treated. Having to juggle with a reality in which the role of immigration was increasingly important, and their incapacity to control it in political terms, Catalan politicians and intelligentsia realized that treating immigration as an external factor could not benefit them at all. In that period, many Catalans had contradictory feelings about immigrants, feeling close to but at the same time, separate from them. The following words of a left wing politician pointed out that contradiction:

While we were being forbidden to speak our own language, thousands and thousands of workers, forced to leave their homelands through poverty and exploitation and also victims of the dictatorship, arrived in Catalonia speaking Castilian. For us, it was very confusing. On one hand, from the point of view of freedom, solidarity and people's rights, we were on the same side but from the point of view of language, we were on opposite sides (J.S.Tura, *El País*, 5/16/1997).

Since 1975, in the period of the reconstruction of the Catalan nation, after forty

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<sup>9</sup> One of the most influential works on immigration was "Els altres Catalans" ("The other Catalans") an essay published in 1964 by Candel, which became a best seller. For the first time, those not born in Catalonia were included in the category: Catalans, albeit different kinds of Catalan.

years during which Catalan institutions, language and culture had been either abolished or prohibited, immigration has become accepted as part of a Catalan reality which nobody questions. Politically speaking, Catalan nationalism could not ignore the fact that by 1975 half of the population of Catalonia was of immigrant origin. During the 70s and 80s although immigration was a central concern for many Catalan academics and politicians<sup>10</sup>, they tried to find models of coexistence that assured social consensus and Catalan survival and avoided "denationalization" (Colomer 1997). In that sense, modern Catalan nationalism cannot be understood without the influence of immigration (Marsal 1987, Colomer 1997, Johnston 1991).

Sceptical, pathological views on immigration were still present however. While some works talked about the need for immigrants to receive psychological help (Tizón 1984), others continued to insist on the negative aspects of immigration for Catalonia. By 1981, some Catalan Independence groups expressed their discontent with the fact that a large number of people living in Catalonia had not born there and were 'stealing' their jobs. In 1982 there was an organized campaign "Fora Xarnegos" (Immigrants born outside Catalans, get out of here!) which highlighted the possible distance between the two communities. Finally, the theory that immigration was a conscious, explicit strategy employed by Franco to destroy the Catalan 'problem' can be found in recent works (Balcells 1992, Calzada & Llorens 1995).

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<sup>10</sup>. In the 70s and 80s, many books and articles were written and many conferences and seminars organized, about the issue of immigration (for more details and bibliography see Colomer 1997:199-215). After two very productive decades, the analysis and discussion of immigration ended. In the 90s, immigration disappeared from the agenda of the Catalan intelligentsia. I remember that when I was doing my preliminary interviews in 1993, many people were surprised at my decision to focus on that topic. A nationalist politician of immigrant origin told me: "Immigration is not an issue any more".

Although public demonstrations against immigration have disappeared from the Catalan arena, I argue that the subject of immigration has retained part of the exogenous values it had in the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. First, as some ethnographic studies have shown in the last decade, massive immigration into Catalonia in the 50s and 60s still has great significance in social relations in present day Catalonia (Pujolar 1997, Woolard 1989). While in public the distinction between immigrants and native-born Catalans has decreased and has even become politically incorrect, in the private sphere the concept of being 'in' or 'out' of an authentic Catalan ethos remain alive and are "maintained off the record" (Pujolar 1995:144).

Second, the exogenous value of immigration is also found in the idea of integration that has dominated Catalan ethnic relations since the 70s. Underlying the concept of integration is the belief that immigration may signify a risk for Catalan culture and an obstacle for the reconstruction of Catalonia. The only way to overcome these problems is through a strategy of mutual 'rapprochement': the will to integrate pluralism within the new Catalan nation --as a famous Nationalist ideologue stated: "our national personality is born from the inclusion of everybody"-- and the taking on board of some Catalan values by immigrants. Instead of emphasizing difference, the main issues in Catalonia are the building of 'one people' ("un sol poble"), the coexistence of all Catalans, and social consensus. The four-yearly autonomous elections are a great time to note how those issues still emerge in Catalan politics. Although the so-called 'Catalan model' of host-immigrant relations is defined in terms

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Little by little, foreign immigration was replacing internal immigration as a topic of general interest.

of homogeneity within a plural society, that model has placed much greater emphasis on those elements of necessary agreement than the contributions of pluralism to Catalan society.

The Catalan idea of integration implies two main elements. On one hand, integration is used in a very abstract sense to point out that immigrants should accept and adopt the 'way of being Catalan' that existed in Catalonia long before they arrived. Integration implies an attitude towards Catalonia and an acceptance of collective values. It consists of developing an identity, loyalty, and love for Catalonia and it implies a respect for the principles of Catalan distinctiveness. The expression 'she feels very Catalan' contains all these different elements of integration.

On the other hand, the use of the Catalan language is seen as equivalent to integration, as shown by the following words of Pujol:

(...) it is absolutely necessary to reach a point where everyone in Catalonia can speak, understand, read and write Catalan correctly, in order to acquire a single consciousness of being a Catalan people (Pujol 1980:222).

Since the role of language in the definition of being Catalan is crucial, it is language in particular which can be seen as evidence of integration in Catalan society. It is often claimed that language plays an *essential* role in Catalan nationalism (Cruells 1965, Pujol 1976). As has been pointed out "the fact of speaking Catalan turns an immigrant, socially, into a Catalan, no matter what his/her origin is" (Termes 1983).

The arrival of massive waves of Spanish speakers was interpreted as an element of risk for the survival of Catalonia and assertions of the danger of Catalonia

becoming non-Catalan are invariably centered on the issue of language. To know whether or not immigrants are speaking Catalan is considered a key element in knowing the level of integration or 'culturisation' of immigrants in Catalonia (Esteva 1974). Many surveys have focused on 'linguistic integration' as if, by looking at the different uses of language, they would be able to 'measure' the stage of Catalan integration reached (Badia 1969, Strubell 1981). Questions about the level of competence of language in relation to origin are frequently found in official surveys.

Integration has implied the prevalence of cultural rather than social factors, and this is openly accepted. It was affirmed by the President of the Generalitat Jordi Pujol in one of his early speeches on a topic to which he continues to devote much attention. Nationalist ideologues' commitment to the issue of immigration proves that immigration and nationalism do, undoubtedly, go hand by hand in Catalonia (Colomer 1984).

## **B. Tres Barrios**

Minister: How many inhabitants does Hospitalet have?

Mayor: Well over 100,000

Minister: (Surprised) I hadn't imagined it to be that many. And where, exactly is the town situated?

(A large map of Europe is brought out, hung on the wall and someone points at it.)

Mayor: Here it is, just beside Barcelona

Everybody looks but.....Hospitalet doesn't appear on the map!

Conversation between the Mayor of Hospitalet and the Minister of Public Works. (Vilagrassa 1960:5).

The first time I had to go to Hospitalet I was really scared about the long journey I would have to undertake to get there from Barcelona  
(Vila-Matas, El País 5/5/1997)

The city of Hospitalet, which has the second largest number of inhabitants in Catalonia, (250,493 in 1998) is separated from Barcelona by just one street. However, as demonstrated by the above quotes, many people know very little about it. This lack of knowledge is characteristic of the relationship between the dominant areas of Catalonia and its surroundings. In contrast to its relations with Barcelona, the administrative center has shown little interest in these peripheral areas and the city of Hospitalet and Three Barrios are a good example of this. Three Barrios has emerged as one of most uncontrolled, least planned of all the urban and social neighborhoods in the Metropolitan outskirts of Barcelona. As a result of the lack of any infrastructure, the inhabitants have had to improvise ways to live and to survive. For many years, Hospitalet, like most of the rest Catalonia



has suffered great changes as a result of massive immigration, precarious ownership of the land and the lack of the most basic living conditions.

Before 1955, Three Barrios was an area which was almost empty except for a cemetery, some workshops making earthenware goods, small groups of simple houses, a couple of large houses and open fields used for dry farming. Ceramic factories developed there, taking advantage of the chalky soil, horses and carts were used for transport and there were very few cars (Hospitalet Town Hall 1983).

Although a few populated areas linked to the ceramic factories already existed by about 1925, there were probably less than 100 people living in Three Barrios at that time. Moreover, due to the administrative organization existing at that time, exact information regarding the number of inhabitants did not become available until well into the 1960s.

In 1955, the population was said to be 24,000. Twenty years later it had doubled. When we try to evaluate information related to population, we need to remember, however, that many people did not appear on the municipal censor until it became absolutely necessary for this to happen for different reasons (work, administration purposes etc). Some studies suggest that approximately 60% of the residents of Three Barrios were not officially registered in any way (Pascual 1968).

The population densities of Hospitalet increased very rapidly: in 1950, with approximately 70,000 inhabitants, the average density was 5,580 inhabitants per square meter. Twenty years later, the population had increased to 246,497 and the density was 19,720 inhabitants per square meter, thus transforming the area into the

most densely populated of the whole of Spain. Three Barrios immediately became one of the most densely populated neighborhoods of the city itself.

Table 2/6:

Population	(1950- 1994)					
Density (h/km <sup>2</sup> )	1950	1960	1970	1981	1991	1994
Catalonia	101	123	160	187	190	191*
L'Hospitalet	3.192	5.580	19.720	23.676	21.806	21.000
Tres Barrios	--	19.219	52.964	54.262	49.139	46.727

Source: Official Censor 1995

In its origins, the structure of the population of Hospitalet is typical of any city which emerges as the result of the settlement of a large immigrant population. In 1930, 32% of the population of Catalonia, including the city of Hospitalet, had been born there. In 1965, after the highest point in this wave of immigrants had been reached, only 21% of the inhabitants of Hospitalet had actually been born there. This represented the lowest level of autochthonous population which has ever existed there. In the 1980s, as a result of the birth of a second generation, those born in Catalonia had risen to more than 50% of the total population. The second generations had arrived in force!

The first Andalusians officially registered in Hospitalet in 1930 all came from the same province: Almeria. In 1965, 5.6% of the Andalusian inhabitants of Hospitalet (approximately 23% of the total) came from the province of Cordoba. A survey carried out in Tres Barrios in 1973 showed that about 40% of the total

population had been born in Andalusia and Extremadura. In the same year, from the other autonomous communities, 14% were from Castille and 5% from Valencia and Murcia. From the very beginning, a dominant characteristic of Tres Barrios was the enormous mix of people of different origins, each contributing distinctive cultural and linguistic elements. A survey carried out in 1973 (Miguélez et al. 1975) showed that a quarter of Hospitalet's new inhabitants did not come directly to Hospitalet but had previously lived in another part of the Metropolitan area. It also showed that the existence of an autochthonous Catalan population in Tres Barrios --mostly former farmers-- facilitated the first contacts of the newly arrived immigrants and it was in this way that the latter heard their first words of Catalan.

Right from the start, a key factor in the relationship between the autochthonous and the immigrant populations has been the fundamental difference regarding culture and class. While the autochthonous population has been made up of industrialists, shop keepers, farmers and office workers the immigrants have occupied the less qualified jobs in the factories, building sites and services (Pascual 1968:71). It is easy to understand why the immigrants settled in areas of Tres Barrios which were originally poor and under-privileged if we remember that the Andalusians, coming from a system of land ownership based on the latifundi, arrived here with no resources of their own. During their first years in Catalonia, the majority of new arrivals received support from the social network provided by relations and fellow-Andalusians who had arrived before them, in order to try their luck. The new arrivals' dependence on these human networks was vital, due to the

fact that institutional help is not as easily available to immigrants moving within the country itself as it is to other forms of human migration. These networks were not only crucial, as always happens, on an emotional level but also played a very practical role in helping people find places to live, jobs and other basic necessities. The involvement of the community as a whole served to intensify, even further, the importance of the family.

From 1955 onwards, the economic structure of the area changed completely and agriculture all but disappeared. Before the Civil War, more than 60% of the active population of Hospitalet had been involved in the textile and building trades but during the 1950s there was a marked growth in the metal industry. However, in contrast to other areas of Hospitalet where immigrants had also settled, there was no industry in Tres Barrios itself. Over the years Tres Barrios developed into a poor residential neighborhood with an active, working class, sociologically homogeneous population who traveled into Barcelona to work every morning. The proportion of jobs in Hospitalet rose inversely in relation to the numbers of inhabitants available for work and an intense but interdependent relation emerged between Tres Barrios and Barcelona. Tres Barrios would be deserted in the morning and crowded in the evening, with only a few workers remaining there, in the small garages (the first cars!) and the many bars and food shops.

Tres Barrios thus became an area of working- class people. 40% of the men were qualified workers; more than 30% unqualified; the rest had their own businesses or were middle class professionals. Only 12% of the women worked

outside the home (Miguélez et al. 1975). But, as emerged from my interviews, many women from Tres Barrios earned money cleaning private houses, offices and banks.

The educational level of a high percentage of the inhabitants of Tres Barrios, like most of the new Metropolitan suburbs of Barcelona, was very low due, mainly, to the fact that the immigrants had arrived with scarce resources and few educational opportunities. As a result of the precarious nature of paid work for women and the general characteristics of their work opportunities, they suffered even further in this area, with much lower educational levels than men.

One of the greatest difficulties during these years was undoubtedly housing, a problem which had developed throughout the 1940s and 50s (Pla Nacional de la Vivenda 1954 and had steadily got worse. Neither the political nor the social institutions had been prepared for the arrival of thousands of immigrants and they did not react quickly or efficiently enough to deal with the situation. Living situations dating back to the 1920s, when the first immigrants had arrived in Catalonia, now reappeared in the 1950s. One of the most common consisted of reletting a room (known as "cases de dormir" or living "de mastresa"). The new arrivals would share a living space, with access to the kitchen, with various other families one of whom would be the autochthonous tenants or the immigrants who had been there longest. Half of the population of Hospitalet are said to have lived "de mastresa" (Blasco 1992). In addition, shacks spread throughout the suburbs of Barcelona along with the rapid growth of slum areas consisting of rough, home-

made constructions: the so-called "Coreas" and/or "cases barates" (Laboratorio de Urbanismo 1976). Often these were constructed on illegal areas of land, the result of the lack of any control regarding land speculation (Miró et al. 1974:92).

The growth of the suburbs of Barcelona became a crucial issue when the latter ran out of space where cheap housing could be built. At this point, Barcelona became a 'center for the distribution of immigrants' to the under-privileged areas on the outskirts (Miró et al. 1974). During these years, land speculation and housing in general became one of the most profitable sources of income for private companies, due to the low cost of labor and materials and the even lower cost (and quality) of materials. The construction industry thus emerged as a key player in the Catalan economy thanks to the arrival of the immigrants and ironically many of the eventual inhabitants of the buildings were the very people who had labored to build them.

Table 2/7:

Living area (1975)		
Metres <sup>2</sup>	Tres Barrios	Hospitalet
< 35	1%	0%
35-50	19%	6%
51-75	43%	64%
76-85	3%	8%
86-100	2%	2%
101-150	0%	1%
>150	0%	0%

Source : Miguélez 1975

Tres Barrios is a marginal area that developed as a structured urban neighborhood as a result of two kinds of officially protected housing. There was no overall planning involved other than the need to provide accommodation for families who had previously lived in one of the many areas of shack dwellings in Barcelona. Thus, after creating roads facilitating access to Barcelona, the frenetic construction of small houses began. Tres Barrios was gradually transformed by a series of narrow streets containing two types of housing: cheap two-storey houses for individual families and blocks of apartments grouped together in one area. The intricate layout of Tres Barrios slowly emerged: one part with streets built around concentric squares; another based on a grid pattern and others that combined both these and the apartment blocks.

From 1955 to 1975, cranes and scaffolding were the most dominant, constant feature to be seen in the streets of Hospitalet. The 1,000 homes built in 1955 had risen to more than 70,000 by 1973. This represented a speed hitherto unknown in the building sector in Barcelona, which reached its highest point between 1964 and 1966. The majority of the present housing in Tres Barrios dates from this frenetic, uncontrolled period of construction, which was invariably of inferior quality. Very often the whole building was constructed --without any official permits or qualified workmen in charge-- by those who would eventually inhabit it (Ajuntament de l'Hospitalet 1983). Many had neither running water nor heating of any sort.

At this time, the first groups of apartment blocks started to be built. To begin with, these were only in the city of Barcelona but from 1965 onwards they had spread to the whole of the regional area of Barcelona (Laboratorio de Urbanismo:1976). To some extent, the demand for new housing was simply the result of the dismantling of the shack dwellings, and the need to provide accommodation for the inhabitants in the new blocks. But it also provided a strategy for solving the problem of what to do with the Barcelona shack dwellers who had been thrown out of the city area: house them in the suburbs. The general characteristics and problems of these new blocks were different from those of the shack areas but they shared a common trait: the creation of cheap housing; lack of materials and the inferior quality of the building itself. In contrast to the "Coreas" however, the groups of apartment blocks had been planned by politicians, lawyers and architects and were situated on the edge of the residential areas, which frequently made integration more difficult and accentuated the lack of communication with the urban world (Capel 1975).

Two types of blocks of apartment buildings exist in Tres Barrios: the first were completed in 1955 and consist of 816 apartments of very poor quality, with an average size of 42 square meters. Despite the original intention of constructing fully equipped living quarters, the deficiencies of these buildings were acknowledged from the very beginning. They were popularly referred to as the place where 'the shack dwellers lived' as they had been built in order to solve the urgent problem of how to eliminate such dwellings in Barcelona. (Dorel 1990;



Vilagrassa 1960) The second type were built, from 1969 onwards, beside an old area of simple houses built during the 1920s (Ayllón et al. 1992) and they too had deficient sanitary equipment and inadequate provision for the elderly.

Scaffolding has reappeared during the last ten years, but not in order to construct new or improved buildings. In Tres Barrios the enormous structural defects –the most common being “aluminosis” (the crumbling effect of sodden concrete) of many of the buildings, means that they now urgently need to be repaired. Between 1991 and 1995 for example, approximately 22% of the buildings in this area were affected by this ‘disease’ (according to information from l’Institut de la Vivienda) and the inhabitants have had to pay most of the cost of the repairs. At present, the income of the citizens of Hospitalet is lower than the average in Catalonia. In a survey of family incomes in the period from 1979 to 1987, it has been shown that Hospitalet has a level below that of the province of Barcelona and also of the whole Metropolitan area of Barcelona.

### **C. The emergence of Andalusia in Catalonia**

Bajo el cielo catalán,  
el viento imparte alegría,  
es la Feria de Abril,  
Catalunya, Andalucía.  
Pascual Serrano, poet

*Mi niña, que es catalana  
cada noche de Sant Joan  
baila, además de sardanas,  
sevillanas bien bailás.*  
Song

Andalusian culture has been present in Catalonia at least since the beginning of the 1950s, when great numbers of Andalusians started to settle in the suburbs of Barcelona. In the 1980s however, Andalusian cultural forms emerged from private, restricted arenas and were transformed into open, public expressions of mass entertainment and culture. Hundreds of organized expressions of the Andalusian character and culture flourished in Catalonia in the 1980s and 1990s.

According to Ibáñez (1999:16) the Andalusian association movement can be divided into four periods<sup>11</sup>:

- i) 1959-1968: during these years, when survival and fulfilment of primary needs were people's main concerns, the Andalusian associations provided a social welfare service.

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<sup>11</sup>. Ibáñez establishes these categories for the city of Hospitalet. I believe that such categorization is relevant to the Andalusian movement in general.

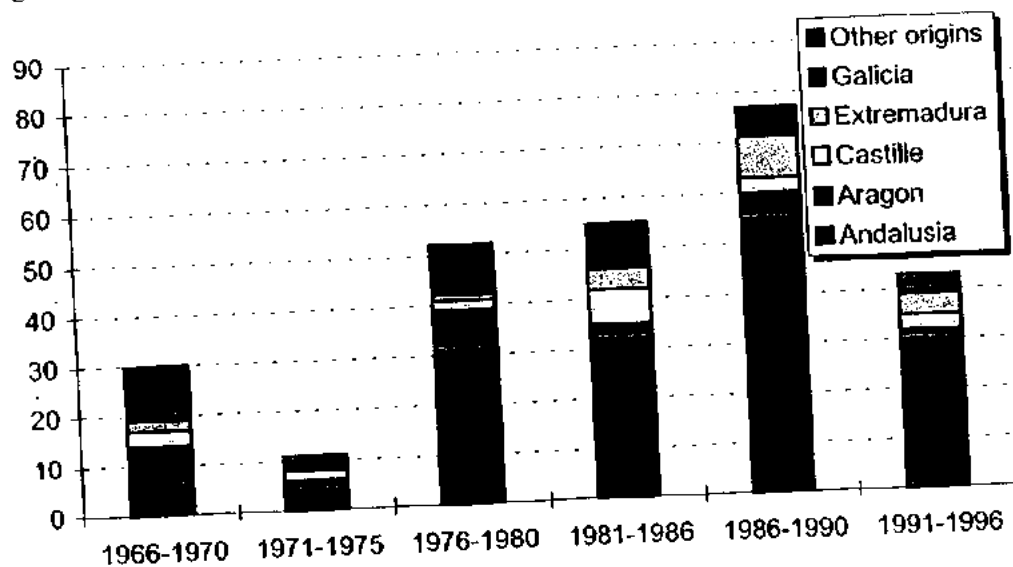
- ii) 1968-1975: the radicalization of precarious living and working conditions and the strength of the workers/citizens' social movements led to the creation of more political Andalusian associations during this period.
- iii) 1975-1985: during the years of the transition to a democracy, the Andalusian movement in Catalonia reaffirmed an Andalusian identity that was also being reconstructed in Andalusia (the Andalusia approved its Statute of Andalusian Autonomy in the year 1980).
- iv) 1985-2000: these are the years of the public exhibition of 'being different' in Catalonia.

In this section, I describe some important aspects of the Andalusian cultural reorganization and emergence in the last period, which I refer to as the boom of Andalusian culture in Catalonia.

### The boom

In the last decades, there has been an explosion of Andalusian culture in Catalonia. In order to understand what this Andalusian boom represents, however, we need to consider both quantitative and qualitative data. Although the statistics are not very precise, as will be explained later, they are useful in understanding the general framework. The following graph shows the evolution of the registration of regional associations in the public census of associations of the Generalitat of Catalonia in

1996.

Chart 2/2:**Registration of regional associations (1966-1996)**

Source: Register of cultural associations. Generalitat of Catalonia. (1996)

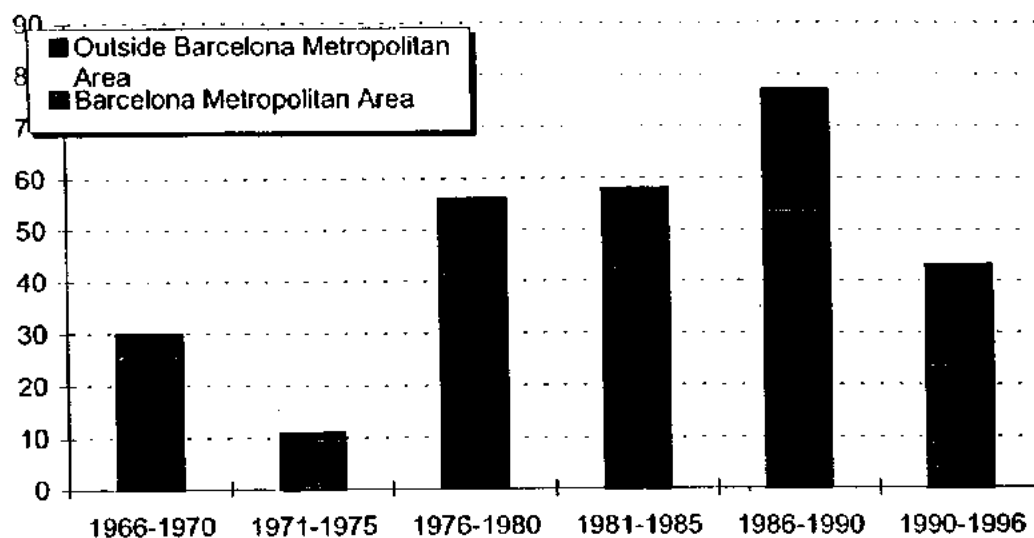
This public census presents us with three main problems. In the first place, not all the existing associations are registered. Although one of the benefits for associations of registration are the economic benefits (i.e. public financing) they can obtain, some associations that have played their part in the resurgence of Andalusian culture (bars, gymnasiums, discos, etc.) do not appear in this census. For instance, the great number of Andalusian dancing schools (so-called "sevillanas") which exist, do not appear in the register of associations. Secondly, some of these associations register years after they were originally set up. And lastly, the fact that an association is

registered does not guarantee that it will still exist several years later. As a result of all these points, the above data thus has to be seen as providing only a partial picture at specific periods of time.

Bearing in mind these limitations, this graph shows that of the 300 associations registered, half of them are Andalusian. After 1976, the percentage of Andalusian associations registered increased reaching its highest point in the period from 1986 to 1990. In the 1990s there seems to have been a decline in the number of new associations of regional character.

Chart 2/3:

## Geographical distribution of regional associations



Source: Register of cultural associations. Generalitat of Catalonia. (1996)

Regional associations are present in greater numbers in the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona, which contains almost 200 of the 300 associations. However, contrary to popular belief, these associations also play a significant role in other areas of Catalonia where immigrants are less represented. In fact, the percentage of associations which exist outside the Barcelona industrial belt has been growing and represented a larger proportion in 1996 than in 1966, when regional associations were nearly all in the Barcelona area.

The other source of available quantitative data is the register of the Junta of Andalusia (or the Autonomous Government of Andalusia). The Junta, which has an office in the center of Barcelona, keeps a list of the Andalusian associations in

Catalonia and in other parts of Spain, too. In addition to the above-mentioned problems of these kinds of registers, there is an additional problem in this case: in order to be registered in this census and to receive financial aid, the Junta requires the word Andalusia to appear in the name of the association. This requirement inevitably prevents some associations from registering.

According to the Junta of Andalusia, in the year 1996, a total of 163 associations were registered in Catalonia and according to the Head of the Junta in Catalonia the period from 1988 to 1992 was the most active. The following table shows the kind of association that appears in this register and as we see, cultural associations and regional centers have been the Junta's main "clients".

Table 2/8:

Type of association	Number
Cultural associations and regional centers	121
Peñas flamencas	21
Rocio brotherhoods	17
Others (federations, cofradía, ...)	4

Source: Census Junta of Andalusia in Catalonia (1996)

Nonetheless, there are some features of the Andalusian boom that are even more difficult to quantify. Many restaurants, discoteques, clubs, commercial malls, and amusement parks organize Andalusian shows of very different kinds --mainly offering music, dance, and food-- in order to attract customers. The Andalusian fiesta has become an attractive element of consumerism for many people in Catalonia. Many

bands and flamenco groups have emerged. Associations of Catalan and Andalusian entrepreneurs have been set up. A bi-annual congress on Andalusian-Catalan history is organized. Books, articles, and exhibitions on Andalusian topics also form part of the revival.

Finally, references to the Andalusian cultural movement in the mass media has been changing throughout these years. At the beginning of the 1980s, newspaper coverage was very poor but in the last ten years all these cultural forms have attracted the attention of journalists. Although the newspapers report on "El Rocío" and "El Día de Andalucía", the "Feria de Abril" is without doubt the Andalusian celebration which receives most attention in the media. Every year, a week before the "Feria" starts, newspaper articles about it can be found.

Magazines and newspapers dedicate space to the phenomenon not only by reporting on the most important festivities but also by discussing the problems and situation of the Andalusian community in Catalonia. As a significant example of this change in the attitude of some mass media, a lengthy report on Andalusians in Catalonia entitled: "Andalusia begins at the Pyrenees" appeared in a monthly magazine which has a Catalan nationalist bias. Thanks to the financial support given by the Junta of Andalusia, the Andalusian television channel can also be seen by many Andalusians living in Catalonia.



## Personalities and Activities

The Andalusian cultural movement is organized via many different personalities and activities. In the forthcoming chapters there will be more detailed analysis of some of these but there is a brief introduction to each in this section. They are grouped in five categories (fairs and festivals; regional centers; peñas flamencas; religious parades; other institutions) and the names of the associations of each kind to be found in Tres Barrios at the present time are given.

### a. Fairs and festivals

Andalusian fairs and festivals have become part of everyday popular culture and constitute some of the best-known expressions of Andalusian culture in Catalonia. The first fairs started in the late 60s as markets for food products from Andalusia. Among all the fairs, the “ferias de abril” (April fairs) attract most participants. Many of the neighborhoods and towns with the greatest concentrations of immigrants have reproduced “la Feria de Abril de Sevilla”, one of the most popular Andalusian festivities. Once a year in Andalusia, every town and village and even some neighborhoods in the cities organize a fair: a collective celebration which enables people from a particular place to have fun together (eating, drinking, dancing, singing) for days.

The Federación de Entidades Culturales Andaluzas en Cataluña (FECAC) has its origins here and began with the aim of gathering more people together to consolidate the business generated around food products. The first initiative of the FECAC was to organize a big Feria replacing some of the small, improvised fairs from the outerlying areas. Since 1980, the annual Feria de Abril organised by the FECAC – the site of the Feria has changed over the years-- represents the most important concentration of people at any Andalusian “fiesta”. The “feria” consists of an enclosure containing a variable number (around 60) of big stands (“casetas”) which are rented by regional associations and where people gather together for days in order to eat, drink and dance to the rhythm of the music of “sevillanas” (see photo 2, in appendix). Although it is difficult to know exactly how many people attend the Feria , despite the numbers given every year by the FECAC, the reported number of visitors increased from 1,5 million in 1982 to 2 million in 1985 and 3 million in 1986. Recently, the reported number has been 3 million. The number of visitors to the Feria is a vital part of the information about the festivity provided by the media. Every year the FECAC is accused of inflating the numbers and this leads to much controversy.

As a result of the success of the FECAC’s Feria, many small ferias are being organized in commercial malls, restaurants and discos. The word “feria” has developed its own meaning for many people in Catalonia and Andalusian festivals, offering both music and dance, are organized in many cities. Some of them coincide with February 28<sup>th</sup>, Andalusia Day, a key date in the Andalusian calendar of festivities. Year after year the celebration of this festivity is a crucial date for many people. Around February

28th, in many different parts of Catalonia, there are festivals and cultural activities that remind Andalusians of Andalusian national day. For instance, an Andalusian Cultural Week is celebrated every year in the last week of February in the city of Hospitalet. During this week, music, dancing, food festivals, religious services, conferences and cultural exhibitions are organized.

But there are other cases when festivals do not coincide with Andalusia day. This is the case of the "Festival de Sevillanas", a very well-known festival organized by a radio station specialising in Andalusian music and culture, which is extremely popular in the suburbs of Catalonia. Every year the festival brings together thousands of people who dance as they listen to the latest hit parades of Andalusian music.

#### b. Regional Centers

Other expressions of the celebration of Andalusia in Catalonia are found in the regional centers ("casas regionales") or cultural centers of different regions (for example: Andalusia, Galicia, Madrid, Murcia, Valencia, Castile, etc.), and towns and villages of the places of origin. These centers are places where people of different origins gather, eat, and drink. As I will explain later (see chapter 6) regional centers played a very significant political role during the Franco regime which found, in these cultural centers, the political instrument for inculcating the idea of a unified Spain. Although regional centers have generally lost this political function and are now

simply places for people to meet each other, they are still victims of political stigmatization.

In Tres Barrios there is one regional center: (Casa de Écija). In the city of Hospitalet, there are three more: (Casa de Huelva, Casa de Baena, Casa de Paradas).

c. “Peñas flamencas”

The “peñas flamencas” are small bars where people of Andalusian origin sing and listen to flamenco music. Flamenco music is the main social activity of the peñas although some of them, in addition to evening flamenco sessions, also organize dancing and guitar classes. These extra activities have been an attempt to solve a very important problem for the peñas: young people's lack of interest in them and, therefore, the lack of any guarantee for the future existence of these associations.

In Tres Barrios there are two peñas: Peña Flamenca Antonio Mairena and Tertulia Flamenca. In the city of Hospitalet there are two others: Peñas Flamenca Diego Clavel and Centro Cultural Blas Infante.

d. Religious parades:

Religious belief is also a very important source of collective festivity. However, as will be shown later (see chapter 5), the religious belief associated with Andalusian cultural expressions in Catalonia has combined Catholicism and laicity in a

totally new way (Muñoz 1992) which is only understood in the context of social class and the politics of Catalonia.

Typically Andalusian religious parades and processions known as “romerías” are increasing in number and participants. Among all the “romerías” –or journeys to pray to a virgin or saint-- the “romería del Rocío” is the one that has gained most importance during the last years. Although this is not one of the “romerías” with the longest tradition in Catalonia –other religious “romerías” like those of the virgins of Fuensanta, Gracia and Sierra have been here for more than 30 years—“El Rocío” has attracted so much attention in the last years that the number of “hermandades rocieras” (literally, “rociera” brother/sisterhoods) have been increasing all over Catalonia. In the Rocío in Catalonia, in contrast to the Andalusian Rocío, people walk for a day through urban-industrial landscapes (see picture 2.1). They eventually reach the stands that serve as the invented sanctuary where the Rocío Virgin is installed for the four days of Rocío celebrations. These stands are divided into a public area, where “hermanos rocieros” eat, drink and sing and a more private space reserved for sleeping.

All the “hermandades rocieras” are concentrated in Tres Barrios., The Rocieros de Carmona, Hermandad Rociera de l’Hospitalet, Hermandad Rociera Pastora Almonteña and Hermandad Rociera “El Pastorcillo Divino” all have their meeting rooms in the Claveles Center and the García Lorca Center, both public buildings provided by the City Hall for the Andalusian associations.

In the heart of Tres Barrios is the Cofradia Andaluza 15+1. This group organises the Holy Week processions which are, as I will show later, one of the most

important representations of popular religion in Catalonia. Holy Week processions have a long tradition in Catholic Spain. In Catalonia, many towns have their own processions, which basically consist of public representations of the passion and death of Christ performed in the streets (Rodríguez Becerra 1980). Andalusian style processions, different in style from Catalan ones, started in Catalonia in the 60s in the city of Barcelona. The first organized “cofradia”, the group of people that organizes the procession, was the “Cofradia de la Esperanza Macarena”.

Processions consist of different elements. They are usually led by some well-known personalities (usually religious) followed by the band and the “cofrades” (participants), wearing long cloaks. Some of them, according to Andalusian tradition, also have tall velvet hoods. The central element of the procession is the “paso”, a big, extremely heavy platform carried on the shoulders of the so-called “costaleros” (see photos 7 and 8).

e. Other institutions:

As already shown in the case of the “Feria de Abril”, the institutionalization of the Andalusian movement has had a very positive effect on its organizations and development. This is the most important role played by the FECAC, the federation of associations of different types (“peñas flamencas”, “hermandades rocieras”, cultural and regional centers,) without which the Andalusian movement in Catalonia would not have become what it is today. The FECAC was born in 1982 and, since then, has

become the most important Andalusian institution in Catalonia. Its importance lies not only in the number of associations it gathers together (approximately 150) but also in the political role it plays (see chapter 6). The president of the FECAC is a well-known figure in Catalan political life and he is usually called on to give his opinion at meetings where issues of ethnic relations (especially language issues) are discussed. The FECAC organizes other festivities such as the "Rocío" and gives support (organizing seminars, giving information, etc.) to the associations that are members, encouraging the setting up of new groups and associations.

Other federations have also tried to establish a foothold in the Catalan Andalusian movement. This is the case of the Federation of Regional Centers in Spain in Catalonia (FECREC) which has had very little success in trying to gather together associations of people of different Spanish origins. In opposition to the FECREC, in 1996, the FECAC helped to organize a new co-federation of regional centers, the CECREC, which has played a very marginal role. Many people felt threatened by the creation of the latter, interpreting it as an initiative with underlying political intentions and it brought to the surface some of the existing conflicts between the powerful Andalusian movement and the rest of the cultural movements of people of different origins (Aragon, Murcia, Castille, Extremadura, etc).

In addition, the Association for Catalonia-Andalusia Relations (AARCA), a left wing federation based in one of the areas of highest immigration concentration in the Metropolitan Area disappeared in 1988. After some years of profound divergences with FECAC, the leaders of AARCA --Andalusian socialist politicians-- decided to

abandon their initiative since they had not been successful in getting enough support either from the public or from the left wing parties, which were moving closer and closer to FECAC. Finally, there are three Coordinating groups in different cities of the Metropolitan Area (Cornellà, Esplugues and Hospitalet) which organize the Andalusian activities in their cities.

The autonomous government of Andalusia, the "Junta de Andalusia", has been extremely important in the organization of the Andalusian movement in Catalonia. Although the Junta has non-political interests in Catalonia (Andalusians residing in Catalonia vote in Catalonia, where they are registered) it has opened a delegation in Barcelona and it plays an active part, providing financial support for some festivities and for the associations on its official register.

#### The folklorization of Andalusian culture

Francoism further deepened the negative image that already existed in Catalonia about the Andalusian culture, which would remain definitively stigmatized as anti-Catalans thanks to the fact that Francoism found the manipulation of popular culture to be one of the most important political instruments for the creation of a unified image of Spain. The project of Andalusia as the *essence* of Spain, was already under way. In this manner, with this false equivalence, the Francoists denied other existing collective identities like those of the Basques and Catalans. Andalusian cultural paraphernalia contributed significantly to the creation of the myth of a happy



and stable Spain that the authoritarian regime created as both an exportable product and for internal division.

The Francoists pursued a policy of “folklorization” of Spain by extolling certain cultural forms that didn’t always correspond to the social realities of the times. The folkloric festivals, for example, helped to construct this image of the “unity of differences” that Francoism required. This occurred throughout the decade of economic recovery until the death of Franco, a period popularly known as the Happy ‘70’s. In general, Francoism promoted different forms of folklore throughout Spain and also had a very clear intention of reconstructing the nation through the most visible symbols of collective identity.

Within these regional cultural forms, Andalusian folklore occupied the central position. Little by little, “the Andalusian” came to occupy the space previously filled by Spanish nationalism. The weakness of Spanish symbols was filled by elements of Andalusian culture that Francoism reified and invented (Taller de Cultura Andaluza 1991) such as flamenco music and dancing, Andalusian popular music, Andalusian humor style, etc.

The image of “the Andalusian” in Catalonia would suffer a forced stigmatization from this situation. More concretely, Francoism began exercising a considerable amount of negative influence for Catalans and progressive sectors on the public image of “the flamenco,” making it appear a symbol of Spain. Even today, the image of the flamenco remains attached to these stigmatizing labels.

In fact, the "folklorization" under the Francoists yielded certain cultural instruments that served as a cornerstone for politics, such as the *cases regionals* (regional cultural centers/houses), cultural festivals and other political-cultural expressions. The *cases regionals* played a significant political role for Francoism during the 1960's and 1970's. In this way, through regime involvement in the regional cultural centers, there were several instances in which the Francoists used people they believed to be key actors of existing organizations to achieve their political goals. In other instances there were many *cases regionals* founded by leaders of the Francoist bureaucracy (governors, generals, etc.) which concealed a form of Francoist political control and propaganda.

In the case of the city of Hospitalet, as in many other cities of immigrants in Catalonia, Francoist paraphernalia was employed in generating a feeling of community in many of the urban areas that had already begun to form. For instance, in 1972, the first Festival of the Regional Houses was organized.

The folklorization, in these new neighborhoods, came in the form of celebrations and festivals. The feasts, known in Francoist terminology as "festejos," were converted into an important source of propaganda for the Francoist regime. In addition, during the last years of Francoism another type of activity began to grab hold and to be converted into the principal form of public celebration in the community of Hospitalet: Festival Folklorico, the Festival of Folklore. This generally dealt with the presentation of dances (the so-called "regional dances") by groups that were organized by different regional entities.

### Culture 'of' Catalonia or 'in' Catalonia?

Immigrant cultures play a marginal role in Catalonia and they are sometimes referred to as pseudo-cultures, as a symptom of nostalgia for the past and of a lack of adaptation to Catalonia. In hegemonic Catalonia, nobody has publically admitted that expressions of Andalusian, Galician, or Aragonese culture organized in Catalonia by those not originally born there, are also examples of Catalan culture. Some voices have been raised, even by some nationalist groups, admitting that there would be 'no problem' in classifying them as yet one more expression of Catalan culture. However, it is still unthinkable for festivals of Catalan popular culture or the published dictionary of Catalan popular and traditional fiestas to define an example of immigrant culture as being Catalan. Very recently the strategy of lessen some importance to Andalusian festivals and fairs as cultural activities has been done using a new way: to question the FECAC's statistics of visitors at some Andalusian successful events such as the Feria de Abril, arguing that they are inflated on purpose. The war of numbers (as I will show in chapter 6) represents a very important place where the war for legitimation of immigrant cultures is played in Catalonia.

The existence of a Catalonia divided into two cultures and the risk of a break between a Catalan and an autochthonous culture which ignore each other "could contribute to the transmutation of the Catalan differential element into a class phenomenon" (Flaquer & Conte 1986).

In 1995, there were two good examples of the ignorance which surrounds immigrant cultural expressions. Some regional centers complained about the fact that they were receiving financial support from the welfare department of the Catalan Government instead of from the cultural department. In the same year in the main annual fiesta of the city of Lleida, the organizers asked for a clearly visible distinction to be made between performances of autochthonous dances and 'the others'. Although both conflicts were highlighted in the media for some days, the peaceful oasis of the Catalan world rapidly became silent again. Since then, nothing has really changed.

Nationalists are generally very reluctant to recognise any form of internal diversity and they seem keen to adhere to the fashion of our times in which there is general approval for the idea of differentiation. As a nationalist intellectual wrote:

People now insist on the importance of the right to be different (...) The new topical ideas that support multiculturalism and the right to be different have given new strength to the traditional expressions - and the spread - of those cultures of old immigration movements which were supposed to be blending with the autochthonous culture. Now it seems as if they reject fusion and mestisage, and want to be considered according to the new ideas of multiculturalism (...) It would be interesting to analyze the extent to which a sustained difference of quite fictitious origins has in fact been invented (Salvador Cardús, Avui 1995?)

Some more radical nationalists have even asserted that Andalusian forms of culture represent "an invasion of the Catalan territory and a new, symbolic resource for Spanish colonialism", as a leader of the nationalist association "Òmnium Cultural" stated.

### **E. Concluding remarks**

Nowadays Catalonia –its dynamics, physical appearance, conflicts etc.-- cannot be understood without taking into account one of the most intense demographic increases resulting from the flow of immigrants from poor rural regions of Spain, ever to have existed in Europe. By 1975, 38% of the population living in Catalonia had been born outside Catalonia. They had become the new working class and lived in authentic urban concentrations, in extremely deprived conditions. Although the standard of living in these areas has improved over the years, deficiencies remain. Places like Tres Barrios have become the invisible society; images that are never shown in tourist guides of modern Catalonia. Immigration, while being an intrinsic element of the process, has also remained 'on the edge' of the construction of democratic Catalonia. The positive values of immigration are acknowledged only very reluctantly and are definitely not considered to be one of the bases of the new Catalonia. In this context, the emergence of a public and organized Andalusian culture has been a logical consequence of many years of silence and "reclusion" (Flaquer 1988). In the mid 80s, hundreds of new associations and activities suddenly appeared. Thanks to this cultural revival, thousands of Catalans have realized, for the first time in their lives, that immigrants have an active part to play in society. Nonetheless, Catalonia remains a society divided into two separate cultures. Immigrant cultures have not yet been admitted into the category of 'Catalan' culture.

### **Chapter III: The material experience of Andalusian cultural forms**

A central feature of the Andalusian organizations and the celebration of Andalusian cultural forms in Catalonia is that they have become a key reference for working class popular culture. High-class people in Catalonia –including some Andalusians-- reject new forms of Andalusian culture, which classify of vulgar, coarse, non-authentic, or simply invented. They assist to some expensive flamenco recitals or Andalusian dancing shows trendy among some groups of cult and well situated Catalans but they would never go to the Feria de Abril that is organized every year at the outskirts. As in many societies with a high migratory component, in Catalonia there has been a close relationship between immigration and working class culture. Although a working class culture existed in Catalonia, the arrival of massive immigration in the 50's and 60's influenced its main traits in many different ways. In this chapter, I look at some elements that help us understanding why this parallel state of affairs is likely to exist in many modern societies. Therefore, this chapter is devoted to analyze with empirical data the theoretical issue the impact of very specific elements and consequences of modernization and urbanization upon the survival of distinct ethnic entities (Ross 1982).

As it happens for other similar groups, material conditions in which people at Tres Barrios had lived appears to have influenced the way they can and they want to organize their participation in public cultural forms. I use the term material conditions in a very broad sense, meaning a whole range of elements of everyday life related to

the specific social position of groups in a society. I will include economic conditions, time availability, leisure, etc. as material conditions of culture. The purpose of this chapter is presenting culture as creations from "material experiences" instead of a "view that treats working class as the passive recipients of their culture" (Cohen 1992:23).

In the context of Tres Barrios, ethnicity provided an appropriate resource for people to actively organize ways to get together, to do things, to spend time, and to have fun. Andalusian public cultural forms (organizations and "fiestas") in Catalonia have adjusted very well to working class conditions and possibilities. There are four reasons why Andalusian ethnicity has become such a proper resource: i) relation of organizations and participation to precariousness of employment ii) ethnicity as consumer-leisure activity iii) ethnicity as industry generating and iv) transformation of meaning of Andalusian ethnicity through increasing consumer commodification. The analysis of these elements allows us to explain why the culture of origin becomes a natural resource for participation in the less-favored social sectors. Studies on ethnic revivalism have often ignored the role that cultures of immigration plays as a source of popular culture for working class conditions.

### **A. Ethnicity as a way of sociability**

Works from the field of history of migration have shown that social and behavior forms from the culture of origin are not abandoned upon entering a new territory. Instead they are used to adapt to urban industrial life (Cinel 1982, Gutman 1973, Vecoli 1964, Yans-McLaughlin 1977, Morawska 1985, Cohen 1992). Immigrants utilize the socialization strategies of their culture of origin in order to adapt and survive (Kingsdale 1973). This is seen in Tres Barrios, where social institutions and popular celebrations rooted in the context of emigration quickly came into existence, as the area became the new place of residence and socialization for thousands of people.

The experience of Tres Barrios demonstrates that the socialization strategies as well as the festive and religious celebrations of Andalusian origin have helped the working class population to adjust better. This implies more than simply looking at it as reproducing an old world with nostalgia. It is a vision of the organizations of immigration as places in the present, which are only possible in relation to each immediate present. As I will show, bars, music, religious parades, and fairs played a very important role in the adaptation in the domestication and appropriation of the present for the immigrant working class of the 60's and 70's.



### Urban and working conditions

At this point, a little bit of a context about the arrival years is necessary. Chapter 2 showed how Tres Barrios were born practically from scratch and identified the problems that affected the construction of a new place of residency. Arriving in Tres Barrios was sometimes accidental (Pascual 1968:70) and often the result of a second or third residence in different cities in the area of Barcelona. People arrived at someone else's house (extended family usually) and stayed there until economic conditions were better. At other times, people came straight from Andalusia. The choice of a particular area was often a collective process in which where's one's family or "paisano" friends lived influenced the place where one would rent or buy a flat.

The initial years in Tres Barrios were not easy. After long journeys (according to some biographical stories in newspapers and books) some people worked 14 hours a day, 6 days a week, and faced tough working conditions. Under Franco's political regime that gave very little rights to workers, capitalists were almost free to require as much effort as they wanted. Outside the job scenario, at home, infrastructures were meager. Streets of Tres Barrios were not paved. Transportation and communication were very poor. People had to walk long ways to get to the closest subway or tram station that were in other area of Hospitalet. It was not until 1974 that the first subway station was inaugurated in Tres Barrios. Documents and people's memories show that in the 50's, 60's, and early 70's there were continuous blackouts, that sewers were

insufficient, and light and water scarce. The only public spaces people have got were the streets. Streets were full of people. People used as meeting points the surroundings of the food market (inaugurated in 1959), and the church (opened to the public in 1960). Kids used a huge metallic electrical tower as a playground<sup>12</sup>. Some citizens organized neighborhood associations to get better conditions of living. Improvised explosions of protest about the need of more public attention were very frequent among citizens in Tres Barrios. The school situation, characterized by a shortage in school space for all the kids, was the most important concern (Vila 1989:8). In general living conditions were a big concern. In this context, bars became an ideal place to meet and socialize.

#### Social function of bars and peñas flamencas

The importance of the bar in immigrant environments helping immigrants to survive (Kingsdale 1973) and as places for their sociability and as intermediary institutions between public and private space (Haine 1996:236) has already been showed. The role of the bar is fundamental to understand the social life in working class areas of the industrial belt of Barcelona in the 60's and 70's. However, there is an almost total silence in the literature on the social function of the bar for the immigrant outskirts and the working class of Catalonia.

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<sup>12</sup>. In 1967 the fall down of an electric pillar in Tres Barrios opened fire. Some people were injured. One of the strongest demands of neighborhoods associations in those years was precisely to take out these pillars.

Throughout the 60's and 70's the streets of Tres Barrios were filled with bars. Bars in Tres Barrios were located on the ground level of apartment buildings. They were usually small dark places that just had a bar and a few tables. I have spoken with people that remembered their neighborhood during those years as a place filled with bars. The reasons for the success of these places can be found in the class conditions of the new population in Tres Barrios. Some families considered bars to be a feasible occupation due to its low cost when they arrived to 3B with some savings (sometimes the product of having sold their houses and land in the south).

As soon as the bars were opened, they began to fill up with people. There are many different social reasons why people found the bars a nice place to go and that they already were familiar part of Spanish society (in Andalusia they represented a widespread social institution for sociability). In Tres Barrios, housing and living conditions of the first years of the arrival were difficult. Due to the lack of public infrastructure and private space –small, overpopulated apartments that send people to the street-- the bar turned into the living room of many new residents of Tres Barrios. It was a place to socialize and express oneself in a sheltered space (Haine 1996). Bars were a leisure option. In the bar one could chat while eating some “tapas” and drinking white wine, always in the small glass typical of Andalusia (Candel 1985). If they did not have money to pay, the bar tenant would give them small credits (Montes 1980). As the following text states, bars were a crucial institutions in those years:

**They [immigrants] have arrived from their villages or small towns, not only separated by the culture, but also by the social status and consolidation of those already settled in Barcelona. They have to invent a new way of life, a new way of relating to people that they did not**

have until now. Here (...) so many more people live together than the norm that the streets and bars are full of life that the houses cannot contain. For those who sublet and live "a patrona" –quite numerous-- these bar and their clients, mainly regulars, fill the role of the family. (Pascual 1968:70).

Many of the bars in Tres Barrios were named after places or symbols of Andalusia (Granada, Linares, Cordova, Torre del Oro), usually a reference to the place where the owner came from and an attraction for people from the same place (see picture 3.1). This fact symbolizes the reproductive function of the social networks of "paesani". Organized around a group of people –male clients mainly<sup>13</sup>-- that came from the same village, city, or area, some bars of Tres Barrios recreate the "paesani" relationships that formed part of pre-industrial relationships.

Bars played, also, a more general role in generating a community identity. Bars helped to shape the formation of a new social identity. In the bars many people started thinking of themselves for first time in their lives as Andalusians, a category that was very weak in those years. The word Andalusian meant 'people like you' but that not necessarily coincide with the people from the same "pueblo" or even the same province.

Bars had another very important function. They serve to socialize the immigrants into the new, modern, urban, and industrial context. For instance, bars are a place to get the necessary information to adapt to the neighborhood, the city, the

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<sup>13</sup>. The bar of the 60's and 70's was a place where men socialized, and women were not usually present. Although it has never been explicitly prohibited, like in other societies, it is not well looked upon that women go to the bars. It is a cultural value brought from the Andalusian lands, and that with time will begin to change.

working class culture, and Catalan society in general. This is what these words express:

You found out about dramas and joys, about the dream of some overtime that would allow someone to put together the money for the down payment of an apartment, or the rent and then be able to send for his wife...One afternoon you heard that Kennedy had been shot, (or) that they were going to need a lot of people up at SEAT...In the bar people heard Catalan language, and among confrontational comments, allusions to other cultures, to Barça [Barcelona's soccer club], to a strike...or that they were going to do construction work on a few meters of Avenida Torrente to make a bicycle lane while the rest was just a muddy mess. (Blasco 1992:12).

Some of the bars in Tres Barrios later became "peñas flamencas". In Catalonia, the term "peña" is often used erroneously to refer to any sort of association with Andalusian 'taste'. "Peñas" were cultural associations that were created by flamenco music lovers based on their mutual appreciation of this style of music. These clubs usually used bars or taverns as the meeting place and they collected monthly dues from its members in order to finance their activities.

Throughout the 60's, "peñas" began to pop up among the working class and industrial belt surrounding Barcelona. In the 70's, at least a dozen "peñas" were established in Hospitalet. Since the only requirement for setting up a "peña" was having a bar to meet at, not all of the "peñas" are or were officially registered.

In those years, like bars in general, "peñas" articulated people's need to get together. The fact that flamenco "peñas" appeared in those areas where people lived indicates their social nature. They began to feel that they shared a similar situation. This feeling embodies ethnicity and class. The following fragment reflects this social

function of the “peñas”:

Those who came from work did not spend 8 hours there, but more like 12 or 14 hours a day, working. So the only way to feel relaxed wasn't by spending time with *people that we didn't have anything in common with*, nobody boring. What are you looking for? Well, to be with people that somehow *have a lifestyle similar to yours*. Since we had just arrived, if you get together with a Catalan you don't talk to him about “migas” [a typical dish]. But with someone from Andalusia on the other hand, or from Extremadura, or La Mancha you could talk about “migas”(…) (Casimir 1981:1985) (italics are mine).

The growth and abundance of “peñas” also has an economic push behind it. Kingsdale (1973) pointed out that American saloons were an ethnic strategy for offering different business offers. In a similar way, bar owners in 3B saw that creating a “peña” was a way to establish a clientele. They could see that they could increase their profits by taking advantage of the fact that the public was attracted to flamenco culture. “Peñas” were partly converted into business, where big raffles were organized, people sold lottery tickets, made Christmas baskets, and sold bus tickets for trips down to Andalusia. With the perspective that time affords us, many people began to realize that economic abuse were rampant in those years of poverty, and that dirtied the name of many “peñas”.

The case of the “Peña Antonio Mairena”, located in the center of Tres Barrios helps to illustrate some of the basic characteristics of the “peña” movement of those years. The “Peña” is still today a key reference for the “peña” movement and flamenco music done in Hospitalet and in Catalonia.

The “Peña” was founded in 1968, making it one of the oldest flamenco “peñas” in Catalonia. According to one of the founding members, six friends who were all life-

long admirers of flamenco used to meet in a bar to listen to flamenco records. The bar gave them the chance to listen to that music, and to do so together. One day, the idea came up to create a "peña". In a document written by some members of the "Peña", they highlight the role of nostalgia in the first years of the "Peña":

The "Peña" was founded in this neighborhood 24 years ago by a handful of friends who missed the aroma of "fino" wine and the charm of the music. United by nostalgia, they recalled the customs, traditions and culture of their homeland. The objectives were set from the very beginning: to maintain social and cultural ties with Andalusia, and to spread Andalusian culture (Peña Antonio Mairena 1992).

The flamenco of emigration became a style of music that catalyzed very well the need to meet, to be together, to share. Because flamenco is an intimate and improvised style, it was able to transmit the pains of an Andalusian people who saw themselves wrapped up in the difficulties of involuntary emigration<sup>14</sup>. The lyrics of the songs, which talk about love and pain, could easily be reinterpreted at this time when the difficulties, nostalgia, and longing for their home were the basic components of their new life. In some cases, flamenco lyrics reflect these feelings of nostalgia, of not

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14. Flamenco in Catalonia reflects the dynamics between music and migration. Its evolution is doubtlessly influenced by the migratory developments between north and south. The relative proximity between the place of origin and the destination obviously increase the possibility of communication. Some sectors of emigration were able to return to Andalusia every year and bring back the new tendencies of flamenco with them. Flamenco was influenced throughout the 60's and 70's by the new circumstances. By following the evolution of flamenco in Catalonia, interesting relationships between music and emigration can be found. According to some experts, flamenco musical style petrified due to the distance and the will to be loyal to its roots. Some others believe that flamenco in Catalonia got transformed into a mixed, hybrid style, due to the influence of the environment it is changing. Within the biggest flamenco sectors in Catalonia, the question of a possible different style or Catalan 'style' has been very polemical. It is interesting to note here that, according to some critics, in Catalonia, just like in Andalusia, there are two different ways of analyzing flamenco: a purist, traditional one, and a less purist, evolving style which tends toward mixing elements from different styles and forms. Others believe that the flamenco produced in Catalonia during this period is more traditional and purist than that produced in Andalusia, greatly due to emigrants will to be faithful to the origins (Casimir 1981).

belonging, of being uprooted. As an example, I am including the lyrics of the following song, created out of nostalgia and uprootedness.

En la sorda noche/ oigo que se quejan/ las piedras y el agua/  
de la fuente vieja.  
Las calles del pueblo/ solas se quedaron./ Mis largos paseos/  
en él se grabaron.  
Ni caer la noche/ descansan sus cuerpos/ porque siguen en sueños/  
los mismos tormentos.  
Callaron mi grito un día/ en la tierra que nació/ y pa ni enterrar mi canto/  
pa otra tierra yo me fui;/ pero, la verdad de en cuando/  
hace falta por aquí.  
Manuel Gerena ("Cartas del pueblo para el pueblo")

Little by little during this process of sublimation of flamenco from afar, new fans of this musical genre were born in Tres Barrios. By means of the radio, flamenco found its audience<sup>15</sup>. Many stations came up with special musical programs dedicated to popular styles like "cobla" or flamenco. Some of the most well known are "Crónica Flamenca", "Romero y su tocadiscos flamenco" and, in the 80's, "El Jarroteo". Slowly, a type of radio consumption for immigrants and an Andalusian radio for Andalusians began to solidify in Catalonia<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup>. Radio became the preferred form of mass communication for the working class population. Television did not get to working class neighborhoods until well into the 60's. The radio, however, partly due to its low cost, is converted into the form of mass communication most popular. The radio forms part of the history of the new working class.

<sup>16</sup>. The radio station which best met the public's needs starting in the 80's was RadioTaxi. It is a radio station that was conceived to work as a type of cellular phone for taxi drivers in order to serve and entertain them. Little by little, it became a station with a huge audience in the working class population throughout the periphery of Barcelona. According to its creator, Justo Molinero, the secret to Radio Taxi's success is that I played the music I would have liked to listen to (Sotelo 1990:18). Flamenco and "copla" are the base of this station's musical programming. Molinero was the voice that spoke to them as an Andalusian about things from his land as if "the radio were a very wide Andalusian patio where people came to tell stories, to sing, to console themselves, and to receive hope". (Javierre 1990:16). Besides the radio broadcasting, Radio Taxi got involved in its most immediate context of those years. In



### El "Centro", a place to meet

Even if urban infrastructures in Tres Barrios are much better now than in the first years of arriving, Andalusian associations still offer a public place to meet. Association spaces became like an extension of the members' apartments. As explained in chapter 2, low quality and reduced size are two of the features of the housing in Tres Barrios. Dissatisfaction with the lack of space is quite general. The need to get out of their apartments has increased. Participation in activities that take place out of the house is favored due to this factor. Participation in associations and celebrations of origin form part of the possibility 'to get out of the house'. As indicated above, since the 60's, bars and flamenco "peñas" have always met this social function. Andalusian associations filled a gap in the infrastructures of 3B. This function continues in modern times as well.

This is the case of "El Centro". It was inaugurated in 1991 as a municipal space in order to give a home to four Andalusian associations: two "hermandades rocieras", one cultural association, and the Coordinator of Andalusian Associations. "El Centro" has become a key point of reference for many people. "El Centro" is a place to go to spend a while in the afternoons from Monday through Friday (it is closed in the mornings) or at any time during the weekend. During the week, the "Centro" is a place to run into people you know, and to chat for a while. The "Centro" fills up with people

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more than one occasion, this station did fundraising for needy people. From the start, it was also an initiator of the popular festivals –eating "migas" from Almeria (Andalusia)– which were followed by many others once they saw how successful they were. Radio Taxi is still today one of the most popular

in the afternoon: kids just hanging out; children brought to “sevillanas” classes by their mothers; women chatting; men having a beer and chatting. During the week, the “Centro” is a place of reference even for those people who belong to associations located in other places. On the weekends at the “Centro”, besides the associations’ normal activities, there might also be performances or extra activities. On Saturday nights, kids meet up there, and use the “Centro” as a meeting place before going on to the current fashionable spot.

Women in Tres Barrios, often housewives or domestic workers, have found a place to relax and “get away from it all” along with other women in similar situations, through the opportunities presented by Andalusian activities and celebrations. The women who meet in the afternoon at the “Centro” have the chance to talk while their kids finish their dance classes. Other women learn how to dance themselves. One housewife who goes to the “Centro” twice a week says that dancing has therapeutic effects for her: “It helps me to forget about things, if I am depressed. Especially now that my two kids are grown-up and I spend a lot of time alone”.

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radio stations in working class area. Its tradition as an ‘organizer’ continues today with the “Festival de Sevillanas”, among other acts.

### Old forms of socialization

Finally, religious processions and parades started organizing in these years, influenced by an old Andalusian cultural tradition that consists of socializing around popular religiosity. These forms of popular religiosity were an important way to build new socialization alternatives.

In the middle of dense social networks, collective immigration patterns to Tres Barrios made it easier, for some groups of friends, get together to celebrate "romerías" for a virgin, as they did in their Andalusian pueblos. The Virgin of Rocio occupied a new role in Catalonia. As Martín suggested, it became the 'virgin of emigration' (1992:152).

A similar thing happened with the Holy Week processions. In 1978, a group of 15 people coming all from the same village, after watching the processions of Seville on TV in a bar, decided to initiate their own procession. Here is how the "Cofradia de los 15 + 1" (a symbolic name that represents the 15 people that initiate the procession plus 1 for 'the people') explains that:

We has a picture of the Macarena [an Andalusian Virgin], we took a table from the bar, we put four small bottle of beer and four candles on it. Then, four of us took the table, went out the bar to the street. (Cofradia 15 + 1:1992).

The legend of the '15+1' says that, after this short walk out the bar, hundreds of people followed the just created "paso".

## **B. Ethnicity in times of precariousness**

Between 1979-1985 Spain suffered the effects of one of the worst economic crisis of all times. Changes in the productive model that left one of the highest unemployment levels in all Europe. In 1985, the average percentage of unemployment was 22% of the active population. Unemployment, however, is just the most visible tip of the iceberg of changes that occurred starting in the 80's. The new industrial production system based on a flexible and *open* skilled labor market was introduced in the Western world from the late 70's is generally known as fragmentation or segmentation of the labor market, i.e. the division of the market into segments according to the stability of the occupation, personal qualifications, promotion practices, and availability of labor and union rights (Sabel 1984). The new model was based on *flexible* skilled labor which becomes the crucial element which that divided the working population into skilled versus non-skilled.

The precarious labor situation plus unemployment affected the population of Tres Barrios. A large part of Tres Barrios' inhabitants belonged to the secondary segment due to their social position and the labor market. We see that although the levels before the crisis were constantly the same, starting in 1981 the unemployment rate in the Hospitalet was always higher than the one for all of Catalonia (in 1986, right after the crisis, the Hospitalet's unemployment rate was twice that of Catalonia). The crisis and the following restructuring of the labor market forced the automobile company where a large percentage of people from Tres Barrios worked, to let go close

to 7,000 people in 1983 (Centre d'Estudis de l'Hospitalet 1997). Many of these people went through intermittent periods of unemployment, one of the basic characteristics of the occupational structure from the 80's on. For young people, getting a job was not easy. The model of discontinuous jobs ('now I am working, now I am doing nothing') started to be very common among the working class. Taking advantage of social benefits, sometimes in a tricky way –specially, unemployment benefits-- became part of the working class culture.

This situation was reflected in Andalusian organizations and celebrations. Many members of the associations found themselves in situations where they alternated working with not working –only occasionally covered by unemployment benefits. Unemployment, sometimes long-term, has affected the professional trajectories of the members of the Andalusian associations. Often unemployment victims have been great supporters of the associations. They have been able to substitute the organization for their job, thereby volunteering more time when they are unemployed. Labor precariousness became an important resource for the associations. Adults and young people who went through relatively long periods of unemployment spent that time with the associations. For instance, one of the associations that had grown the most, for many years had a president that was unemployed for a long period of time. He told me that he had been able to spend more time working for the association due to his labor situation. Even more importantly, these positions have given them the feeling of filling valuable and important roles.

Andalusian cultural organizations benefited from the situation that many youths experienced in Tres Barrios. The large amount of free time allowed some youth to spend many hours a week either taking part in the association's activities or just simply being at the "Centro". Due to high school drop out, many of these youth have lost their friends. Their new friends from the "Centro" filled this gap. There is another element one must have in mind, however. Many times the strong tendency to quit school means that many kids lose the friendships that they had made there (Willis 1977). These kids go through relative social disconnection for a period of time, but can now find groups of friends through associations. Many kids express their satisfaction of having found a place to socialize. The associations are a source of friendships for kids and adults. It is a place where intense social relationships are developed, and sometimes results in other friendships being relegated to the back burner. In addition, many couples are formed which occasionally end up in marriage. Often, young people with weaker connections outside build a very intense social life inside. This was the case of Jose, Camila, and Millan, who had all their friends within the Andalusian world. Other young people, like Emi, Blanca, Jordy and Bea, whose social position were a little bit higher, were for some time dealing with two (or more) different groups of friends –one from the school they still attended, the other one from the "mundillo". After a period of trying to deal with two peer groups, they found in the Andalusian world a much more appropriate source of friendships.

For many of the young people of Tres Barrios who work intermittently because of precarious contracts (Jose came interrupted his holidays in Andalusia because he got

an offer of a contract of 4 days!), with other periods of unemployment or 'not doing anything', ethnicity became a source of motivation. For these youth, for whom working had a utilitarian purpose, discourse about work rarely reflected elements of satisfaction, realization, professional advance, or personal stimulation. The Andalusian movement represented an activity for these youth, which gave them values and rewards that the work environment did not give them.

Andalusian public cultural forms filled empty time with activities. But, in addition, they gave a sense of responsibility and satisfaction that working situations did not give. For instance, Jordy, Millan and Jose, who always had precarious working situations was characterized, but had jobs within the Andalusian organization that made them feel responsible. Jordy was secretary of his association and president of the Youth Coordination Group; Millan was secretary to the Coordinator of the Andalusian Associations of the City; Jose was "hermano mayor" (main brother) and a representative to the Coordinator. These positions implied a rather honorary situation. For working class kids, this represents a way to get into contact with power circles that would otherwise be inaccessible –the mayor of Hospitalet and some other political main charges knew them. They referred to them usually by the first names, and even using nicknames. Sometimes when speaking with them, the kids wanted to let me know that their friends and acquaintances held positions in the municipal government or in other important figures in autonomous politics (Catalan and Andalusian) or from Andalusian organizations in Catalonia.

For many young people, the public Andalusian cultural forms generated new hopes (“there are just a few days left for the Rocío” used to repeat them every year), emotions (crying among youth at the “Rocío” are very common), sacrifices (dancing or singing classes on Saturdays usually imply not having time to go out with friends), routines and new values (to dance in certain positions conveyed prestige).

Besides activities and satisfaction, some of the youth who have grown up in the precarious labor situation and have jobs that do not give meaning to their lives. Many of them have instead transferred their dreams and hopes of improvement and social success to the world of Andalusian ethnicity.

In this context of work uncertainty, Andalusian ethnicity is converted into a professional and/or occupational way out for a lot of people that don't have a stable work situation. A whole bunch of new jobs were created. Flamenco instructors, guitar teachers, shop owners for Andalusian products, musicians, roving vendors, and businesspeople for “salas rociaras”, dance school, bars and restaurants, etc. For all of them, the Andalusian “fiesta” has represented a labor resource –sometimes part time, and others full time jobs.

There were families in Tres Barrios that were completely involved in the ‘Andalusian job market’. For instance, In the Martínez’s family, the father was a guitar player and business associate for a “sala rociara” (sort of disco where only Andalusian music is played). The mother owned of a business of clothing and accessories for the Andalusian “fiesta” that she began seventeen years ago. The daughter was a dancing instructor. Young kids started realizing that establishing a flamenco band (modern



fusion flamenco) and acting in the different Andalusian "fiestas" at the Tres Barrios might be a good way of earning some money.

### **C. Ethnicity as a consuming activity**

Expenditures and consumption play a very important role in the Andalusian ethnicity. In this section, I want to show three issues that need to be taken into account in the consumption of Andalusian products: adaptation to social class possibilities, increasing leisure time and availability of leisure budget.

#### **Working class consumers**

One of the traits of ethnic Andalusian organization is that it adapts very well to the limitations of working class conditions. The relationship of families to Andalusian associations and "fiestas" does not diminish for economic reasons. With salaries that only let many people live day to day, they found a way to get together and express themselves in Andalusian celebrations.

Payments that sustain the organizations are small and flexible and are not severe. Many associations make it easy for their members to pay their fees by splitting them up into the most convenient way for the members. Despite rough economic moments, the Andalusian "fiesta" has adapted in a very 'natural' way to the existence

of people that do not pay. The associations continue considering these people members even if they don't pay. Many of these organizations allow people to stay in the club even if they cannot afford the expenses. The following example shows how this adaptation to each individual's real situation is produced. A girl (B) of a dancing association explained to me during a personal interview that she was able to get into the association thanks to the flexibility and understanding of the organization:

Quote 3/1:

**B. They didn't sign me up. The teacher told my dad that he should sign me up, but my dad said that there were three of us and he wouldn't be able to bring all three to {dance} "sevillanas", although he would love to. Then she said, 'well, the little girl likes it, come on, we will give her free classes' and I didn't pay for my dance classes until I got into the performing group.**

Economic problems are not experienced as problems that keep people from participating in Andalusian cultural associations. And, according to some personal experiences, not all kind of associations in Tres Barrios have shown the same level of understanding. When Garcia's family went through difficult economic times, they did not have to quit being members of the "Peña". However, one of the Garcia's daughters recalls that at the time she had to quit the neighborhood social club for children –called "esplais" in Catalonia-- because they didn't have enough money at home to pay for it. Even within the Andalusian associations when economic conditions have exceeded the real possibilities of the people, the immediate response has been to leave them in the association. For instance, some of the specialized dancing seminars that some dancing

schools in Barcelona organized are described as too expensive for them (they cost around \$170 per one week). Even though associations are usually very attractive for young girls and boys in dancing lessons, they could not always afford them. Talking about one of these seminars with a girl (MC) during a personal interview she told me:

Quote 3/2:

MC. Quiero decir, por aquí somos todos de clase normal y no podemos pagar estos precios

**MC. I mean, around here we're all from a normal class and we can't afford all that sort of stuff.**

The economic level of its participants molds the Andalusian "fiesta". The meals or aperitifs that are occasionally given are organized with modest budgets with the direct collaboration of the people of the association (usually women). The "Sevillanas" Festival, for example, allows one to spend a full day of recreation even with very tight resources. On the other hand, the labor for painting or fixing whatever is broken always comes from within the association. For instance, the stand at both the Feria de Abril and "Rocío" are personally fixed and decorated by the members of the association, some of whom are surely professional painters or construction workers.

Finally, Andalusian expressions were the product of a working class economy. Andalusian organizations and clubs always had financial problems and in fact many Andalusian organizations in Tres Barrios disappeared because of not having enough money to survive. Financial help from municipal and other public institutions helped their small budgets, despite persistent, very small-scale economies. One of the main

issues in Andalusian associations was to look for ways of getting money for the association.

The Andalusian "fiestas" were always adapted to new urban, class conditions. The example of religious celebration is a case in point. The Andalusian religious forms in Catalonia have a strong working class orientation as the religious celebrations of the poor. As an Andalusian anthropologist noted, the symbolic power of Andalusian "romerías", as places where everybody is equal in front of the virgin, does not exist in socially homogeneous Andalusians in Catalonia (Martín 1992:152).

Religious forms in Tres Barrios, far from the luxurious Andalusian religious parades, dominated by patrons from middle and upper income families, have adapted to small budgets that people could afford. They substituted the rural scenarios of Andalusia with the ones of the urban Catalonia in a very natural way.

This quote also points out to one of the most interesting transformations of religious cultural celebrations. After many years of conflicts with the Catalan church, the "Cofradia 15+1" decided that they did not want to have any relationship with the Church. The secular trait of the processions of Tres Barrios was one trait that people recognized and used with pride.

Finally, the social organization that associations had in the context of Tres Barrios adapted totally to the new social needs. For instance, some "hermandades rociaras" and "peñas" organized one-day camps, which came to fill a void for those people who seldom went out. Schedules and dates were also adapted to the necessities

of the working people. Andalusian associations in Tres Barrios opened to new kinds of activities, not necessarily 'Andalusian'. For instance, they started participating in soccer leagues –soccer and sport in general is very popular in Tres Barrios-- in activities with social goals, and organizing their own carnivals. As time passed, these associations became more different and independent from the original Andalusian. The immigrants were able to create a more equalitarian sociocultural existence often denied to them by the class structure of Andalusia.

### Leisure time

The new labor situation produced by the evolution of the economic forces of the 80's is also reflected by increased leisure time. For some working class members, free time was a completely new experience. Participation in Andalusian celebrations is an activity that is modified depending on the occupational situation. As Leonard (1992) points out in a study of the appearance of cultural manners organized by origin, a reference must be made to available time. During the times when workdays were tough and long (sometimes more than 16 hours a day) there was not time to participate in organized leisure activities. Little by little, more leisure time evolved. Many men and women were given the chance to take part in celebrations and organizations that previously were unknown to them. This is why specialized manual workers could move closer to the organized Andalusian movement. At the same time, many young people left the associations when their jobs required them to put in more time.

Flexibility is also present in the sense that the participants go through times when they are very busy and other times when they are not. This allows them to 'take a break' from the Andalusian world in the months when activity in the associations slows down. In this way, possible burnout is avoided, a feasible outcome if activity were intense for the entire year.

A different group that experienced a great increase in free time was a new retired community. Some of them were forced to retire early due to industrial restructuring that occurred when numerous industries had to adjust to new economic conditions. The Andalusian culture could fill some of the time that these workers started to have. Mr. Pérez is an example of this experience. He retired from his job as a mechanical operator although he is not yet 60 –the legal age to retire in Spain. After working for so many years, this new situation has been hard on him. He has left behind years of demonstrations, strikes, and union participation. After all these years in which he felt that he "never had time for anything but work", he has now found a new element in his life: free time. This is the reason he gives for never paying any attention to the Andalusian activities until now. Ever since he retired, he and his wife –both born in Andalusia but with little contact with their land of origin-- have gone to "El Rocío", Andalusian Cultural Week and the "Feria" every year. Even if they had not decided to become members of any association, though, he said that they are very happy participating.

Workers from sectors such as the automobile or metal industry were able to keep their jobs after the economic crisis and have obtained jobs that require

qualifications and responsibility. This, in turn, has represented a good economic situation for them. During the 80's, some specialized manual workers begin to get closer to the organized Andalusian movement. They arrived at a point in their lives when they could spend more free time. After many years in which work has occupied the exclusive, central position in their lives, a certain stabilization as mid-level skilled workers has given them, for the first time in their lives, some room for leisure. For many of them, who were just focused on succeeding for many years in their jobs, Andalusian associations were the farthest things from their minds.

A case in point is Emi's father. Since the time he came to Catalonia as an 11 year-old boy, he has never stopped working. He is a technical specialist who repairs industrial bread makers, and he defines himself now, although not yet 50, as a "slave to my job". Because of his responsibilities at the bread factory, he must be available and on call 24 hours a day, seven days a week. Therefore, he understands quite well the benefits of this effort: thanks to his comfortable economic position he can give a good life to his wife and three children. For many years, Emi's father did not have any contact with the Andalusian movement. However, he is currently very satisfied with the new relationship he has with one of the "hermandades rocieras". His commitment to this organization has been growing over the years as he could get some free time of a more regulated job situation. When I met him, he would just visit some of the Andalusian "fiestas". Now he already has an official commitment. However, he does combine this involvement in the Andalusian movement with other sorts of leisure activities, such as spending the weekends in a vacation home they have outside of

Hospitalet.

Finally, the value this new group brings to our study is that it offers an aspect of ethnicity as an extra activity. It is like any hobby that suddenly exists after years of not existing, and is considered a real option. Ethnicity takes on meaning as an extra value that can be adapted and forgotten.

### Leisure budgets

The Andalusian forms of leisure became a very important part of the expanding budget of the working class of Tres Barrios. The economic situation now allows for it. By 1986 a period of economic recuperation began—after one of the most serious economic crises Spain has seen this century (from 1979-1985)—that resulted in increased income because of a positive change in salaries. In general these were euphoric years of consumption joined by a wave of speculation, together with the extension of social welfare—basically through unemployment or pension payments. In general, these were years of a certain level of stability and an improvement in living conditions. Andalusian ethnicity has adapted to this new style of having fun and has created a site for those who did not have a modern place of entertainment.

Coming out of the economic crisis of 1979-1985 led to a strong increase in private consumption, which Andalusian organizations attract and take advantage of. It seems logical that when an organization of Andalusian ethnicity appears, especially within the context of this economic boom, mechanisms of consumption appear along



with it. The fact that an economy develops around Andalusian ethnicity has its antecedents in the first commercial meetings, in the taverns, and in the "peñas flamencas". However, circumstances had changed since then, and now the economic situation of the family could handle an increase in leisure expenses. The leisure budget was no longer a thing reserved for those in the middle class. It had made itself, little by little, into a part of the working class.

Andalusian cultural forms are presented as a place to consume. If we keep in mind that modern leisure cannot be understood without these doses of consumption, Andalusian ethnicity has been transformed into an option for modern leisure. Andalusian ethnicity is a place of consumption, and most of its acts begin to take on the aspect of a consumer festival. This signifies an important change for understanding activities in civic life and ethnicity as places for public consumption. Going to the Feria de Abril, for instance, qualifies as a leisure activity that fits the modern guidelines of mass consumption.

Little by little, places for private consumption were created related to the new Andalusian ethnicity, and they become more and more important. Today, the Andalusian ethnicity in Catalonia cannot be understood without this consumer viewpoint that takes on some very specific forms.

In the mid-1980s, 'Andalusian things' were a way to get consumers' attention. In particular, Andalusian music sells. The case of a car dealer in Tres Barrios who organized a "sevillanas" and "rumba" festival on the premises, to attract possible clients to his shop were not uncommon. Commercial malls, restaurants in working

class areas use the Andalusian strategy as a way of getting more customers.

The consumption related to the Andalusian celebrations has different aspects. On the one hand, certain types of commercial products begin to form part of each one of the Andalusian celebrations and everyone, to one degree or another, consumes. One only needs to go to the "Feria", or to the "Rocío" to see what these products (e.g. clothes) are and up to what point their consumption has become generalized. Around the places where they take place, there are always a large quantity of rambling vendors that put their booths little booths with Andalusian products. Some of them are flamenco dresses and skirts, men's suits, "batas rocieras", special shoes and boots, hats, all sorts of accessories (earrings, necklaces, etc.), Andalusian music (tapes and CD), flags, and religious images of the "Virgen del Rocío". Even at the religious celebration of the processions of Holy Week, you can buy little things (key rings, religious images, calendars) that the "Cofradia 15+1" sells to help to finance itself. All of them form a part of the commodification that evolves around the Andalusian ethnicity. In addition, there were three stores in Tres Barrios that sell Andalusian products. While one of them was specialized in these kinds of products, the others combined general products with some that are specific to the Andalusian celebrations.

These products have a wide price range: about 3.000 pesetas (\$20) for accessories, between 14.000 and 70.000 pesetas (\$90 and \$460) for a flamenco dress, shoes cost between 5.000 and 14.000 pesetas (\$40-\$90) leather boots cost at least 8.000 (\$50), a men's jacket costs more than 30.000 pesetas (\$200) and a "rociera" medallion can cost up to 13.000 (\$85). The fact that there is a quite stable market for

these products indicates, together with their effort, the existence of a space for leisure within the family budget of the working class. All my informants bought some of these products, although sometimes they complained about the high prices and they looked for the best buy they can get.

The calendar for Andalusian “fiestas” creates different rhythms for different products. The owner of the specialized boutique had studied the pattern well. She told me that between the months of February and July her store is always full. In February, she sells accessories, some dresses, and some shawls for the Day of Andalusia. The Feria de Abril is a good time for full flamenco outfits both for women and men, and some skirts as well. In May there is the “Cruz de Mayo” and some dresses are always sold. For “Rocio” people buy “rociero” dresses, skirts, men’s suits, and all kinds of accessories. The end-of-the-school-year festivals, that in Tres Barrios often include “sevillanas” performances, mean lots of work for her, because the girls who are going to dance need new dresses. Last of all, in summer, she says, the neighborhood festivals also generate a bit of demand.

The consumption of all these products becomes a very important part of new illusions and values that ‘being Andalusian’ generates. This is especially relevant in the world of women and girls. For instance, before the dates of the “Rocio” arrived, the girls take a look at their outfits. Bea went to buy herself some “rociera” boots right before “Rocio” and Patricia went to have her last fitting of the “bata rociera” that a seamstress of Tres Barrios was making for her. Camila bought her flamenco dress right before the “Feria”. Despite Camila’s rather precarious economic situation, she

bought a dress that cost 43.000 pesetas (almost \$300) that represented a great effort. This is why young girls wear a new flamenco dress almost every year. For the mothers of little girls, having them wear Andalusian dresses had become a new social value that conveys prestige and recognition. According to the sales lady of one of the Andalusian shops where these products were sold, quality products sell better than the cheaper or lower quality goods. According to one her, the mothers of the little girls are her best clients: "They complain about the prices, but they always end up buying them the best", she said.

#### **D. Ethnicity as relationship**

In Tres Barrios, as in many working class neighborhoods, density of social relations is very high. The fact that Andalusian organizations and celebrations have a strong the social network base means there is no rupture between the external world (the neighborhood) and the internal world (the association). In fact, the intense social networks are expressed and consolidated in the world of the Andalusian organization. The participants, when asked how and when they met the people in the association often respond: "We knew them before". This factor undoubtedly explains a large part of these organizations' success.

Family is a key element in Andalusian association and ethnic movement. Family participation is a characteristic trait of Andalusian celebrations. Andalusian

associations are family associations. Within these associations, it is very frequent to find different kinds of relative relationships: married couples, brothers and sisters, aunts and siblings, cousins, etc.

In many occasions, some family members encourage others to get involved. Years ago, it was the older generation of parents that brought their kids along with them, and got them involved in association structures. Recently however, although that situation is still common, it is now mainly young people who introduce their relatives to the associations. Many times, girls who have become close to the associations because of their "sevillanas" classes encourage their families to take part in this world, even through they might not have been aware of its existence before.

This change in the pattern from parent to child as *entrée* pattern can be observed among a sector of stable workers who have become involved in the last few years in the Andalusian cultural movement. Their children have produced their entrance thanks to an initial link with some concrete activity. The daughters' serve as direct bridges between this world of activities and their families. Emi and Bea, for instance, have 'dragged' their families into this world, based on their childhood activities. As both their parents recalled, they did not even think about the possibility of participating in an Andalusian association, not even of assisting to an Andalusian festivity, until their daughters asked them to. The fact that these girls have lived a stable family situation doubtlessly helped them to make up part of the numerous people who became interested in "sevillanas" beginning in 1980 when it became really fashionable. These girls learned to dance "sevillanas" at dance schools, associations,

gyms, and even at public school.

The family is the backbone of many Andalusian celebrations. As other cases have shown, people without a family are less likely to participate (Goldstein 1985:6). "Rocio" is a clear example of the linkages between family and "fiesta". The composition of the "hermandades" is families plus links of friendship, of being neighbors, or of being from the same homeland. Moreover, family is a fundamental support in the organization and is the one element around which many other activities revolve. One telling detail about the importance of family is that the registration system is done under the family name. In many acts, like "rociero" choruses, entire families can be found participating. When they must go from one place to another for a concrete activity, the families go together. The families also eat together at the collective lunches that are organized, for example, during "Rocio". When somebody belongs to an "hermandad" without their family also belonging, he or she has moments of loneliness, partially covered with the solidarity of other families.

Neighborhood relationships are also present within the Andalusian world. The physical proximity of the associations to their living quarters has created a situation in which strong relationships have been developed between the associations and the neighbors. In more than one occasion, participants in the Andalusian associations have characterized them as 'neighborhood associations'. Many people have become involved in this world because the association 'was right across the street'. Strong enough relationships can be found in the neighborhood so that one neighbor would convince another to take part. The neighborhood networks, which often overlap with

the family networks, are now combined with the Andalusian associations.

### **E. Ethnicity as businesses**

Around the new Andalusian movement, an economic activity has been developed. The most relevant case are shops specialized in the distribution of products for the Andalusian "fiesta". Only in Tres Barrios there are four Andalusian shops. Besides the shops, there is also an underground economy that revolves around these products. The case of seamstresses, who work out of their homes and can offer dresses a little bit cheaper, is relevant here. They are small workshops improvised in tiny apartments. On one occasion, I visited one of these improvised workrooms in a flat that wasn't more than 50 square meters. In such a small space, surrounded by the dining table, a big sofa, and the TV set, there were two women working. The flamenco dresses were hanging everywhere. One of the rooms of the home had been converted into a storage room and dressing room. The lower cost of dresses from these improvised workshops makes them in a subject of criticism from legitimate shop owners. They are also critics of the alleged business networks, which supposedly benefit private seamstresses instead of the shops. According to what a flamenco dress shop owner told me, some dance teachers take a percentage of the seamstress' profits since they refer their students to her.

In addition to shops and workrooms, the new Andalusian ethnicity forms part

of a new leisure economy characterized by such things night clubs, concerts, festivals, and specialized thematic Andalusian restaurants (two at Tres Barrios). The music sector has generated its own economy. The numbers of groups that have known how to take advantage of the moment of success to add music make up a very large part of organized Andalusian ethnicity. From Tres Barrios alone, two of these groups have emerged. Generally, the music is a popular style- a mix of "rumba" and "sevillanas". In connection with these music groups, record companies, concerts, music bars, and even radio stations get involved. Radio Taxi organizes an annual "Sevillanas" Festival where the most important representatives of the musical sector participate.

Massive events, which form a big part of Andalusian ethnicity, must be placed within this framework. The Feria de Abril, with more than 1,500,000 visitors attending throughout the ten days that it opens every year; the "Sevillanas" Festival; "El Rocío"; all of them make up the new Andalusian economy. Business related to Andalusian ethnicity is growing. As I have already shown in chapter 1, the Feria de Abril increases its budget every year (from a budget of \$110.000 in 1986 it went to a budget of \$480.000 in 1996). The economic interests in the "Feria" are diverse, and it has become a place where companies fight to become sponsors or to have the exclusive sales rights for products.

However, sometimes the increase in the commercial aspect creates contradictions and conflicts for some of the participants that are looking for different things in the Andalusian "fiestas". This is especially visible in the "Rocío", a festival that many of its participants identify with values of faith and solidarity, which is



different from the "Feria" which people often consider as a few days in which to simply have fun. A 30 year-old man, flamenco dance instructor, told me that for him, a faithful "Rocio" attendee from the time he was 15, "Rocio" had lost its essence as the economic interests increased. While sitting down next to me at the table where we were having dinner, he told me that if things continued the way they currently were he would stop coming.

### **G. Concluding remarks**

Andalusian organizations have a strong link to the working class. Their composition, location, and the values surrounding them indicate that one cannot study organization and participation in Andalusian organizations without also keeping social class in mind. However, as pointed out throughout the chapter, the relationship between Andalusian celebrations and organizations and social class cannot be limited to just one factor. Instead, these links create a framework that condition and facilitate the existence of determined cultural manners of origin. At the same time, the Andalusian organizations help many people to live, and to overcome the barriers with which the working class is faced. Therefore, studying organized meeting forums paired with a culture of origin, inevitably forces one to also analyze the role of social class. The connection established between the two is complete and nowadays it is common to see how Andalusian celebrations and the working class are interdependent.

## Chapter IV: Identity Dilemmas

The question of 'who we are' represents a key element in internal or peripheral nationalisms (i.e. nationalist ideologies within state structures). The fact that no state certifies citizens as Quebecois, Breton, Corsican, Basque or Catalan makes the boundaries of 'who is and who is not' fuzzy and unclear. It also means that the responses to this question are notably more complex and elaborated. In all these cases, the existence of a relatively extended immigrant community brings into play, as Handler showed for the case of the Canadian region of Quebec, multiple attributes to the question of 'what is a Quebecois?' (1988:33-39). In these contexts, the model of host-immigrant relations is a crucial place for nation building where issues of internal homogeneity and heterogeneity are carefully managed. Rhetoric, more than legislation or administrative acts, should be of central focus in societies where no state structures exist. In addition, when these societies contain ethnified class structures, issues of identity and belonging become very intricate, with multiple levels of identity going on at the same time.

The main goal of this chapter is to show how people in situations of peripheral nationalism live in a constant battle for understanding who they are; how they try to be 'one of us' and 'one of them' at the same time; how they resist exclusion in multiple ways; how they construct themselves in new forms; and how, by resisting dominant identity patterns, they point to difficulties of social and cultural integration. Following

Barth's theory of ethnic boundaries, which highlights the primacy of perceptions and definitions that actors made of permeable ethnic boundaries, the main goal of this chapter is to demonstrate that processes of social identity are, for many people, very difficult to solve. Taking into account the place that identity occupies between power (prestige) and everyday life (solidarity), the definition of one's identity is very often ambivalent, full of uncertainties, contradictions, and tensions. Social class intervenes as a very important factor in the process of articulating social identities. Being aware of that situation is very important in the definition of models of ethnic interrelation (i.e. integration, assimilation, multiculturalism, etc.) which need to contemplate the situational, irresolute, and many times unexpected forms of identity. I will show that some young Catalans are dealing with the external definitions that 'others' have already made of them (Jenkins 1994), which live often in conflict with the ways they see themselves. Working class young Catalans, feeling themselves excluded from dominant nationalist discourses, are actively engaged in the construction of new social boundaries. Being Andalusians is a way of saying that they can't be Catalans.

In Catalonia, the question of 'who is Catalan?' is still a central issue. As this article published recently in the second most-read newspaper of Catalonia published shows, the debate keeps alive in the Catalan public opinion:

[Catalanism] is a political concept that has never asked for proof of origin, obviously it is not needed to become a Catalan citizen nor to have access to Catalan identity. Since our family background has never been "certified", people from non-Catalan families have never had problems being considered fully Catalan. (...) Finally, Catalaness, unlike other identities, has never been associated with any religion, which occurs with other nationalisms. (El País, 3/14/2001).

how being Catalan-Catalan is seen as something different from being simply Catalan. This fragment belongs to a long conversation with Jordy, Emi, Blanca, Millan, Camila, and Juan. That day, we were playing a game in which I played the role of a Mexican woman and they had to imagine how they would talk to her. In the first part, they tried to explain to the 'Mexican' woman that I played the kind of relationship they had with Andalusia, which confused her.

Quote 4/3:

AR (Mex): Ya entiendo, entonces vosotros no venís de Andalucía.  
 Jordy: No, somos hijos de [pause]  
 Blanca: [De] emigrantes  
 Jordy: [De] emigrantes de Andalucía y de Extremadura  
 Jordy: Es que en Hospitalet catalanes es más que todo casi el cien por cien es más que todo gente joven, gente de emigrantes nacido en...  
 Camila: Pero no catalanes con raíces aquí, eh!  
 Jordy: Pero no somos catalanes catalanes.  
 Millan: Cataluces.  
 Jordy: Catalanes catalanes no somos ninguno.

- 1 AR (Mex): Now I understand, so you don't come from Andalusia.
- 2 Jordy: No, we're the children of [pause]
- 3 Blanca: [Of] emigrants
- 4 Jordy: [Of] emigrants from Andalusia and Extremadura
- 5 Jordy: In Hospitalet, Catalans it's especially almost a hundred
- 6 percent, especially young people, kids of emigrants born in...
- 7 Camila: But not Catalans with roots here, eh!
- 8 Jordy: We're not Catalan-Catalans.
- 9 Millan: Cataluces.
- 10 Jordy: None of us are Catalan Catalans.

My 'game' proved useful. Asked about their relationship with Andalusia, they take advantage to clarify the significant difference they see between Catalans born of Catalan parents and Catalans born of emigrants. First, Jordy doubted a little before

picking the right word (line 2). Then Blanca proposed a word: "emigrantes" (line 3), a word that in this exchange seems to make a clear distinction between their parents, who were not born in Catalonia and themselves. But, at the same time, it is worth pointing out here that Blanca and her friends choose the term "emigrant", instead of "immigrant", which stresses the origin instead of the destination. In addition, although the term "emigrant" is not currently used in Catalonia, Blanca had no problems using it. All of this seems to point to the existence of a different frame of meanings of the words.

But then, a second element came up. Jordy and the rest of his friends explained the distinction they thought existed between being a Catalan with or without relation to emigration, and they wanted to make clear that they belong to a new kind of Catalan that has its roots outside of Catalonia. Contrary to what should be expected, Jordy wanted to express that he is proud of not having his roots here, but somewhere else.

It is interesting to note here that in the last two fragments, those young people with relatively higher social positions --Jordy's level of education and family income are higher than Camila's and Millan's; the same is true for Blanca in relation to the rest of the girls that participated in this conversation-- were the most active "promoters" of the differentiation of labels, i.e. they were the ones who introduced the term "Catalan-Catalan". Contrary to what a classical model of social stigmatization of ethnicity argues, the need to differentiate between themselves and some other people in their jobs, or in the places they spend their vacations may be due to the fact that they have faced much more heterogeneous situations than their friends outside Tres

Barrios.

### **B. The obstacles of language**

For the young people of Tres Barrios who attend or have attended school in the last few years –when the school system has become a key element in the expansion of the knowledge of the Catalan language-- Catalan is not an alien language. Although their proficiency of Catalan is enough to use that language, they hardly ever use it, or only in specific situations when they “have to”. In this section, I want to show that the intersection of language with class and ethnicity generates some obstacles in the use of Catalan language –the language that is supposed to confer people a Catalan identity. This will support the work of some analysts who have asserted that languages related to ethnic identity (and, therefore, to group belonging) are more difficult to acquire than languages associated with public and neutral voices (Fishman 1972). The following fragment of a long conversation with two young brothers (Z and X) helps me to start this section with a very relevant piece of information on language rejection. Z is five years older than X.

Quote 4/4:

AR: Vosotros el catalán, lo habláis?

Z: Yo no.

X: Saber sabemos pero que hablarlo en el cole, la asignatura de catalán es en catalán pero que yo con mis amigos en la calle {hablo} en

castellano

AR: Habláis con alguien, con algún amigo, en catalán?

Z: No.

X: Hablamos mucho el castellano.

Z: Yo tenía un poco dominado en el colegio pero claro y tampoco es una cosa que me llame la atención.

(...)

AR: Lo entendéis bien?

X: Sí.

Z: Más o meno/s/.

AR: Si a ti te ponen una película en catalán...

Z: Sí, más/s/ o meno/s/ me voy enterando, la noticia, TV3, alguna palabra, alguna cosa.

AR: Y tú? [to X]

X: Yo sí, hay alguna palabra que alguna vez ni la he escucha/d/o, entenderlo sí lo entiendo.

Z: Lo que e/s/ hablarlo y escribirlo {no}.

AR: Hay gente catalana en tu clase [to X]?

X: Sí pero suponiendo que estamos en el ambiente este más/s/ andaluz no se acostumbra a habla/r/ en catalán.

- 1 AR: Do you all speak Catalan?
- 2 Z: Not me.
- 3 X: We know it, but just from speaking it at school, our Catalan
- 4 language class is in Catalan but with my friends, in the street, I
- 5 speak Castilian.
- 6 AR: Do any of you speak to someone, a friend, in Catalan?
- 7 Z: No.
- 8 X: We speak Castilian a lot.
- 9 Z: I got pretty fluent at school, but it's nothing that really got my
- 10 attention.
- 11 (...)
- 12 AR: Do you all understand it well?
- 13 X: Yes.
- 14 Z: More or less.
- 15 AR: If there's a movie on in Catalan...
- 16 Z: Yes, I understand more or less, the news, TV3, some words,
- 17 some stuff.
- 18 AR: And you? [to X]
- 19 X: Yeah, I do, sometimes there are words that I have never even
- 20 heard before, but I understand it. [Catalan]
- 21 Z: {Not} writing or speaking it though.
- 22 AR: Are there Catalan people in your class?[to X]

23 X: Yeah, but since we're in a more Andalusian atmosphere, they  
24 don't usually speak Catalan.

Language and identity are strongly related in Catalonia. In other words, language is a marker of belonging and classification of people in one group or the other. Although language in Catalonia has been more frequently related to ethnic groups (Castilians and Catalans), class plays a very important role in the construction of language meanings in Catalonia. For instance, while high class Spanish-speaking people could be seen as 'Catalans', low class Spanish speaking will be seen as 'Castilian' without a doubt. Even more, low class groups speaking Catalan could be interpreted also as 'Castilian speaking Catalan'. Language, class and ethnicity are strongly interconnected.

Although language and identity are considered close enough and language in Catalonia is being acknowledged as a key element of a Catalan identity, in Tres Barrios, the relationship between identity and language was understood in different ways. During the time I spent there, I could perceive ways of interconnecting language and identity that were new to me as a middle class inhabitant of Barcelona city. Accustomed to a context that made a straight connection between 'what you talk' and 'what you are', new relations between language and identity called my attention. For my informants, the condition of Catalan was based on the place of birth ("yo soy catalán, yo he nacido aquí") (I'm Catalan, I was born here). They had no problem asserting that they felt very Catalan and, at the same time, rarely use the Catalan language. They tried to make clear that language, for them, was not a necessary



condition of being Catalan. Sometimes, however, being Catalan implied a perception of social class. In addition, a very significant distinction was drawn between the people that speak it at home (“lo hablan en casa”) and those who only speak it when we have to (“lo hablamos cuando lo tenemos que hablar”).

For youths with more contact with the Catalan speaking world, the relationship with language was a bit conflictive for them. They live situations like the one this girl explained. M lived between two worlds represented by two social organizations she has participated in: “la Peña flamenca” –which her father was the president of– and the “esplai” –the infant and youth club that she hung around and where she had her closest circle of friends. In the conversation we had in a bar she said:

Quote 4/5:

M: Hablo catalán, pero al cien por cien no, porque en casa no lo hablo. En el esplai es muy divertido porque entre todos hablamos catalán pero uno a uno hablamos castellano. Los monitores siempre nos hablan catalán, pero no nos obligan a nada. El otro día una monitora nos habló en castellano, era muy extraño oírla hablar castellano a una profesora.(...) A mi hermana a veces le hablo catalán, porque ella no lo habla porque en su grupo todos los niños son hijos de padres de fuera. Mi padre a veces se enfada. El no lo habla, y si hablamos mucho rato no le gusta. Mi madre sí lo habla, el acento no lo tiene muy bueno, pero fue a unas clases al [here the name of an extremadurian club] el año pasado.

1 M: I speak Catalan, but not one hundred percent because I don't  
2 speak it at home. In the “esplai” it's interesting because when  
3 we're in a group we all speak Catalan, but when we talk to one  
4 another one-on-one we speak Castilian. The group leaders spoke to  
5 us in Castilian the other day, it was really strange to hear a teacher  
6 speaking Castilian. (...) Sometimes I speak Catalan to my sister,  
7 because she doesn't speak it because in her group of friends all of  
8 the kids are the children of parents from outside [of Catalonia]. My

9 dad gets mad sometimes. He doesn't speak it, and if we speak it for  
 10 a long time he doesn't like it. My mom does speak it, she doesn't  
 11 have a very good accent, but she went to some classes at [here the  
 12 name of an extremadurian club] last year.

This short fragment illustrates some of the obstacles that M experiences in relation to language use. Using Catalan is not an easy task for her but one full of uncertainties and significant moments. In other words, the Catalan language has not yet become a neutral language that facilitates communication. In Tres Barrios, language contains too many meanings (level of fluency, obligations, related social roles, needs, offenses, accent) even for Catalan speakers like M.

P is in similar situation. P was a boy who had always a very positive attitude in relation to Catalan language and Catalan identity ("Yo soy catalán, mis padres son andaluces") (I'm Catalan, my parents are Andalusians). However, this positive attitude towards the Catalan social and cultural project did not lead him to use Catalan in Catalan encounters. In the following fragment of a long conversation he said:

Quote 4/6:

P: En el colegio había catalano hablantes, tenía un par de compañeros catalanistas que siempre hablaban en catalán. Problemas sólo tiene el que se los busca, a mí no me molesta nada que me hablen en catalán si yo puedo responder en castellano. En Olivetti el ambiente era muy bilingüe y en la de ahora también. Me acuerdo cuando me fui a la mili que en el vagón iban tres chicos catalano hablantes y estaban hablando en catalán. No sé por que, si yo les dije algo o ellos a mí, pero empezamos a hablar, y ellos al ver que yo hablaba castellano me empezaron a hablar en castellano y yo les dije que yo entendía el catalán y que ellos hablaran en catalán y yo les hablaría en castellano. Fuimos amigos toda la mili, y siempre hablamos así. Yo lo sé hablar pero depende para qué cosas, por ejemplo, para expresar sentimientos

con una chica no podría. Hay gente con la que ya te acostumbras a hablar en catalán desde el principio y luego ya no cambias. (...) En el trabajo, ahora que tenemos como cliente a Banca Catalana, en las reuniones con los directivos hablo en catalán. Pero luego, cuando tenemos que hablar por teléfono con las personas que hacen lo mismo que yo, se dirigen a mi en castellano, supongo que porque ven mi apellido y piensan que soy castellano hablante, uno de ellos se llama González, o sea que ya se ve.

1 P: At school there were Catalan speakers, I had a couple of  
 2 Catalanist classmates that always spoke in Catalan. The only  
 3 people who have problems are those that go looking for them, I  
 4 don't mind at all if they speak Catalan as long as I can answer in  
 5 Castilian. In Olivetti the atmosphere was very bilingual and in [my  
 6 current job] it is too. I remember when I went to do my military  
 7 service there were three Catalan speaking guys in the same train  
 8 wagon, and they were speaking in Catalan. I don't know why,  
 9 whether I said something to them or they said something to me, but  
 10 we started to talk, and when they saw that I spoke Castilian, they  
 11 started speaking to me in Castilian and I told them that I  
 12 understood Catalan and that they should speak Catalan and I  
 13 would speak Castilian. We were friends all throughout the military  
 14 service and we always spoke like that. I know how to speak it  
 15 [Catalan] but it depends on what sort of things, for example, to  
 16 express my feelings with a girl- I couldn't. There are people that  
 17 you get used to speaking Catalan with from the beginning, and  
 18 then you just never change. (...) At work, one of our clients is  
 19 Banca Catalana, in the meetings the bosses speak in Catalan. But  
 20 later, when we have to speak on the phone with the people that do  
 21 the same sort of work as I do, they speak to me in Castilian, I guess  
 22 because they see my surname and think that I am a Castilian-  
 23 speaker, one of them is named González, I mean, it's obvious.

These words signal some different meanings of language in Catalonia. First, language has political implications. At the same time, language conflict is lived in terms of language obligation (lines 2-5). Third, bilingual settings are highly valued as spaces of language freedom (lines 5-14). Fourth, in Catalonia diglossia is double fold: compartmentalization of functions (Catalan is spoken at work; Castilian is spoken at

home, with friends, with lovers, etc.) and compartmentalization of language status – high status Catalan language is spoken in formal meetings with customers; but the same customers used low status Castilian with him in less formal meetings (lines 14-24).

Competitive assimilation in Catalonia suffers the effects of a social structure with a strong ethnic component. That obstacle to the assimilation of some ethnic elements of prestige –such as language-- is produced when people interpret that they do not get any benefit from assimilative strategies. I observed this kind of pattern among some young people in Tres Barrios, as this fragment of a long conversation with a group of boys (A, B, C) of a flamenco-rock band showed:

Quote 4/7:

AR: Creéis que para encontrar trabajo es importante {saber catalán}?

A: Si ere/s/ encarga/d/o sí porque pa/ra/ ser (pausa) pa/ra/ estar de paleta eso es lo mi/s/mo que estoy viendo pa/ra/ ser electricista o paleta (pausa). En la obra {en} catalán se habla poco a lo mejor hay tre/i/nta, habemos tre/i/nta entre encarga/d/o y los otros y allí el catalán lo hablan los dos o tres que vienen a la visita.

B: Sí, sí.

AR: O sea que no os lo piden el catalán.

A: Mi hermano ha esta/d/o de encarga/d/o en mucha/s/ obra/s/ y él habla en catalán y también lo escribe pero no sabe hablarlo, sí que sabe hablarlo, alguna/s/ palabras.

C: Pa/ra/ ser encarga/d/o y eso como dice él sí, pa/ra/ eso sí.

B: Que no hace falta hablarlo pero hace falta entenderlo, yo he visto encarga/d/os que no tienen ni idea de catalán pero (pausa) lo entienden.

C: Lo entienden.

A: Mi padre, mi padre le viene una visita y le habla en catalán y él lo entiende el catalán, y si ve en catalán el hombre del tiempo y la TV3 sale el hombre del tiempo.

- 1 AR: Do you think it's important to find work {knowing Catalan}?
- 2 A: If you're the supervisor it is, to be (pause) to be a construction  
3 worker it's the same thing I'm seeing to be an electrician or  
4 construction worker. (pause) On the site, little Catalan is spoken  
5 maybe they're thirty, we are thirty between the supervisors and the  
6 others and there Catalan is only spoken by two or three that come  
7 to visit the site.
- 8 B: Yeah, yeah.
- 9 AR: So, they don't require you to know Catalan.
- 10 A: My brother has been the supervisor in a lot of sites and he  
11 speaks Catalan and he also writes it but he doesn't speak it, well he  
12 knows how to speak it, some words.
- 13 C: To be a supervisor, and what he's saying, yeah, for that stuff,  
14 you do.
- 15 B: You don't have to be able to speak it, but you have to  
16 understand it, I have seen supervisors that have no idea of Catalan,  
17 but (pause) they understand it.
- 18 C: They understand it.
- 19 A: My dad, if a client comes up to my dad and he speaks to him in  
20 Catalan, my dad understands it, if he sees the weatherman in  
21 Catalan and in TV3 [the autonomous Catalan television station]  
22 the weatherman is there.

One of the major obstacles in the use of Catalan language for many Castilian speakers is the feeling of shame and ridicule that accompany non Catalan speakers often in their Catalan interchanges. Reasons need to be found in some of the social values of language in Catalonia. High prestige, high status, formality, and social power are elements that may or may not help to impulse a particular language use. The sentiment of fear of using the Catalan language has doubtlessly caused an important break in the social expansion of Catalan among young people like my informants. In addition, values of perfection and pureness attached to language have become barriers for adopting the Catalan language. But, as many of my young informants realized, the biggest obstacle in the use of Catalan language was, indeed, the Castilian speaking

community to which they belonged. Feelings of language shame are accentuated in front of the people they know. As Emi explained, she only used Catalan when she was shopping or baby-sitting and nobody she knew was around. Although Emi always had a very open attitude towards the Catalan language –as she showed when she wanted her little brother to change his negative feelings in relation to Catalan-- her use of it was very limited. As the following fragment shows, auto language perception (how they see themselves speaking Catalan) produces many ‘side effects’ in young Castilian speakers and produces other voices that make them feel uncomfortable.

Quote 4/8:

Camila: Es que yo por ejemplo leer [el catalán] lo sé, hablar lo sé, lo entiendo, pero me es muy incómodo hablar catalán porque parece que no estoy hablando yo.

Jordy: Pero sabes por qué esa incomodidad?

Blanca: Depende también de con qué gente porque tú ponerte ahora a hablar catalán con nosotros en una conversación serías incapaz porque yo también

Jordy: Porque tienes miedo

AR: A ver va, hablarme un poco en catalán

Camila: Yo no, yo no hablo catalán

Blanca: Con alguien que conozco no puedo

Jordy: Per què no voleu parlar el català, aquesta noia quan diu que no vol parlar el català és per que té por de...

Millan: Té vergonya

Blanca: Es que es fingido, cuando en la tienda hablas catalán no me gustas

Jordy: Aquesta noia té por de ficar alguna paraula que sigui castellana i que si jo sóc català català de poble

Millan: Es fingido

Jordy: Es fingido porque no estoy acostumbrado a hablar el catalán porque es tu...es tu...tú también lo sabes.

- 1 Camila: Me, for example, read [Catalan] I know how, I know how
- 2 to speak it, I understand it, but it's uncomfortable for me to speak

- 3 Catalan because it feels like it's not me talking.  
 4 **Jordy:** but do you know why you feel uncomfortable?  
 5 **Blanca:** it also depends who you're with, but if you started  
 6 speaking Catalan in a conversation with us, you couldn't do it,  
 7 because for me too...  
 8 **Jordy:** Because you're scared  
 9 **AR:** Come on, let's speak, speak to me a bit in Catalan  
 10 **Camila:** Not me, I don't speak Catalan.  
 11 **Blanca:** I can't with someone I know  
 12 **Jordy:** Why don't you all want to speak Catalan, when this girl  
 13 says she doesn't want to speak Catalan it's because she's scared of  
 14 ... [in Catalan]  
 15 **Millan:** She's embarrassed [in Catalan]  
 16 **Blanca:** It feels fake, when you speak Catalan in the shop I don't  
 17 like you  
 18 **Jordy:** This girl is scared of sticking a Castilian word in, and I'm  
 19 Catalan-Catalan from a village [in Catalan]  
 20 **Millan:** It's fake  
 21 **Jordy:** It's fake because I'm not used to speaking Catalan because  
 22 it's your... it's your... you know it too.

In this part of the conversation, Jordy tried to play the role of someone who understood the reality and tried to change it. Jordy's friends expressed the different feelings they had when they (or any of them) used the Catalan language. For Camila a situation of talking Catalan made her feel uncomfortable, as if she was not the one who was talking (lines 1-3). Blanca emphasized the strange feeling she had when she listened to a Castilian speaking Catalan. Although she had told me some other times that she used Catalan at school or with strangers, Blanca did not accept changes in language use within the Castilian community (lines 5-7, 11 and 16-17). Millan agrees with Blanca in thinking that using Catalan in a 'natural' space of Castilian sounds false to him (line 20).

The preceding conversation is followed by a discussion about the quality of the

Catalan language that Catalan speaking people use. Images of 'good' and 'bad' Catalan languages strongly existed in these young people minds. Contrary to what happened before, now all my informants shared the same point of view about the correctness of Catalan language among 'Catalan-Catalan' people:

Quote 4/9:

Blanca: Oye que hay catalanes-catalanes que meten cada palabra  
 Jordy: Que un catalán que te diga, mira lo que ha dicho ésta  
 AR: Si en Cataluña alguien habla mal la lengua te dicen algo?  
 Jordy: Hay algunos que se ríen  
 Camila: Yo con eso no me he encontrado  
 Millan: Y yo tampoco  
 Emi: Yo sé que me he equivocado y no me han corregido, por ejemplo mucha gente que dice val y eso está super mal dicho y todo el mundo lo dice.  
 Jose: Más mal queda, es decir, que tú puedas meter la pata hablando catalán puede ser hasta cierto punto normal pero que metan la pata catalanes de pro te puedes reír más de ellos  
 Jordy: Porque se las dan de listos, de que saben y la meten  
 Blanca: Y la meten  
 Jose: Y la meten hasta en los telediarios

- 1 Blanca: Hey there are Catalan-Catalans that say such things
- 2 Jordy: When a Catalan tells you, look what this guy has said
- 3 AR: If someone speaks the language badly, do they say anything to
- 4 you in Catalonia?
- 5 Jordy: Some people laugh
- 6 Camila: I've never found that
- 7 Millan: Me neither
- 8 Emi: I know that I've made mistakes and nobody has corrected
- 9 me, for example a lot of people say "val" and that is super wrong
- 10 and everyone says it.
- 11 Jose: It's worse, I mean, you can put your foot in your mouth
- 12 speaking Catalan and it might be up to a certain point normal but
- 13 when real Catalans make a mistake, you can laugh more at them.
- 14 Jordy: Because they think they're smart, they act like they know so
- 15



- 15 much and then they mess up  
16 Blanca: Yeah, they mess up  
17 Jose: They mess up even in the TV news programs.

These words should be interpreted in terms of auto defense. They attacked the 'correctness' discourse by signaling that those groups who were supposed to speak 'good' Catalan language did not. Consequently, if Catalan speakers do not speak it properly, why should non-Catalans?

Another significant moment for many Castilian speakers is the day they decide to use the Catalan language in a conversation. This moment implies for many people a breaking point between me and you, and between us and them. Even if they could have used isolated words in particular situations (i.e. to answer a question that is posed by an unknown person in the street), most of my informants recalled the situation that brought them to decide to continue on in Catalan. Or as they usually put it, when they "se lanzan" (let loose). In Catalonia, as Woolard (1989) noted, these situations are generally preceded by moments that implied a new stage in one's life—a new school, a new job, a new socio geographic context, etc. New scenarios make the transformation of 'oneself' into 'another one' easier. In Catalonia, languages are voices of who you are. When a language change is produced, some images of you may become damaged. This is the main reason why for young Castilians, language was more than a communication tool. It was a life experience. This is how C remembered the day when she decided to use Catalan in her new work place at an insurance company where got a job in public relations.

## Quote 4/10:

C: Yo me lancé el primer día que empecé a trabajar en la Mútua. [Cuando] yo trabajaba en la otra empresa, y mis compañeros eran catalanes-catalanes, con padres catalanes, y hablaban en castellano porque el jefe era alemán, pero cuando hablaban entre ellos 'escolta, avui anem a esmorzar...' y a mí me hablaban en castellano. Ellos me decían 'perquè no parles català?' pero me daba corte de meter la pata y nada, yo super cerrada en esto (pausa). Entré en la Mútua y claro, es que es la típica mÚtua catalana, la MÚtua, de toda la vida, es muy catalana, es que nacían los niños y 'nen, et fem del Barça i et fem de la MÚtua', una pasada, de 90 socios que vienen, 89 son catalanes y uno castellano, claro. Me preguntaron si sabía catalán, 'algún problema?' y yo 'no', es que no tengo ningún problema, es coger y decir, venga fuera. A lo primero me notaba muy indecisa, has de desconectar y pensar en catalán y no traducir del castellano, ahora ya más o menos bien, meto alguna vez la pata, es que me paso el día hablando en catalán. Con algunos compañeros pues sí, ya los he conocido hablando en catalán y ya les hablo en catalán. Ya relacionas una cara con el catalán. Con otros no, con los que mejor me llevo y más confianza tengo hablo en castellano, si porque es mi manera de ser y de pensar.

- 1 C: I "let loose" from the first day I started working at the MÚtua.
- 2 [When] I worked at the other company, my workmates were
- 3 Catalan-Catalans, with Catalan parents, and they spoke Castilian
- 4 because the boss was German, but when they talked to each other
- 5 'escolta, avui anem a esmorzar...' (listen, today let's go have
- 6 breakfast) but they spoke Castilian to me. They asked me 'why
- 7 don't you speak Catalan?' but I was afraid of messing up, and well,
- 8 I was just super shy. (pause) I started at the MÚtua, and yeah, it's
- 9 the typical Catalan private insurance company, la MÚtua, always
- 10 been around, it's very Catalan, it's like, kids are born and 'kid,
- 11 we're going to make you a member of Barça and la MÚtua', it's
- 12 incredible, out of 90 members that show up, 89 are Catalan and
- 13 one is Castilian. They asked me if I knew Catalan 'any problem'
- 14 and I said 'no' I mean I really don't have a problem, it's just telling
- 15 yourself come on, that's it. At first I was really hesitant, you have
- 16 to really disconnect and think in Catalan instead of translating
- 17 from Castilian, now more or less it's fine, sometimes I put my foot
- 18 in my mouth, I spend the whole day speaking Catalan. With some
- 19 of my workmates, yeah, I've met them speaking Catalan and now I
- 20 speak to them in Catalan. You begin to relate a face with Catalan.
- 21

21 With others, no, with the ones I'm the closest to and I get along  
22 best with I speak Castilian, because that's my way of being and  
23 thinking.

In this fragment of a long conversation with C, the girl explained the situation that brought her to use –for the first time in her life-- Catalan with some people as the normal language. The fact that she was new in a new company helped her. But also the kind of company it was –for her, “la Mútua” represented a reference of Catalaness (lines 8-13). Therefore, she decided to jump into an unknown world that the Catalan language represented. As she noted, the decision of using Catalan is full of doubts and tensions (lines 16-19). However, within the working sphere, she preferred to maintain her most intimate relationships using Castilian.

### C. Denials

There were moments in the lives of the people of Tres Barrios when they experienced some denial of their condition as Catalans expressed as ‘reminders’ of their condition of ‘immigrant’. For some people in Catalonia, the burden of migration still remains. Even though internal migration from a relatively closer cultural background could have lessened such a burden, this is not always the case in Catalonia. Although more than two decades have passed since migration rates have become negative, ethnic consequences of the process of migration are still present in the life of the people of Tres Barrios. Belonging is still uncertain. As Barrera stated, many Catalan still receive contradictory signals from native Catalans as for their admission as full members in the group (1985:341).

In the literature on migration and ethnicity, some expressions have been pointed out that immigrants and their descendants use to express feelings of burden or, in other words, of denial both in the place of origin and in the place where they live (and, often, where they have been born). One of the most repeated expressions found in immigration reports is that “we don’t belong here, we don’t belong there”. Goldstein formulated this feeling of in-betweenness in Israel in the following terms: “In Iran I was a Jew, in Israel I’m an Iranian” (1985:254), noticing the difficulties existing in many societies to make someone a member of an ethnic group. Using the same formula, people in Tres Barrios used the expression “aquí somos andaluces, allí somos catalanes” (“here we’re Andalusians, there we’re Catalans”) to signal that contradiction between origin and destination in which they feel they live between being and being accepted. That contradiction could be expressed in the following way: “In Catalonia we’re seen as Andalusians, although we’re Catalans. In Andalusia we’re seen as Catalans, although we’re Andalusians”.

Words played a very important role in the perception of the ethnic burden. For instance, every time I pointed out elements of their immigrant past, I perceived that I was touching a highly sensitive area that hurt them. Terms such as ‘immigrant’, ‘emigrant’, ‘Catalan’ or ‘Andalusian’ were very delicate in the Andalusian world. In my fieldwork, I tried to be very careful not to use these terms in a hurtful way. Even so, sometimes I failed, like one day when talking to a man that arrived from Andalusia more than 30 years ago and I referred to him as an ‘immigrant’. The term ‘immigrant’ always implies inclusion and exclusion boundaries. In Catalonia, as Rodríguez

observed, "the Catalan-made category of *immigrats* was a symbolic affirmation of their distinctive social person, that of being Catalan as opposed to the state-made social person: that of being Spaniard" (1993:14). As she observed, this use of 'immigrant' is in full contradiction with any intention of homogenization of the Catalan 'people'.

In the face of experiences of social differentiation, many people in Tres Barrios affirmed in different ways their right to be called Catalan. Young people reacted against when they were called 'Andalusian' or "charnegos" ("xarnegos" in Catalan), two terms that "became interchangeable" in Catalonia (Rodriguez 1993:277). The word "charnego" is a pejorative term to call working class Catalans without Catalan origins that in many cases with the terms –with the final intention of signaling a condition of non-Catalan. I recalled when Blanca told me that she hated the word 'charnego', because "it seems like a name for a dog".

It was the best-situated youths of Tres Barrios –like Blanca-- who seemed most offended when these terms appeared. Jose's brother-in-law, a young man about 30 years-old who worked at an office in the service sector, told me how much it upset him when his neighbor called him "the Andalusian", to which he responded: "My parents are Andalusian, I am Catalan". In other situations, youth in lower socioeconomic positions reacted with indifference when other people referred to them or to their "fiestas" as Andalusian.

In this context of questioning and denial, a battle for the recognition of belonging to the Catalan community took place. The strategy was twofold and showed

that this battle for Catalaness was played through indirect mechanisms: parents fight for their descendants and children for their parents.

On the one hand, parents were very sensitive to the presentation of their sons and daughters. To them, it was very important to highlight that their descendants were already Catalans. Very often, parents emphasized the Catalan ‘behaviors’ of their kids (speaking the Catalan language, being a fan of Barcelona’s soccer team, feeling very Catalan) as signs of their Catalaness. On the other hand, youngsters called attention to their parents’ identification with Catalonia, and the knowledge of the Catalan language possessed by their parents. In some cases, some youths showed no problem asserting that their parents talked the Catalan language much better than they did.

In addition, public discourses about ‘Catalaness’ were listened to with attention and could generate reactions, as the one I describe now. One night, while at the “Feria de Abril”, TE (Bea’s mother) showed to me how strong the sensitivity could be. TE’s economic and educational levels were higher than the majority of the residents of Tres Barrios. In a very moving tone, she said to me:

Quote 4/11:

TE: Yo aprendí el catalán en la calle porque al llegar aquí pensé que tenía que aprender la lengua de Cataluña. La oía en la calle, en el metro, aunque estaba prohibido hablarla, la gente la seguía hablando igual. Yo tenía buen acento y todo. Pero un día oí al señor Pujol en la radio diciendo ‘A los andaluces no los hemos de echar, ‘ja se n’aniran ells’. Eso me picó, qué quiere decir? Yo que he puesto las raíces por el suelo, para qué todo eso cuando la cultura catalana seguía viva ¿para qué esa exageración?

1 TE: I learned Catalan in the streets because when I got here I  
 2 thought that I should learn the language of Catalonia. I heard it in  
 3 the streets, in the metro, although it was prohibited to speak it,  
 4 people kept speaking it anyway. [I] had a good accent and  
 5 everything. But one day I heard Mr. Pujol saying on the radio  
 6 "We don't have to kick the Andalusians out, they will leave all by  
 7 themselves" (last part said in Catalan). That really ticked me off,  
 8 what's that supposed to mean? After I'd already put my roots  
 9 down here... What was the point of all that when the Catalan  
 10 culture was still alive and well, why force it on us?

These words reveal the experience and burden of ethnicity: even if the Catalan language was spoken (lines 1-5) acquiring a Catalan status was not possible because for Catalan people, represented in this case by the President of their most significant institution, the Generalitat, she will never be a real Catalan, even if she had tried hard, even if she forgot about her roots for a while (line 8-9). That radio message—which seems to be out of context—reminded her that she was not a real Catalan and that she was an outsider; as such, she could be kicked out.

Language use in Catalonia is perceived as crucial to define markers of belonging. Life in Tres Barrios points to the complex relationship between language and power. While an accommodation to Spanish may be perceived as an indicator of a different treatment, the maintenance of Catalan may be perceived also in a negative way. Sometimes, the accommodation norm from Catalan to Spanish—a linguistic norm that has regulated bilingual encounters in Catalonia for many years<sup>16</sup>-- was perceived as a sign of difference and of non-admission into the Catalan group. In general, linguistic behaviors and the use of language accommodation are a very fruitful area to

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<sup>16</sup>. See Woolard (1989: 69-80) for more on the accommodation norm in Catalonia.

analyze processes of group difference and identity in Catalonia. For instance, that same day in the "Feria", TE told me that every time she spoke Catalan, her friends would change into Spanish. No matter how she behaved, even if she spoke Catalan with a good accent, she was not accepted as a Catalan. That bothered her so much that she said that this was the reason why she decided to stop speaking Catalan.

Although the relationship of language and group belonging is kept alive among young Castilian speakers, it allows more interpretations and is usually more flexible than the TE's experience showed about adult immigrants. In my encounters with young people, I realized that references to which language is spoken to whom and when arose very frequently, sometimes without me directly questioning the language of others. I observed that young people talked and liked to talk about language and that they always seemed to care about specific elements of language use. Therefore, even in a Castilian monolingual group, issues of language were present. Castilian speakers in Tres Barrios talked about moments in which they felt ashamed to speak Catalan, about fear to making a mistake, and about how they talked to their bosses, to their workmates, and to their friends.

The relations between language, identity and belonging were very intricate for young people of Tres Barrios. As a boy explained, language choice contained misunderstandings and generated conflicts. Although T lived in a quite bilingual setting (since he was a child, he was member of the "esplai" of the neighborhood, a Catalan social club for kids and young people) and he knew the Catalan language quite well, he got upset in some of the occasions in which other people used Catalan with



him. Here are his words:

Quote 4/12:

T: Pues la verdad es que me molestan ciertas actitudes a veces de mí mismo. Cuando me contestan en catalán y siguen hablando en catalán, aunque yo hable en castellano, o al revés, eso me molesta. ¿Por qué ser tan burro, si se pueden saber las dos lenguas sólo hablar una de ellas? No lo entiendo, yo hablo y escribo las dos, quizás en un grado de corrección más alto en castellano que en catalán. Pero como el otro día, tuve una enganchada en la facultad. Una señora me dijo algo en catalán y yo le contesté en castellano y me preguntó si no sabía hablar en catalán. Me cabreé mucho.

1 T: Well, the truth is that certain attitudes that I myself have bother  
2 me sometimes. When someone answers me in Catalan, for  
3 example, and they keep on speaking Catalan even when I speak  
4 Castilian, or the other way around, that bugs me. Why do they  
5 have to be so dumb, if it's possible to know both languages, why  
6 speak only one of them? I don't get it, I speak and write both of  
7 them, maybe in Castilian I make fewer mistakes than in Catalan.  
8 But, just the other day, I had a run-in at the university. A lady said  
9 something to me in Catalan, and I answered in Castilian, and then  
10 she asked me if I didn't know how to speak Catalan. It really  
11 pissed me off.

The following fragment corresponds to a group of girlfriends that, not even 15 years old, had already dropped out of school. None of them thought they might continue studying in the future. I had asked them about their use of the Catalan language, which generated a set of reactions that show the active role of language in relation to self-presentation and group belonging.

## Quote 4/13:

AR: Y el catalán, lo habláis?

A: Lo hablamos bien, me da un poco de vergüenza porque cuando hablo con alguien que habla catalán en su casa pienso 'le hablo castellano que estoy más segura'.

B: Yo sí sé hablarlo, en la escuela y eso, con los amigos no.

C: En castellano, sé hablarlo y eso... lo hablamos en la clase de catalán.

A: Yo tengo una amiga que es catalana-catalana y a mí se me dirige en castellano. Los niños a los que cuido sus padres les hablan en catalán y ellos en catalán y a mí se me dirigen en castellano porque mi madre va muchas veces a limpiar y mi hermana y a ellas les hablan en castellano.

B: En mi clase también, están hablando un grupo en catalán y si estás tú se te lo repiten en castellano y [tú] dices no, no, si lo entiendo.

AR: Y no os molesta eso?

All: No!

B: No, yo lo entiendo, para que yo me entere también.

- 1 AR: Do you all speak Catalan?
- 2 A: We speak it well, it's a bit embarrassing because when I speak
- 3 to someone who speaks Catalan at home I think 'I'm going to
- 4 speak to him/her in Castilian, I feel more sure of myself.'
- 5 B: I speak it, at school and all that, not with my friends.
- 6 C: In Castilian, I know how to speak it and all that... we speak it in
- 7 our Catalan language class.
- 8 A: I have a friend that it Catalan-Catalan and she speaks to me in
- 9 Castilian. The kids I take care of speak to their parents in Catalan,
- 10 and the parents speak Catalan, but the speak Castilian to me
- 11 because my mother goes there quite often to clean and my sister
- 12 speaks to them in Castilian
- 13 B: In my class too, a group is talking in Catalan and then you go
- 14 over there and they repeat it in Castilian and [you] say 'no no, I
- 15 understand'.
- 16 AR: And this doesn't bother you all?
- 17 All: No!
- 18 B: No, I can understand it, [they do it] so that I can understand
- 19 everything too.

For this group of girl friends, the interpretation of language choice was full of meaning. The way people talked to them –in what language, mainly-- was interpreted in key of external identity. For them, language the others used to talk to them revealed

the way people perceived them. Among these girls, the level of attention on language was very high. A (line 9) said that 'real' Catalans talked to them in Castilian (lines 9-13) which meant no conflict (lines 9-13). The three girls justify the change of code that people did to talk to them (lines 18, 19). Although they say they know how to speak the Catalan language, they all establish specific and restricted moments for that language (lines 2-5). Basically, they made a differentiation between the situations in and out of school. Catalan is the language of school. When they are with friends, when they need a little confidence (in front of those who are Catalan speakers or people that 'speak Catalan at home'), they speak Castilian. Interpretation of the language in which one is responded to in Tres Barrios is, therefore, very complex. While Catalan can be understood as a difficulty to social integration, an accommodation to Castilian may be seen as a questioning of belonging.

There is a relationship between how belonging is experienced and the social position of the respondents. The next fragment shows how people with a better social position were more receptive to language use. This belongs to a short piece of a long conversation with Jordy, Emi, Camila, Jose, Millan, and Blanca.

**Quote 4/14:**

**Blanca:** Ahora yo digo yo no hablo catalán porque no sé, entonces como [Cataluña] está dentro de España pues me entiendo en castellano y, por qué los que se fueron a Alemania tuvieron que aprender el alemán por...[narices] y aquí no se les pone que aprendan por narices? Porque la gente o no os habéis dado cuenta de la mujer que nos ha preguntado...

**Jordy:** Sí.

**Blanca:** Si iba directo [el tren], ha empezado a hablar en catalán.

Millan: En catalán

Blanca: Y cuando nosotros le hemos contestado en castellano ha seguido en castellano, no ha seguido en catalán.

Camila: Pero hay mucha gente que tú le hablas en...

Blanca: Y a ésta [mujer] le ha costado hablar en castellano, porque aún así en castellano, ¡vaya acentazo que tenía!

1 Blanca: Now I say that I don't speak Catalan, because since  
2 [Catalonia] is in Spain, well I speak Castilian, and because those  
3 that went to Germany had to learn German... and here they don't  
4 force them to learn it? Because people, or did you guys not realize  
5 that that woman who asked us...

6 Jordy: Yeah

7 Blanca: If [the train] was non-stop, she began speaking in  
8 Catalan...

9 Millan: Yes, in Catalan

10 Blanca: And when we answered her in Castilian she continued in  
11 Castilian, she didn't continue in Catalan.

12 Camila: But there's a lot of people that when you talk to them in ...

13 Blanca: And this lady, she had a tough time speaking Castilian,  
14 because even in Castilian she had some accent!

These words show an extraordinary level of sensibility to language use. After two hours of having done a short trip by train, Blanca, who possessed a better social position than the rest of their friends, still remembered an exchange they had in that train (lines 4 and 5). The moment in which a woman switched from Catalan to Spanish to talk to them was relevant to Blanca. For her, that switch was a consequence of the nature of Catalan language as a non-required language to live in Catalonia (lines 1-4). The negative interpretation of the effort made by a women whose language was Catalan and accommodated to Castilian (lines 14 and 15) has to be understood as part of a general will that Blanca had, which she expressed at different occasions: being treated with no differences. On some occasion, she told me that she was prepared to

code switch from Castilian to Catalan when she perceived that the other person is Catalan. The problem is that, like in the scene of the train, there are not many opportunities.

Visits to villages of origin, usually in the summer, worked as powerful engines in the creation of new margins or levels of identity. These situations showed that identity is not a constant reality but a changeable one that varies and is shaped in particular moments and concrete circumstances. During the time spent in Andalusia, new feelings of belonging that did not exist in their daily lives in Tres Barrios emerged. In that context, for instance, Catalan and Andalusian identities had a different meaning. Walking through the streets of La Campana—a little village close to Seville-- with Jordy and Emi, I realized that they looked for symbols of a common Catalan identity (people, cars, language) that led them to differentiate them from native Andalusians. By saying that “Here we are called Catalans” they were signaling a new level of identity that existed only in the context of the hot summers of Andalusia and disappeared back in Tres Barrios. Often, they did not feel comfortable being in the “pueblos” and they said that they feel like going back ‘here’, back to Tres Barrios, where life was very different from there. One girl reported that she feels relieved when she starts approaching the outer limits of Catalonia on her way home from Andalucía.

For the second generation, when they visited the “pueblos” of their parents to spend their holidays, they feel that many differences set them apart from the people there. They do not belong there, either. Differences surface very quickly. As soon as

these differences show up, they generate a feeling of 'us and them'. For example, Emi, who visits Andalusia every summer with her family, told me one day that the girls in "el pueblo" go out at night with short skirts and high heel shoes, all dolled up ("muy arregladas") while we wear jeans, we're very different ("nosotras vamos con tejanos, somos muy diferentes"). Things like customs of dress and the time they are required to get back home at night make feel them very different. Emi laughed explaining the anecdote that when they arrive, girls in "el pueblo" get very upset because boys only want to date them. She also remembered how, some days before Catalans arrived to the "pueblo", she heard people saying: "Mañana llegan los polacos y la gente va mirando los autocares" (Tomorrow the Pollacks arrive, and people start looking at the buses). The term "polaco" is a pejorative name used in the rest of Spain to label Catalan people.

Belonging was also questioned in a different way. Reports about conflict and rejection of their parents' condition of Andalusians were very frequent. In the "pueblos", they are not seen as 'Andalusian' and immigrants did not understand why, since they had to leave Andalusia to survive, they are not respected and valued. Their children often discuss the unfairness of the situation with their parents. Visiting their "pueblos" of origin in Anadalusia or Extremadura has become relatively easy in terms of cost and time. During these visits, however, the ethnic experience was also intense. In these cases, the likelihood of experiencing *the rebuff of the origin* increased.

Finally, a very different form of denial comes from the perception of social disadvantages (i.e. discrimination) with an ethnic basis. Ethnicity was also a way of

talking about social differences. In a context where references to social class were always much subtler than references to ethnicity, the ethnic factor was sometimes used as a substitute for class. Talking about Catalan people was a strategy to talk about better-situated groups. In many situations, ethnicity was identified as an element that explained certain forms of social closure and social mobility. In other words, it was related to the opportunities and constraints that they had to face in their lives.

Even when belonging to a group seems assured, the emergence of different possibilities and constraints based on ethnic elements constitute a powerful force in identity formation. The example of the Pérezes is as point in case. The Pérezes had a relatively good economic level. Mr. Perez, who retired only a few months before I met him, worked in a big automobile company. Although they had lived in Tres Barrios for more than 15 years, they moved to a neighboring area where, according to them, they could get a bigger apartment and a quieter life (the apartment was considerably bigger than all the apartments of Tres Barrios that I visited). I met the Pérezes in the "Feria de Abril", when Jose introduced me to them. I told them that I would like to talk to them about their lives, and they invited me to have coffee. The following week, Mr. and Mrs. Pérez were waiting for me in their house. We talked about many different things. The atmosphere was quite cozy. The Pérez's had a very positive idea of Catalonia. They said in various moments that their children were full Catalans and that they feel and speak the Catalan language as their own. However, there was a moment in our conversation when the issue of ethnic discrimination appeared.

## Quote 4/15:

Mr. Pérez: En el trabajo no debería de haber distinciones para entrar en un trabajo, tendría que haber una igualdad, ni andaluces ni catalanes ni nada, el que vale vale, sea catalán o sea andaluz o sea de donde sea.

Ms. Pérez: Pero mi hijo lo hablaba, pero le dijeron que tenía que venir de descendencia.

Mr. Pérez: Que no venía de raíces catalanas.

Ms. Pérez: Me dijo ella que no era verdad, dijo que era la puntuación, si ¿y si hay otro que sus padres son catalanes con la misma puntuación, qué?

Mr. Pérez: En la empresa mía donde yo trabajaba sí [que pasaban estas cosas]. Los puestos mejores que había de encargada/d/o, de jefe, casi todo era catalán. Escogían más a los que sabían catalán y eran catalanes para darles un cargo mejor que otro que otro que supiera más no se lo daban eso sí es cierto. Allí había obrero/s/ oficiales que eran mucho mejores que uno que estaba llevando el cargo y era catalán y porque sabía catalán [pause]. Eso lo hablábamos si no había más remedio.

Ms. Pérez: Nuestras amistades catalanas que tenemos más allí en Cunit que aquí, nos lo han dicho, sí es así.

Mr. Pérez: Ahora de trato nos consideraban a todos iguales, ahora lo que es el mando directivo y la responsabilidad, si podían, si no encontraban a ninguno se tenían que conformar con lo que hay pero como hubiera uno [un catalán] aunque no tuviera las capacidad del otro lo metían. Eso desde que vine yo aquí a Barcelona, eso ha pasado siempre. Cada uno barre pa/ra/ su casa

Ms. Pérez: Yo lo entiendo que cada uno barra pa/ra/ su casa

Mr. Pérez: A lo mejor es una cosa lógica, pasa en todos sitios supongo.

- 1 Mr. Pérez: At work there shouldn't be distinctions to getting a job,
- 2 it should be equal, not Andalusians or Catalans or anything like
- 3 that, the good worker is the the one they should take, if he's
- 4 Catalan, Andalusian, or from wherever else.
- 5 Ms. Pérez: But my son spoke it [Catalan], but they told him that he
- 6 had to come from a Catalan family.
- 7 Mr. Pérez: He didn't come from Catalan roots.
- 8 Ms. Pérez: She told me that it wasn't true, she said that it was the
- 9 grade, yeah, but if there is another [candidate] with the same grade
- 10 whose parents are Catalan? What [would happen]?
- 11 Mr. Pérez: In the company where I worked, yes [these things
- 12 happened]. The best jobs that there were like for supervisor, boss,
- 13 almost all of them were Catalans. They chose the ones that knew
- 14 Catalan and were Catalan more to give them a better job than
- 15 another that knew more they didn't give it to him, that's true.



16 There were workers there that were much better than the Catalan  
17 one that spoke Catalan that was in charge. [pause] We used to talk  
18 about that, if there was nothing we could do about it.

19 Ms. Pérez: Our Catalan friends that we have, more in Cunit than  
20 here, they have told us that yes, it is like that.

21 Mr. Pérez: In terms of treatment, they treated us all the same, but  
22 when we talk about directive powers and positions of  
23 responsibility, if they could, if they couldn't find anyone they had  
24 to make due with what there was, but if there was one [Catalan],  
25 although he didn't have the same capacity as the other, they gave it  
26 to him. This has happened since I came here to Barcelona, this has  
27 always gone on. Each has to protect his own.

28 Ms. Pérez: I understand that each has to protect his own.

29 Mr. Pérez: It's probably a logical thing. I suppose it happens  
30 everywhere.

Even though some minutes before in the same conversation they pointed out an unquestioned belonging to Catalonia –and their sympathy for the idea of being Catalans-- there were situations that made them change their minds. In the specific moment of getting a job that Mr. and Mrs. Pérez described, they felt that their immigrant origins were creating social difference and exclusion. This sentiment of exclusion from some occupations due to a non-Catalan origin has been detected also in Rodríguez's work (1993). Particularly, the Pérezes believed that ethnic preferences, favoritism, interests, solidarity links, and close-knit ties existed and counted in the social structure of Catalonia. Therefore, a moment of job (social) competition revealed some levels of difference and discrimination, which had not been visible before. Taking into account that in the Catalan model of ethnic relations, internal discrimination is considered a *taboo* –any denounce of social discrimination may be interpreted as an anti-Catalan point of view; the possibility of discrimination against Catalans of immigrant origin is a topic that cannot be talked about in public-- the fact

of the existence of these feeling is especially relevant for future social analysis.

#### **D. Dual identities**

The specific configuration of the Spanish state as a territory with high internal mobility of persons from poor to rich areas has brought processes of dual identity to surface. In addition, the 'dialectic contrast' between Catalonia and Spain (Barrera 1985:348) has generated intense moments of 'double subjectivity', using Rodríguez words (1993:13) for some inhabitants of Catalonia. The crosscut of immigration and nationalism generates identity contradictions for some inhabitants of Catalonia (Linz 1985, Perez Agote 1986). As I explained in chapter 1, according to Linz and Stephan (1996) in plurinational states, the relationship between the regional part and the whole state is problematic, with "either-or choices" coming from both the dominant nation in the state and the dominated nationalisms try to make. They use the term "dual identity" to explain the desire to not resign to anything<sup>17</sup>. In this section I use the term dual identities to describe these identity situations.

The dichotomy Catalonia-Spain was always present among the people of Tres Barrios. In very different ways, they expressed a concern for the existing relationship between the two categories. Basically, they found some difficulties when they try to

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<sup>17</sup> The term "dual identity" has been defined in many different ways. Rex (1987) referred to the concept of dual identity to talk about the feeling that some immigrant groups develop when they feel they do not belong neither here nor there. However, in this section, I'm using the concept of dualism to emphasize

define Catalan and Spanish identities as inclusive. Even if they said they found resistance and negative responses, they tried to define 'being Andalusian' as a way of solving some of these conflicts.

Having to choose between identities that are presented in conflict is one of the most important difficulties they face. Bea explained in front of some of her friends that she got very upset one day when she heard that a popular Catalan TV showman –well-known for his pro-independence position-- said that to be Catalan and to be Spanish were incompatible things. Bea, then, reacted with anger and answered my question about her Catalan identity in this way: "Catalana...mmm...la verdad es que catalana no me siento, me siento española" (Catalan...mmm...to tell you the truth I don't feel Catalan, I feel Spanish). A risk that exclusionary identities have is to jeopardize one of them. In the case of a Catalan identity, when 'to be a Catalan' is not perceived as inclusive and compatible, it may be rejected in favor of the Spanish category, perceived therefore as more open and less restrictive. This was the case of Bea who told me that, sometimes, she felt that she had to decide between Catalonia and Spain. Faced with this dichotomy, when stability was in danger, the Spanish identity was viewed as a better option for Bea.

Strategies for fighting the dichotomy Catalonia-Spain appeared every time I asked the question "how do you feel?" or "do you feel Catalan?". Young people tried to combine different possibilities in ways that did not imply renounces. Young people in Tres Barrios wanted to add, not to subtract. It is also in this context that 'being

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the conflictive dimension that sometimes make two or more identities appear contradictory.

Andalusian' represented a new possible identity for young people in Tres Barrios. The new Andalusian "fiestas" and identity allowed them to signal internal diversities of Catalan identity as well as the plurality of the Spanish personality.

Quote 4/16:

Emi: Yo me siento orgullosa de ser catalana, me gusta, yo soy catalana, tengo mis raíces andaluzas y también soy española.

- 1 Emi: I feel proud to be Catalan, I like it, I am Catalan, I have
- 2 Andalusian roots and I am Spanish, too.

The need to express inclusive and harmonic identities is very often expressed. The following is an example of a boy that made great efforts to define his identity in inclusive terms. T is the son of an Andalusian couple who immigrated in the 50's and he had never participated in the Andalusian cultural movement, although he knew about them since he was a child. He studied at the university, where he also worked as a concierge.

Quote 4/17:

AR: Tú, cómo te sientes?

T: Bueno, no sé, es difícil de decir [pause] yo soy muy español. Una amiga mía que es gallega, bueno sus padres son gallegos, nos invitó a Galicia y me encantó. Cuando he estado en las fiestas de algún pueblo, me ha encantado. Me gusta todo. No me considero ni catalán ni andaluz. Un momento que me pondría en un conflicto sería si hubiera independencia. Me quedaría aquí porque aquí tengo mi vida, pero catalán nunca me sentiría.

- 1 AR: How do you feel?
- 2 T: Well, I don't know, it's hard to say [pause] I am very Spanish.

3 A friend of mine is Galician, well, her parents are galician, and she  
 4 invited us to Galicia and I loved it. When I have gone to the  
 5 "fiesta" of some village, I've also loved it. I like everything. I don't  
 6 think of myself as either Catalan or Andalusian. A time which  
 7 would bring me a moment of conflict would be if there were ever  
 8 independence. I would stay here because my life is here, but I  
 9 would never feel Catalan.

There are two aspects in T's words that I want to highlight. First, T constructed his Spanish identity based on the richness of cultural diversity within Spain (lines 2-6). Among the young people of Tres Barrios, this was a very common strategy. There were many times when they celebrate with their words their love for difference, variation, and multiplicity. To signal that question, T used the expression "I like everything" (lines 5-6).

Second, the symbolic role of independence. The mere idea of a political model outside of Spain awakened fears and susceptibilities among young people. Political independence was read in terms of exclusion. References to Catalan independence appeared often in conversations and they devoted time and effort to talk about it. It is important to note that independence was not one of the main topics of the political agenda during the time I did my fieldwork. The words of T (lines 6-9) are very clear in that respect. Fears of independence arose in opposition to his inclusive vision of culture and identity. A very elaborated discourse indicated that it was not the first time that he had thought about that possible moment of conflict (line 7). The expression "I would never feel Catalan" (line 9) signals that, 'to feel Catalan' represented not only a sentiment of being part of Catalonia but it was related to a highly politicized vision of what being Catalan meant. A little bit later in the same conversation, the boy recalled

how upset he was the day he saw a Catalan flag in the top of a mountain.

Quote 4/18:

T: Recuerdo una vez, no sé si yo era monitor (de l'esplai), que llegamos a Sau y había allí un poste con una bandera catalana que el anterior grupo había dejado para nosotros. Eso me chocó muchísimo, no sé, no me gustó. Con mis amigos hablábamos castellano, claro todos éramos hijos de inmigrantes, como toda la gente de este barrio. Me molestan todos los nacionalismos (...) Yo no siento las raíces pero me siento parte de un colectivo de hijos de gente que no son de aquí, yo los distingo mucho de los que son catalanes-catalanes en que no nos gustan los extremismos nacionalistas.

1 **T: I Remember once, I don't know now if I was the camp counselor**  
 2 **or what, when we got to Sau and there was a flagpole with the**  
 3 **Catalan flag on it that the last group had left for us. It really**  
 4 **affected me, I don't know, I didn't like it at all. My friends and I all**  
 5 **speak Castilian among ourselves, I mean; we're all immigrants'**  
 6 **children, like everyone in this neighborhood. All nationalism**  
 7 **bothers me.**

For T, that flag had a strong symbolic meaning of imposition and denial of ways of being Catalan with which he felt rejected. His reaction is a shout against a model of society that highly values ethnicity and the definition of who you are.

Finally, different cultural identities were presented to young people as dichotomist values and dual realities that represented excluding worlds impossible to integrate in the same experience. For young people, social realities such as 'Catalonia', 'Barcelona', or 'Tres Barrios', implied distinct socio-cultural realities. As JL explained, while some of these realities are strange and distant, others are considered close and familiar.

## Quote 4/19:

JL: A mi es que Catalunya no me tira, me tira Hospitalet porque es más/ de emigrantes, está casi toda Andalucía metida aquí porque aquí en Hospitalet lo que más/ hay son andaluce/s/, extremeño/s/, lo que más/ hay e/s/ {de} eso, ahora Barcelona me gusta como ciudad, pero como tirarme, no sé, sentirme de Barcelona no, me siento de Hospitalet, pero de Barcelona no.

1 JL: I don't really like Catalunya: I like Hospitalet because it's got  
 2 more immigrants; most of Andalucía is there...because most people  
 3 are Andalusian or from Extremadura...that's what there are most  
 4 of. I like Barcelona as a city but not to feel part of - no I feel I'm  
 5 from Hospitalet but not from Barcelona.

Certainly, this association of places with social values and groups is part of the map of social identity that the crosscut of class, ethnicity and nationalism has made possible.

### **E. The political meaning of Catalonia**

Catalonia, the Catalan identity, and the Catalan language had high ideological implications for many young people in Tres Barrios. The Catalan identity was assimilated many times to a certain attitude and position in relation to the role of Catalonia in Spain. Jordy, who many different times played the role of 'being Catalan' in front of his friends and of myself, one day clarified his position in front of all of us.

Quote 4/20:

Jordy: Incluso a veces me siento catalán, pero hay mucho de politiquero, yo soy catalán pero sin independentismo. Más de una vez se me escapan palabras en catalán.

1 Jordy: Even sometimes I feel Catalan, but there's a lot of  
2 politicking, I am Catalan but without independent feelings. More  
3 that once words in Catalan have slipped out. [while speaking  
4 Castilian].

Jordy made an interesting distinction between 'being Catalan' and 'feeling Catalan', being the first one as a *the facto* position and the second one as a attitudinal way of facing the dichotomy Catalonia-Spain. The use of the word "politiquero" – politicking-- (line 2) expresses a vision of political manipulation despite his more positive and spontaneous 'Catalaness'. The distinction between these two approaches was a very important one among young people in Tres Barrios. Anyone that wanted to present him or herself as a Catalan, had first to 'clean' it from any 'suspicious' idea of 'supportive of Catalan independence', which would imply a form of exclusion.

The political meaning of Catalonia finds one of its greatest expressions in language. The issue of the Catalan language is one of the more politicized areas among young people of Tres Barrios. When the issue of the Catalan language came up in our conversations, boys and girls immediately took an ideological position for or against it. Catalan language had become much more than a language. The Catalan language is a problematized issue that never leaves people indifferent. Every time I asked them about language, language was transformed into a rich area where the young people could argue for long periods of time. In individual talks, the issue of



language was usually treated with less emphasis and more caution. I remember that during Blanca's interview, I waited until the end to ask her about language. When I said: "There's one more thing that I want to talk about, the issue of language", she said, "Yes, I was expecting it. I was sure that you were going to ask me about language". Somehow, knowing that my interest was related to ethnic identity, my informants always expected language to come up. In group conversations, issues such as the obligation/voluntary condition of Catalan, the nature of the Catalan language as a language or a dialect, or simply who speaks it and when, attracted their attention. The political project of Catalonia as a recognized (independent) nation was in the mind of young people. The political meaning of Catalonia --and of all its symbols-- was present in the way they approached a possible Catalan identity. C explained how the political weight of the Catalan project interfered in her attitude towards language.

Quote 4/21:

AR: ¿Hablas catalán en tu trabajo?

C: Todo el día. A ver a mí me ha costado mucho habituarme a hablar porque, no sé, cuando voy a Andalucía se me pega mucho el dejillo, este verano estuvieron una amigas vascas y enseguida pillé el dejillo. Pero a mí una cosa me gusta aprenderla porque sí, porque me viene de gusto, pero a mí que me la impongan...ya no es lo mismo. Entonces [pause] vale lo veo muy bien que es Cataluña, que se quiera independizar, que la lengua, lo veo perfecto, pero se está normalizando la lengua de una forma brutal porque a ver, me da mucha rabia que por ejemplo, psicología o filosofía o alguna asignatura así, que estabas dando el Nietzsche, que el libro te venga en catalán, que filosofía que es super espesa, que una misma página me la tengo que leer cinco veces porque no me entero de nada, encima en catalán. No me cuesta, lo sé escribir perfectamente y lo hablo bien pero no deja de no ser mi lengua, yo pienso en castellano, esto lo tengo clarísimo, yo me he cerrado muchísimo en este tema y me jodía, ostras, el libro de filosofía en

catalán, ¿lo habéis visto?. Y venía la seña de filosofía 'si perquè el capítol aquest, perquè no sé que i no sé quantos'. Y yo decía, jolines, será posible, asignaturas de estas espesitas y encima te las obligan a hacer en catalán. A mí me sentaba mal que lo hicieran de esta manera.

1 AR: Do you speak Catalan at work?

2 C: All day long. I mean, it's been hard for me to get used to  
3 speaking it because, I don't know, when I go to Andalucía I pick up  
4 the accent really quickly, and this summer there were some Basque  
5 girls there and I picked up their accent really fast. But I like  
6 learning things because I want to learn them just because, because  
7 I feel like it, but when they impose something on you... it's just not  
8 the same. So [pause] ok, so I think it's great that it's Catalonia,  
9 that it wants to be independent, that the language, I think all of  
10 that is great, but the [Catalan] language is being "normalized" in a  
11 brutal way, because, I mean, it ticks me off that for example,  
12 psychology or philosophy or some other subject like that, where  
13 they're teaching Nietzsche, that your textbook is in Catalan, 'cause  
14 philosophy is very dense, I have to read the same page five times  
15 because I don't understand a thing, and on top of everything, it's in  
16 Catalan. It [Catalan] is not hard for me, I know how to write it  
17 perfectly and I speak it well, but that doesn't mean I don't notice  
18 that it's not my language, I think in Castilian, I know that for sure,  
19 I have closed myself off in this topic and it pissed me off, geez, the  
20 philosophy book in Catalan, have you guys seen this?. Y then the  
21 philosophy proof came 'because this capítol, because of this,  
22 because of that'. And I said, gosh, I can't believe that I have these  
23 dense subjects and on top of everything they oblige you to do them  
24 in Catalan. It made me feel bad that they did it this way.

Resistance to the Catalan language was also found in the field of language normalization within the school system. Here the same girl explained to me some difficulties she found in her process of learning at school.

Here is an example of all the political implications that the issue of language had for my informants. This fragment belongs to the same day when we were playing a game in which I played the role of a Mexican woman and they have to imagine how they would talk to her.

## Quote 4/22:

AR: Entonces en Catalunya ¿es este sitio donde hay una lengua a parte del español?

[Jose and Millan make gestures of negation].

Jordy: Sí

Blanca: Política.

Jordy: El catalán.

Emi: Otro idioma.

Camila: Una pregunta, ¿es idioma o sigue siendo lengua?

Jordy: Es lengua, es lengua, es lengua.

Camila: O dialecto, no dialecto no.

Emi: Es idioma para los catalanes, pero fuera de España es una lengua, en la academia de la lengua esa.

Jordy: Yo he estado estudiando las lenguas y eso y el catalán[interruption] [es una lengua].

Blanca: Jose, defiéndeme, me estás haciendo así con la cara pero no dices nada!

AR: Pero ¿qué diferencia hay entre lengua y idioma, tenéis muchos líos en Cataluña?

Jordy: No

Blanca: Nooo!!! [meaning yes]

Jose: Con la lengua sí.

Blanca: En Cataluña [hay] conflictos porque hay mucha gente de fuera.

Jordy: Bueno, pero yo creo que en Cataluña el catalán tiene que ir metiéndose porque dentro de un tiempo serán nuestros hijos los que vivan, ya no serán nuestros padres.

Blanca: Pero no hablarán catalán.

Jose: No hablarán catalán.

Camila: A mí nadie me va a obligar a hablar en catalán.

Emi: Hombre, si vinieran mañana y te dicen en el cole que tiene que hablar catalán [XXX] y que, tienes que hablar catalán con tus padres...

Mi padre sí que habla el catalán muy bien.

Blanca: Y mi padre.

Jose: Por lo tanto ahí tenéis que es un idioma.

Camila: Es una lengua!

Millan: Ahora no, Jose.

1 AR: So in Catalonia, is it that place where this is a language  
2 ("lengua") besides Spanish?  
3 [Jose and Millan make gestures of negation].  
4 Jordy: Yes  
5 Blanca: Politics.  
6 Jordy: Catalan.  
7 Emi: Another language ("idioma").  
8 Camila: Question, is it an idioma or is it still a lengua?  
9 Jordy: It's lengua, it's lengua, it's lengua.  
10 Camila: Or dialect, no, not a dialect.  
11 Emi: It's an idioma for the Catalans, but outside of Spain it's  
12 a lengua, in that Academy of the Lengua.  
13 Jordy: I've been studying lenguas, and all that and Catalan  
14 [interruption] [is a lengua].  
15 Blanca: Jose, defend me, you're making faces at me but  
16 you're not saying anything!  
17 AR: But, what's the difference between lengua and idioma,  
18 are you confused in Catalonia?  
19 Jordy: No  
20 Blanca: Nooo!!! [meaning yes]  
21 Jose: With lengua we are.  
22 Blanca: In Catalonia [there are] conflicts because there are a  
23 lot of people from other places.  
24 Jordy: Well, but I think that in Catalonia, Catalan has to start  
25 getting into everything, because in the future it will be out  
26 children that live the situation, it will no longer be our  
27 parents.  
28 Blanca: But they won't speak Catalan.  
29 Jose: They won't speak Catalan.  
30 Camila: Nobody is going to make me speak Catalan.  
31 Emi: Well, if they came tomorrow and they tell you at school  
32 that you have to speak Catalan [XXX] and that you have to  
33 speak Catalan with your parents... My father speaks Catalan  
34 really well.  
35 Blanca: Mine does too.  
36 Jose: So there you go, it's a idioma.  
37 Camila: It's a lengua!  
38 Millan: Not now, Jose.

The entrance of the issue of Catalan language generates a whole set of topics to appear. First, raising the issue of language and language coexistence in Catalonia produced some reactions among my friends. Jose and Millan expressed a negative attitude with body language. Blanca introduced a word full of meaning: "politics" (line 5) which, in this context, implies a conflictive and highly ideological understanding of any aspect related to the Catalan language. The fact that they were very plain in their responses and the use of body language –knowing that I was taping the conversation-- indicates that, even though I was playing the role of a Mexican woman, when the most conflictive issues appeared, they 'remembered' that I was a Catalan woman in front of whom it was very difficult to express certain feelings against the Catalan language or Catalonia.

Little by little, all the participants of the conversation took sides for a certain way of positioning in front of the issue of Catalan language. In this 'required' positioning, Jordy and Emi situated themselves as partisans of Catalan language (lines 6 and 7), while Blanca, Jose and Camila played a more critical role. It is interesting to note here that this kind of dualism was very frequent in Tres Barrios. Blanca asking for someone to defend her is a clear moment in which dichotomization and confrontation are expressed (line 15-16). I should point out here also that positions taken vary according to the situation. For instance, one day that we were only the two of us, Jordy told me that he was reluctant to accept a job because he thought he was going to find a social context "too Catalan" with "those kind of Catalan people that I don't like". In the same way, I have showed how, in a different situation, Blanca highlighted her

Catalaness in front of 'the others', who, by opposition, were the 'Andalusian'.

The categorization of a language as a dialect or an idiom is a very powerful ideological strategy for filling languages with certain values (Grillo 1989). This is still a very common strategy used in Catalonia in relation to the Catalan language, and lines 8-14 and 35-37 are excellent examples of that. When Camila asks her question, she knows that it is not an innocent question. The opposition between "idioma" and "lengua" requires some explanation. The words "idioma", "lengua" and "dialecto" seem to be related, in these order, to a mixture of two elements: official status and linguistic relation with Castilian language. However, there seem to be some disagreement among them in the way of understanding these terms, which creates some level of confusion in Jose and Camila (lines 10 and 21). While for Camila "idioma" represents a higher degree of official status and differentiation (lines 8, 10 and 29), for Jose (line 28) "lengua" occupies an upper degree in the same scale.

The next thing that showed up was the conflictive nature they had of the issue of Catalan language. Lines 17-29 signal that that conflict is understood basically in relation to one element: the voluntary nature or the obligation to speak Catalan. In Tres Barrios, among young people of immigrant origin, the issue of obligation is a main area of discussion in relation to language. The problem is stated in the following terms: since Catalonia belongs to Spain, and since many people in Catalonia are born outside Catalonia (but within Spain), Catalan language cannot be an obligation. Catalan is perceived for many people in Tres Barrios as a voluntary language not subject to impositions. Official monolingualism in Catalan was not justified.

Further on in this fragment, they talk about the way they talk about their future children. Jordy's words (lines 24-26) are extremely important because they signal an aspect of how young Catalans see themselves and of how language is experienced. For him, his descendants (the third generation of Catalans of immigrant origin) and not themselves (the second generation) will be "real Catalans" because they will be the first ones not to pay the price or burden of migration; therefore, they will experience language in a different way. However, there doesn't seem to be a general agreement on that, either. While Jordy believes that his children will feel Catalan is their own language, Blanca and Jose do not agree with him (lines 27 and 28).

Here is the last part of this fragment. These lines are interesting because they point to some of the values that shape the image of the Catalan language among this group of friends. The fact that the social map of language contains a high level of elaboration –together with the fact that these words follow a debate on the relations between language and politics-- shows that this map has also ideological meanings which need to be explained. Here are their words:

Quote 4/23:

AR: ¿La habla mucha gente esta lengua?

Jordy: Sí, sí.

Blanca: Sí

All together: Sí, sí

AR: Si yo voy a Barcelona y me paseo por la calle ¿la podré oír?

Jose: Lo podrás oír y incluso leer.

Blanca: Y leer, leer sobre todo.

Millan: Leerlo, oírlo y escucharlo.

Jose: Incluso desde hace poco los letreros [están] más en catalán que en castellano, los letreros y esas cosas.

AR: ¿Por toda Barcelona?

All together: Sí, sí.

Millan: Sobre todo Barcelona, eso sí.

Jordy: No, Barcelona no.

Millan: Centro.

Jordy: Centro, eso sí y cuanto más lejos de Barcelona te vayas también, más escucharás, en ciudades menos por eso que estamos hablando, porque en ciudades hay más gente de fuera.

Millan: Por así decirlo, en pueblos de montaña, cosas así.

- 1 AR: Do a lot of people speaks this language?
- 2 Jordy: Yes, yes.
- 3 Blanca: Yes
- 4 All together: Yes, yes
- 5 AR: If I go to Barcelona and I take a walk through the streets, will
- 6 I be able to hear it?
- 7 Jose: You could hear it and even read it.
- 8 Blanca: And read, read it especially.
- 9 Millan: Read it, heard it, and listen to it.
- 10 Jose: Even, for a short while now, even the street signs are more in
- 11 Catalan than Castilian, street signs and those kinds of things.
- 12 AR: In all of Barcelona?
- 13 All together: Yes, yes.
- 14 Millan: Especially in Barcelona, that's right.
- 15 Jordy: No, not Barcelona.
- 16 Millan: Downtown.
- 17 Jordy: Downtown, that's right, the farther from Barcelona city you
- 18 go, the more you will hear it, less in cities because what we were
- 19 talking about, because in cities there are more people from outside.
- 20 Millan: Let's put it this way, in mountain villages and things like
- 21 that.



First of all, when I asked them whether or not Catalan was the language of many people, they all agree in saying yes in a way that surprised me, not making any mention to internal diversity of Catalans. However, after my second question, they started setting the map of language: as a language with a strong public written expression (public signals); as a language of central (i.e. rich) and rural areas of Catalonia where 'people from outside' do not live. This discourse is part of a general strategy of defining and limiting the social space of Catalan language in a way that allows some people to stay outside of it.

But the political dimension of the Catalan language also implies a conflictive point of view. The Catalan language was perceived in many different moments as a possible source of identity conflict. For this young group of friends, language conflicts have a straight relationship with the political tensions between Catalonia and Spain. For them, language conflict represented moments in which they saw their position in the Catalan society as Catalans with immigrant origins in conflict, an intermediary position that generates moments of difficulties for young people, both as Catalans and as Spaniards, as the following examples try to show.

#### **F. Concluding remarks**

In this chapter, I have tried to show some of the most important difficulties implied in processes of identity in situations of peripheral nationalism. The intersection of immigration, class, and nationalism becomes very complicated in

Catalonia. Identity dilemmas are manifold. The definitions of "us and them" are mobile and generate many moments of exclusion and resistance to that exclusion. The words of my young informants, listened and interpreted in a process of intensive approach, have played a crucial role in the process of the disentangling these many difficulties. Through these words, it has been able to recognize important dilemmas that need to be taken into account: the social importance of origins as a chosen source of meaning; the obstacles that the intersection of language with class and ethnicity generates; the denial of belonging as one of the most important burdens of migration that remain in many societies; the crosscut of immigration and nationalism as a generator of identity contradictions; and the political meanings attached to certain forms of national identity.

## Chapter V: 'Being Andalusian': a way of interpreting life

One way of understanding why many people in Tres Barrios identify with the new Andalusian cultural forms is by exploring the meanings that they find within them. Why is it now meaningful for Ms. García, an Andalusian woman who arrived in Catalonia in the mid- 50's, to celebrate "El Rocío"? Why do Jordy and Camila, who have only been to Andalusia on a few occasions, feel comfortable in the Andalusian world? What is the real meaning of 'being Andalusian' in Catalonia? What are people trying to say when they use this expression?

The main purpose of this chapter is to understand these meanings. Placing emphasis on the interpretation of meanings involves a certain way of looking at social expressions of the origins of different cultures. Instead of considering these types of cultural manifestations as ethnic revivals of a common origin, to which participants *return* on a symbolic level, I want to argue that these expressions are a way for them to interpret and 'solve' their present reality and also a strategy for restructuring and transforming it. 'Being Andalusian' represents a new expression of the ways in which some working-class immigrants and their descendants have come to interpret social life in recent years. 'Being Andalusian' in Catalonia is an alternative way of *being* in a context which, as has been shown, implies multiple definitions and constraints for people in working, immigrant areas. Through the concept of 'being Andalusian' many

Catalans are claiming a new definition of their very identity which embodies a new way of being Catalan. This also provides them with a more satisfactory resolution to the delicate, frequently conflicting relationship between past, present and future. Finally, as regards young people, an investigation of the meaning of 'being Andalusian' will lead to an exploration of their traditions, a questioning of who they are and an attempt to construct a whole new 'persona'.

This chapter is organized in four sections. Each represents a central aspect of the alternative way of being that the Andalusian movement of Tres Barrios has brought together and helped to express. I have reached my conclusions after months of observing people and listening to their *voices*. It has been a long process involving the organization of three elements which, at first sight, did not make any sense at all:

1) the re-creation of origin as a way of reinventing traditions and identities 2) "el mundillo" as a way of celebrating commonality and thus becoming visible 3) "el ambiente" as a way for people to present themselves in a different light from that traditionally expected of them.

#### **A. The re-creation of origin**

In Tres Barrios, some people have chosen to explore a connection with their origins. But why? And how? What meaning does the land of origin have in the celebrations of Andalusians in Catalonia? The role played by origins in immigrant

revivals has been demystified in some of the contemporary literature on ethnicity and ethnic revival. Explanations of ethnicity based on 'common origins' seem to rely on fixed, primordial, and intimate feelings. The definition of ethnicity has been replaced by a more situational orientation according to which the feeling of a common origin "must be constructed and activated" (Bonacich & Modell 1980) in a constant process of formulation and reformulation (Yancey et al. 1976). In this section, I argue that origins play only a secondary role in cultural identities that are apparently linked to places of origin. It is only because past origins are part of present lives that people sometimes fall back on them. I will show that, as Schultz wrote: "the immigrant world was not a replication of the culture they left behind, but a complex creation that had a great deal to do with the circumstances of migration and settlement" (1994:14).

#### A weak connection

Before developing each of these ideas, I would like to introduce another. From the perspective of the 'real' connection with the place of origin of the participants in these "fiestas", the role of origin in the Andalusian "fiesta" can be considered to be weak. The great majority of people visiting the Andalusian celebrations are Andalusian but people without any Andalusian origins do also participate in these "fiestas", as the following table shows.

Table 5/1: Birth Place of people attending 'Andalusian Week'

	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
Andalusia	77%	61%	13%	9%	46%
Extremadura	6%	9%	0%	5%	5%
Catalonia	10%	13%	80%	86%	41%
Other places	6%	9%	7%	0%	5%
Don't know	0%	9%	0%	0%	2%
Total	31	23	15	22	91

Source: Ros (1996)

The parents of Jordy and Blanca are a good example of a type of relationship that is sometimes inverse rather than direct. Contrary to what might be expected, the amount of contact with the place of origin does not necessarily correlate with the degree of participation in Andalusian celebrations.

On one hand, we have the example of Jordy's parents, who are among the most active participants in the "rociero" movement of Tres Barrios and yet have hardly any connection with Andalusia. Jordy's father was born in Extremadura. Though his mother is Andalusian, the family has always had more contact with Extremadura than with Andalusia and they visit the Extremaduran "pueblo" almost every summer. Jordy has been to Andalusia only twice, the second time simply because his girlfriend invited him. Both Jordy and his younger brother are regular participants in different Andalusian cultural activities.

On the other hand, Blanca's parents visit Andalusia at least once and sometimes even twice or three times a year. Even if they belonged to the kind of social network necessary for participation in the Andalusian "fiesta", they would not belong to any cultural association and they only took part in any Andalusian celebrations when Blanca was present. On one occasion when we were alone, Blanca told me that her father did not enjoy going to the Andalusian "fiestas", and she indicated that it was because of a question of social prestige, although she herself did participate. As I will explain later, manifestations of popular Andalusian culture are regarded as activities of low social prestige, even by some people from Tres Barrios. For Blanca's parents, having the economic means to be able to travel quite often to Andalusia does not directly relate to a Catalan expression of Andalusianness.

The desire for a more or less immediate return to Andalusia does not help us to understand participation in Andalusian "fiestas" either. Some of the people who would clearly like to return to Andalusia do not participate in the Andalusian celebrations at all. However, a clear notion of not wanting to return does not lead to non-participation.

In the years of the economic crisis, many Andalusians returned to their places of origin, but since 1993 that population movement has almost disappeared. Between 1984 and 1990, 19,000 people returned to Andalusia from Catalonia (Junta de Andalucía 1996). However, the ways in which a possible return is discussed shows that the prospect of returning remains vividly alive in many people's imaginations. The likelihood of these plans ever becoming reality depends on many factors, but the

fact that many families maintain houses in their “pueblos” and visit Andalusia every summer, helps to keep these dreams alive (Cabr  1995).

This limited predictive power of people’s origins can be supported with some quantitative data. Table 5/2 shows that while approximately half of the people who were asked in the Andalusian Week (1996) the question “How often do you visit your or your parents birthplace?” said they visited their place of origin –not necessarily Andalusia-- at least once a year, the other half of the sample seemed to maintain a more random contact with their “pueblos”.

Table 5/2: How often do you visit your or your parents birthplace?

	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
Never	16%	17%	0%	0%	10%
Every 2 or 3 months	13%	0%	13%	5%	8%
Every year	32%	13%	53%	45%	34%
Every 2, 3, or 4 years	26%	39%	27%	50%	35%
Don't answer	13%	30%	7%	0%	13%
Total	31	23	15	22	91

Source: Ros (1996)

As well as the information it provides about real contact, the data in Table 5/2 show that many participants at the Andalusian festivities do not see any contradiction between celebrating Andalusia and not having any strong connection with Andalusia itself. Many people celebrating the Andalusian Week had no qualms about stating that



they had a very distant relationship with Andalusia. In addition, Table 5/2 shows different patterns of response depending on gender and age groups. According to the data I show here, men and boys expressed a closer link with their places of origin than women and girls. Also, young people stated that they have more contact with the place of origin than adults did. It seems that the desire for a re-creation of their origins is more present in the second generations than among the immigrants themselves and also affects more males than females. The fact that age and gender affect the re-creation of origins is one of the main ideas of this section and will be analyzed later on.

#### The role of nostalgia

A young Catalan journalist wrote that he was always struck by the coldness with which his father, an Andalusian immigrant, talked about Andalusia. "I have never detected even the slightest sign of nostalgia" (Espada 1997:82). I must admit that in the first few days of my fieldwork, I also noticed how many people participating in the Andalusian celebrations consciously distanced themselves from Andalusia itself. For example, I remember the lack of enthusiasm with which Emi's father told me one day, during the celebration of an Andalusian fiesta at the Centro, that he "liked going to Andalusia". Without my being aware of it, I had fallen into the old trap of assuming that inherent in immigrants' celebrations was a good dose of nostalgia and melancholy. The case of Andalusian celebrations in Catalonia should

help to banish this old idea.

As I discussed in Chapter 2, immigrant cultures in Catalonia have frequently been regarded as a symptom of nostalgia for the past and of a lack of adaptation to Catalonia. But the case of Catalonia proves that, in migratory celebrations, neither nostalgia nor origins are important factors for the people. When you analyze people's experiences closely you discover that references to their origin do not generally imply nostalgia. The concept of origins that people do not want to forget is only a very partial explanation of the Andalusian celebrations in Catalonia.

On more than one occasion, when I asked people about Andalusia I had the feeling that I was touching on a subject which was not central to their lives at all. Often, expressed in comments such as "look, this girl wants to asks us questions about Andalusia", people seemed to think it was both funny and surprising that I was interested in something that was no longer of interest to them. Or, at least, not in the same way I was asking them about it, i.e. in terms of a nostalgic relation to their origin.

Sometimes my presence interrupted familiar topics of conversation and forced people to make some reference to 'their origin' thus giving it a special relevance. On one occasion, in the middle of an informal chat at the "Feria", I remember a woman exclaiming: "What a beautiful homeland I have, the most beautiful homeland in the world!". But I felt that these words were for my benefit, and she had said them thinking that it was what I expected to hear.

For most Andalusians, 'Andalusia still hurts'. When that happens; when Andalusia is remembered with bitterness, participation in Andalusian organizations is not very common. For some people, the experience of having left their homeland is still so painful that they feel that participating in any of the Andalusian festivities would be a way of extending this suffering. I remember how a very active member of the community in Tres Barrios, a man who left Andalusia in the 50's, and whose life has mainly been lived in Catalonia, told me that he had never wanted to visit Andalusia, a land that filled him with pain. His words made such an impression on me that I copied them down:

Quote 5/1:

Yo me fui y sé porqué me fui, porque unos pocos tenían todo y el resto nada. (...) Yo perdí mi vida allí y ya no sé si la he recuperado. Confieso que he vivido hasta los 16 años, desde entonces ha sido un ir pasando. (...) Yo lloro muy poco y la última vez que lloré fue cuando sobrevolé Andalucía yendo hacia las Islas Canarias, y eso que a mí llorar no me gusta.

**1 I left, and I know why I left: because a select few had everything  
2 and the rest nothing. (...) I left my life behind there, and I still don't  
3 know if I've gotten it back or not. All I can say is I was living till I  
4 was 16; since then I've just been existing...(...) I don't cry very  
5 often, and the last time I cried was when I flew over Andalusia on  
6 my way to the Canary Islands..... and I hate crying.**

Like other men with strong feelings for Andalusia, he told me that he had no interest in the Andalusian cultural organizations. For him, the Andalusian "fiesta" here is a reminder and a continuation of what he left behind.

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However, some active participants in the Andalusian movement have had a negative experience of their place of origin. For them, exaggerating a real, authentic Andalusian identity is wrong or, at least, is not what they are looking for. As the following words of the president of the “peña flamenca” show, belonging to a flamenco club has nothing to do with proving a high level of Andalusian identity to ‘others’.

Quote 5/2:

Yo soy andaluz pero no soy un fantoche. Hay un poco la idea de ser más andaluz que nadie, yo no tengo que demostrar si soy andaluz, yo me fui de aquella tierra hace muchos años y no voy cada año como mucha gente, ahora hace cinco años que no voy (...) Oí el himno de Andalucía aquí por primera vez. El primer año subí al escenario [a cantarlo], el segundo ya no y me llamaban para subir y yo dije que no.

1 I’m Andalusian, but I’m not a fanatic about it. There’s a bit of an  
2 idea that you’ve got to be more Andalusian than anybody else. I  
3 don’t have to prove that I’m Andalusian; I left many years ago and  
4 I don’t go back every year like a lot of people do, I haven’t been for  
5 five years (...) The first time I heard the hymn of Andalusia, I was  
6 already living here. The first year I went up on stage [to sing it],  
7 but the second year I didn’t and they called me up to sing and I  
8 said no.

When some people say: “many of us have learnt to be Andalusians here” (“muchos hemos aprendido a ser andaluces aquí”) they are signalling a new identity,

which did not exist before. In the 50's and 60's, when they were leaving Andalusia, the Andalusian identity was absorbed by the image of a Spain that took some of its symbolic power from Andalusia. In the 80's, when there was an awakening of the Andalusian identity, they were far away. Now, through a festive identity, some adult immigrants feel that they can finally, publicly and proudly, show other people –both those in Andalusia and in Catalonia– that they are Andalusian. But they want to be Andalusians in a different way...

For some Andalusians, to 'be Andalusian' in Tres Barrios represents a way of struggling to overcome the pain and unfairness of having had to leave their land. Such is the case of a woman who owns one of the shops in Tres Barrios which sells Andalusian products for the "fiesta".

Quote 5/3:

El Rocío de allí abajo era para gente rica y la feria también. No podíamos ir. Yo me hice rociera aquí, como casi todo el mundo.

- 1 El Rocío down there [in Andalusia] was for the rich people and the
- 2 feria too. We couldn't take part. I became a rociera here, like
- 3 almost everybody else.

### Origins in the "fiesta"

The development of the Andalusian "fiesta" in Catalonia is a good example of how only those elements of the past perceived by people as being 'coherent' are selected to shape the new organization. From all the characteristics of the original

Andalusian cultural forms, their Catalan 'reproductions' have selected those that best fit in the present context. In other words, the Andalusian "fiesta" is quite free from the constraints of the past. It may be true to say that the idea of a common origin is the basis of the foundation of many associations. The presidents of some "peñas flamencas" and some regional clubs begin their accounts of the history of their association with expressions such as 'it was founded because of nostalgia'. This starting point gives meaning to the origins of many associations but has not prevented these same founders from moving on to create a different vision of the type of association they represent. The energy represented by the Andalusian movement today would not be what it is if the whole movement had been constructed solely on the basis of a common origin.

Andalusian celebrations in Catalonia ignore and even scorn the issue of origin as the 'leit motif' providing their essential meaning and in general, the "fiestas" are articulated without any mention of the past. The opening moments of any festivity or celebration are significant, as they are usually rich in symbolism and therefore provide good opportunities for the interpretation of meanings. Andalusian festivities however, never start with tales of the past, as many other festivities do.

Even if the main symbolic sources for the Andalusian festivities in Catalonia are to be found in the Andalusian festivities in Andalusia, there is no resistance to change and adaptation of any of these elements. People seem to feel no need to look into the Andalusian model to look for symbolic references. If they do, reformulation, adaptation, and change are the general patterns.

A particular re-creation of the past and a very specific representation of Andalusia emerge in the “fiestas” of Catalonia. Instead of an attempt to imitate the ‘original’ forms, we are presented with a new, invented Andalusia, *sui generis*, one which does not try to imitate the original forms. On the contrary, there is a brave declaration of ‘our Andalusia’, proud of being distinct from what can be found “allí” (there). It is a re-creation of an Andalusia that responds to the mixture of different realities found in the context of Catalonia. For young second generations, there is a clear distinction between “fiestas de aquí” (fiestas from here) and “fiestas de allí” (fiestas from there). As Camila told me one day, while walking through the streets of Tres Barrios, her mother-in-law is still seeking the “fiestas de allí” while she only cares about the “fiestas de aquí”.

The case of the “romería del Rocío” is a good example of the role of origin in the “fiesta”. The Rocío starts with an open air Rociero mass in one of the biggest squares in Tres Barrios. There are no references to the past or even to the original “Rocío” and the celebrations begin with this mixture of religion and music. Then there is a parade through the streets of Tres Barrios. That night, at about 10 p.m., people go out into the streets to see the decorated floats and to applaud as neighbors, friends, and relations pass by. Once up on the floats, there is great excitement, much joking and lots of music; with people singing and clapping their hands. It is a very joyful time but there is no reference to Andalusia.

Next day, after a whole day of “camino” (trekking) to the place where they are going to stay for almost three days, nobody mentions Andalusia (see photo 12). The



arrival of all the fraternities in the open field where the "Rocío" is going to take place is one of the most moving moments of the "fiesta". After all the "hermandades" have welcomed each other with the ringing of a bell, members of each fraternity sing to the Virgin of Rocío and to their own image of the Virgin (the so called "sinpecao"), giving thanks for being present, once again, at the "Rocío". There is much sobbing and crying, especially among young people. They start to cheer the Virgin:

Viva la Virgen del Rocío! Viva la Blanca Paloma!  
 Viva el Pastorcillo Divino!  
 Rocío, guapa! Rocío, guapa! Rocío, guapa, guapa, guapa!  
 Y bonita, y bonita, y bonita, bonita, bonita.  
 Y por qué? Porque sí!.

But in the midst of all these cheers, I could hear no cheers for Andalusia. Andalusia was missing; they had invented a new form of celebration.

The example of Holy Week may also be useful. The Holy Week processions begin with a public speech in a large square full of people. An anthropologist and the president of the "Cofradía" gave the speeches in 1996 and there made no reference to Andalusia, preferring to refer to the processions as a symbol of group effort, solidarity, and Catalan culture. When the speeches are over, the first "paso" (large structure supporting a figure of Christ or the Virgin) comes out of the place where it has been kept for the whole year. This is a moving moment for many people, who start crying. Silence reigns in one of the busiest areas of Tres Barrios.

There are very few references by the organizers and among participants to the past and to how these same "fiestas" were in Andalusia. The 'original ways of doing things' do not seem to worry them. Organizers want to make it clear that copying or

imitating what exists in Andalusia is not what they have in mind as organizers of the Andalusian movement.

In the case of the "Rocío" there are important variations to the 'original forms'<sup>18</sup>. However, the "rociero" movement is probably the example of an Andalusian festivity which has shown the greatest interest in the way the "Rocío" is organized in Andalusia –together with some other "romero" movements such as the "romería de la Virgen de la Cabeza". For many "rocieros" (people who participate in the "romería del Rocío" every year) the references to the original Rocío in Andalusia are very important. Many of them dream of going there one day. Others simply hope they will be able to visit the little village of "El Rocío" and, maybe, go to the "Rocío pequeño", a small "romería" organized each year for the thousands of Andalusians who live outside Andalusia and who can only travel there during their summer holidays. On one occasion, Jose introduced me to a couple who had just arrived from Andalusia as "authentic rocieros". A feeling of admiration exists for those who have been 'there'. Since personal and family contact with people in the Andalusian villages has been maintained, some contacts with the Andalusian fraternities have been possible. The president of one of the fraternities in Tres Barrios told me that since his wife is from Almonte (a village where the "Rocío" tradition is very important), he can phone

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<sup>18</sup>. Within the "rociero" movement in Catalonia, there is a marked difference between religious and civil fraternities. Religious fraternities ("hermandades canónicas") reject the possibility of being autonomous and independent from the Andalusian structure of fraternities. They do not even participate in the Catalan "romería del Rocío", because they believe that there is only one Virgin and one "Rocío". Their main goal is to be recognized by the "Hermandad Matriz" (the main fraternity) in Andalusia. Only two of the four religious fraternities that exist in Catalonia were recognized in 1997. In Hospitalet, all the fraternities are civil ones. The arguments among the religious fraternities do not concern them and did not have any impact on the "Rocío" that I witnessed in Tres Barrios.

members of his family when he has doubts about 'how we should do things here'. Another example of people's admiration for the original ways was also evident when the chorus of one of the most important Andalusian fraternities came to sing at the tenth anniversary celebrations of one of the fraternities in Tres Barrios. A young boy exclaimed: "It is as if you were a fan of Michael Jackson and he had come!".

In the "Rocio", there is something magically symbolical about the authentic Virgin, the original "romería", and the correct way of doing things, which does not exist in the same way during the Holy Week of the Feria de Abril.

In any case, the Catalan Rocio does not exist as a copy of something else. It has its own forms, its own personality, and people seem proud of their originality and power. When talking about their associations, presidents of the Rocio fraternities tend to play down the similarities with the original celebrations. Instead, they emphasize aspects such as their openness (some fraternities are said to be very closed groups), solidarity, informality, mixed origins, commitment to the neighborhood, social functions, active participation of many young people, or the fact of being one of the first Rocio fraternities to be founded in the city or in Catalonia. Only one fraternity president --of the four I interviewed-- mentioned his commitment to the original forms as an important aspect of his organization although he also admitted 'we cannot be "rocieros" like the ones down there'.

Other associations such as regional clubs and "peñas flamencas" are open to the idea of introducing new activities that will attract more people, especially young people. Instead of thinking of original ways of doing things related to Andalusia, they

consider that the only possible way to revive the successes of the past is via classes in Catalan, guitar or different kinds of dancing.

Differences, rather than similarities, could be understood as an element of prestige. For the participants in the Holy Week processions in Hospitalet the most positive elements are precisely those which differentiate them from other religious parades, including the Andalusian ones. Among all the differences often mentioned (the way in which the "Cofradía" was founded, the many "pasos" they have, etc.) one is emphasized in a very special way: the fact that it is non-religious and quite independent of the Catholic Church. The people in Tres Barrios do not seem very worried by the fact that in the Andalusian parades the Church does not play a major role and there is no indication that this situation will change in the next few years.

Music and dance are good examples of cultural expressions that have developed in an extremely independent way in contrast to their origins. While flamenco 'purists' defend the idea that flamenco is only possible in Andalusia, many people in Tres Barrios agree with the idea that Catalan singers of flamenco can be as good as their Andalusian counterparts. The president of one of the most prestigious "peñas flamencas" in Tres Barrios supports that idea and considers that a Galician or a Catalan who has lived all his life in that environment could be as good at flamenco as someone living in Andalusia.

The result of all this is an Andalusian "fiesta" that many Andalusians in the South would not recognize as theirs. The Andalusia that is born in Catalonia is commercial, festive, and mixed. Economic interests inherent in the "fiesta" invent new

references to an 'Andalusian beer' and an 'Andalusian food'. The festive Andalusia represented during the "fiestas" includes some traditional elements and ignores others. The "Feria" is a good example of that selection. Here we see a re-creation of the exterior of Andalusian buildings in the stands ("casetas") that are built for the "Feria", with typical Andalusian balconies, windows, and flowers. The big illuminated entrance showing Seville's Giralda tower is reproduced in the Feria of Catalonia following the pattern of the original Feria de Abril of Seville. However, nobody seems to mind eating Catalan sausages and "pa amb tomàquet" (bread with tomato) in the "Feria" bars. Music and dance performances are announced as public shows, something which does not exist in the Andalusian "feria" of Seville and are accepted here as normal.

The Andalusia of Catalonia is a mixture of symbols of the different origins that it represents, with symbols of Extremadura for example, frequently appearing in all the Andalusian "fiestas". These are becoming a symbolic meeting place for everybody, an arena for the expression of an immigrant Catalonia, a place where people play with their different origins. The most important example of a space containing these mixed symbols is the Feria de Abril, which epitomizes this new definition of Andalusia as a kind of umbrella organization receiving and welcoming everybody. In recent years, Extremadura, Galicia and Castille have had stands within the Feria. Bearing in mind the economic aspects of the Feria, it is very likely that this multi-regional component of the Feria will continue to grow in the coming years.

The only people especially interested in introducing elements of Andalusia into the "fiesta" seem to be the politicians, a good example of this being the activities organized for Andalusia Day. In Hospitalet, the annual Andalusian Cultural Week, which includes Andalusia Day, centers on one Andalusian city. The Week always opens with a special dedication to a figure in the world of Andalusian arts or politics. At the Andalusia Day celebrations of 1996, a member of the "Junta de Andalusia" was invited to give a speech at the opening of an exhibition dedicated to Antonio Machado, the Andalusian poet. He defined the Andalusian movement as an active force for Andalusia and he talked about the law that officially recognized Andalusia as an autonomous region in Spain, and the need to recognize the Andalusian identity in Catalonia. The fact that he was speaking close to the date of the forthcoming Andalusian autonomic elections led him to encourage participation in the Andalusian polls (even though most of his audience was not registered to vote in Andalusia). Later, at the laying of a wreath at the statue of Blas Infante --one of the most important figures of Andalusian nationalism-- the representative from the Barcelona City Hall talked about Catalonia and Andalusia, and asked people to express their vote in the general elections the following day in a serious, mature way. The ceremony ended with the hymns of Catalonia (first) and Andalusia (second). Although people responded more enthusiastically to the Andalusian hymn than to the Catalan one, many people did not know the words of the former.

### The symbolic use of 'down there'

The way in which young people talk about Andalusia or 'down there' ("allí abajo") as they refer to it, reveals a metaphorical use of the place of origin. Although, as I have shown, origin is not a key aspect of the Andalusian fiesta, it relates to certain issues that play an important role in some young people's lives. When young people from Tres Barrios refer to 'down there' as an ideal place to live, or as a place they miss and they want to visit, we need to interpret the meanings it has for them. This is the aim in this section.

'Down there' can perhaps be interpreted as place representing fantasies, dreams of a better place to live, of a better life for young people to escape to, even for those who have rarely been to Andalusia. Saying that they miss their land ("se echa de menos aquello, tu tierra"), young people have constructed a world they can use when necessary. Manifesting their desire to go and live in Andalusia, these young people are building a shared culture in which Andalusia is a common symbol and a reference to a land of dreams. Expressing these wishes and desires is somehow a requirement in order to be accepted as part of the community.

In Tres Barrios many people have been able to find some parts of the metaphorical Andalusian 'paradise', which has helped to create very special links within their neighborhood. This is the case of a young man who loved visiting Andalusia and told me that he had been thinking of moving there. He had decided to stay however, in Tres Barrios, because now he could find the same culture and

atmosphere here as 'down there'. As we will see in the next section, the elements that people value most positively about their neighborhood are often influenced by aspects of life in rural areas that they have absorbed through their parents. Sometimes young people talk about Tres Barrios as a "pueblo" where they really enjoy living.

In a short questionnaire I distributed among young people on an excursion organized by the Youth Section of the "Coordinadora Andaluza" -I was accompanying them-- 10 out of a total of 28 said that they would be willing to move to any village or town in Andalusia. However, on many occasions, when I asked them where exactly they would like to live, they mentioned the biggest Andalusian cities (Seville and Cordoba usually) and rarely the small towns or villages their parents were from. No doubt the urban environment where these young people had grown up had a strong influence on their choice.

The symbolic value of 'down there' can also be seen in two other ways: at certain times in the world of Andalusian culture, young people's knowledge about 'down there' is seen as an element denoting prestige which is flaunted before their peers. On the other hand, Andalusian origins are also used as a claim for 'authenticity'. In contexts where there is a special emphasis on the value of the past and of roots as a part of people's identity, it is normal for those with their roots elsewhere to sometimes need to seek a sense of authenticity in these origins. Some young, second generation Catalans, unable to find this point of reference in their Catalan roots, have begun to look for them in their Andalusian ones.



### Present

The Andalusian “fiestas” and the whole phenomenon of ‘being Andalusian’ show how images and symbols related to people’s origins are tools, which can be used to express a sense of integration within a community and to legitimize the individual’s position within it. Instead of looking back to a nostalgic past, participants in the Andalusian associations and “fiesta” emphasize the way in which the fiesta is embedded within the present. And the way they do this, basically, is by bypassing the ethnic bond.

It is interesting to observe how in the interpretation of reality, people minimize the connection between their Andalusian origins and their participation in the Andalusian festivities. In the case of young people, they frequently refuse to accept the importance of ‘natural’ existing links with Andalusia and a certain feeling of ethnicity as possible factors explaining their participation in the Andalusian cultural organizations of Tres Barrios. The following extracts from a conversation with two sisters (A and B) who dance in one of the most important flamenco groups of Tres Barrios is a good example of this process. During a discussion about how they had become involved in the flamenco association, I raised the issue of origins:

## Quote 5/4:

AR: Son andaluces vuestros padres?

A: No, mi padre es de Córdoba y mi madre de Extremadura

B: Pero a mi padre se lo trajeron con seis meses de Córdoba y desde entonces no ha vuelto a ir. No tenemos familia allí, se vinieron todos.

A: Queda familia pero de esta lejana, entonces...no tenemos relación, vamos a Extremadura de vacaciones, cada año, tenemos allí familia, entonces vamos...yo en Andalucía he esta/d/o poco, en dos sitios.(...)

B: Mi padre se considera más catalán que cordovés, es que lo trajeron con 5 ó 6 meses, lo que él dice, mi padre de Córdoba tiene la raíz de mi abuelos, mis tíos, se venían todos, casa/d/os y todo, mi padre no ha vuelto nunca más a Córdoba. Yo he conocido Córdoba el año pasado que fuimos a bailar, pasé por el pueblo donde había nacido mi padre. Yo he esta/d/o en Sevilla, en Huelva, en la playa, y en Córdoba.

1 AR: Are your parents Andalusians?

2 A: No, my father is from Córdoba and my mother is from  
3 Extremadura.

4 B: But my dad was brought here from Córdoba when he was 6  
5 months old and he has never been back. We don't have any family  
6 there, they all came here.

7 A: We have distant relatives there, so... we don't see them, we go to  
8 Extremadura on vacation, every year, we have family there so we  
9 go...I've only been to Andalusia a few times, in two places. (...)

10 B: My father considers himself more Catalan than from Cordoba.  
11 He came here when he was 5 or 6 months old, that's what he says.  
12 My dad is from Cordoba because he has my grandparent's roots.  
13 My aunts and uncles all came when they were already married....  
14 my dad has never been back to Cordoba. I got to know Cordoba  
15 last year when we went to dance there. I went to the town where my  
16 dad was born. I've been to Seville, to Huelva, to the beach, and to  
17 Cordoba.

This whole excerpt is full of references that distance the speakers and their parents from any logical relation to their Andalusian origins. The two girls tried to convey their connection as being somehow anecdotal, based on a few holiday visits.

But this quote also demonstrates another point: the multi-origin nature of the fiestas where other possible origins, including the Catalan, are emphasized. Widening the scope of the Andalusian "fiesta" to include everybody has been a way of separating people from their origins. There have been times when young people (and some adults too) have stated that their place of birth has nothing whatsoever to do with their participation in the Andalusian celebrations.

Sometimes justification of the multi-origin nature of their celebrations (and of their culture) has arisen as a result of the attempt to merge the different origins into one. This often happens in the case of Andalusian and Extremaduran origins. Expressions such as "andaluces y extremeños, es lo mismo" (Andalusians and Extremadurans are the same thing) or "andaluces y extremeños somos primos hermanos" (Andalusians and Extremadurans are first cousins) were repeated on many different occasions. As stated above, Andalusia and Extremadura appear as an identical reality in the Andalusian fiesta. Symbols of Andalusia and of Extremadura –flags, regional Virgins, local associations-- become so mixed up in the Andalusian "fiesta" that sometimes it is hard to see how they differ (see photo 13). Throughout Tres Barrios, Andalusia and Extremadura also blend together in shops selling products from Andalusia and Extremadura, as part of the same logic<sup>19</sup>. Andalusia and Extremadura are, therefore, perceived as very close realities. Sometimes, talking about other

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<sup>19</sup>. Andalusian and Extremaduran emigrants arrived in Tres Barrios at the same time and under very similar economic and social conditions. Recaño (1995) shows that the rate of intermarriage between Andalusians and Extremadurans is very high.

regional origins (Galician, for instance), people commented that these areas had a completely different significance for them. In general, young people took advantage of every possible opportunity to point out connections between different cultures.

In Tres Barrios, many people said they saw no contradiction between being Catalan and participating in the Andalusian movement. Young people in particular expressed their conviction that participation 'has nothing to do' with being Andalusian and at the same time asserted their Catalan identity. At every possible opportunity, people would tell me about the members of the different Andalusian associations who were Catalan-born. My informants often referred to the case of the Catalan president of one of the "hermandades rocieras", who was born in Catalonia to immigrant parents.

The following incident took place in the recently opened theme park where the young people from the Coordinadora Joven Andaluza went to spend the money they made in the of the "Semana Cultural" bar. Most of the 28 boys and girls wore T-shirts showing the symbols of the "Semana Andaluza". Asked by a visitor to the park whether they were from Andalusia some simply said: "of course not" ("claro que no"). For them it was obvious that they did not need to be Andalusians in order to be part of the Andalusian community of Tres Barrios.

The concept of 'being Andalusian' has therefore emerged as an alternative, in order to facilitate the otherwise difficult relationship between the dichotomy of two different identities: the Andalusian and the Catalan. In many

Andalusian “fiestas” the inclusion of some Catalan symbols, such as Catalan flags and Catalan food, symbolize this attempt to break down ethnic labels (see photo 14). Such is the case of the “Feria” and the “Rocío” where the use of small Catalan flags has become a symbolic way of expressing a hybrid reality. But Andalusian and Catalan flags and other symbolic tools are carefully chosen for different moments and places within the Andalusian “fiestas”. On one occasion, girls from a “flamenco” dance group described to me the connections between the origins of Andalusian “sevillanas” and Catalan “sardanas”. The story about the Catalan who had founded the Feria de Abril of Seville was very popular among the people of Tres Barrios.

For some young people, like the boy in the following example, the possibility of perceiving the “fiesta” as being ‘too Andalusian’ may prevent them from participating. This boy, who works as a computer technician, is the son of a couple who co-founded the “Cofradía” and the Andalusian world has therefore always been very familiar to him. He has never participated however and according to him:

Quote 5/5:

Pero [el mundo andaluz] está muy cerrado a lo andaluz, es como si quisiera hacer lo mismo que hay allí, con nostalgia...pero aquí hay gente de muchos otros sitios, es demasiado andaluz.

- 1 But [the Andalusian world] is very Andalusian stuff; it's as if
- 2 they wanted to do here what exists there, with nostalgia... but
- 3 there are people from all different places here, it's too
- 4 Andalusian.

For him, the Andalusian fiesta represents the expression of an Andalusian origin (lines 1 and 2), and it does not represent what he sees in his surroundings, which he perceives as mixed and multiple.

Although many participants questioned the ethnic nature of the Andalusian fiesta, my questionnaire showed that there was a relationship between the interpretation of culture in ethnic terms and gender, age and origin. As shown in Table 5/3 males were more likely to interpret the Andalusian Week as 'Andalusian' than females. Even among young people, boys defended the Andalusian nature of the "fiesta" more than girls did. For females, the separation from their origins seemed to be greater than for males, which may have something to do with the higher level of female social integration in local life.

In trying to distance themselves from a direct link with their origins, people of Andalusian origin or descent were more likely to characterize the "fiesta" as both Catalan and Andalusian than people of non-Andalusian descent, for whom these fiestas represented a clear expression of Andalusian culture.

Table 5/3: Ethnic definition of the "fiesta"

## I. Andalusians or Andalusian descent

	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
Andalusian culture	42%	28%	55%	50%	43%
Catalan culture	4%	0%	0%	5%	3%
Both	31%	50%	36%	45%	40%
None	8%	0%	0%	0%	3%
Do not answer	15%	22%	9%	0%	12%
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>75</b>

## II. Non-Andalusian or non-Andalusian descent

	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
Andalusian culture	80%	40%	75%	50%	63%
Catalan culture	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Both	20%	60%	25%	50%	38%
None	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Do not answer	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>16</b>

Source: Ros (1996)

The interpretation of the Andalusian fiesta is quite different for those who had to emigrate and for those who were already born in Catalonia. It is surprising to discover that, especially among people born in Andalusia and their descendents, the younger generations are more likely to see a relationship between the Andalusian celebration and origin than the older ones. This difference between the attitudes of

younger and older people is more noticeable among groups of women. In addition, the meaning of the word 'Andalusian' is very different for both groups. While for young people the adjective 'Andalusian' is quite free of negative associations, for adults the word implies a connection that they are not always keen to highlight.

In conclusion, the people who participate in the Andalusian world do not have a straightforward relationship with their origins. Some people use an idea of a common origin to overcome painful memories of the past and to show that they are still Andalusians now. In different ways, participants try to show that their "fiesta" has nothing to do with a nostalgic past and that Andalusian "fiestas" in Catalonia have multiple origins –including Catalan-- and are open to everybody. This thus becomes a way of indicating that origin is a means of integration into the present.

#### **B. "El Mundillo"**

In my first encounters with the young people of Tres Barrios, I noticed that there was something unusual about the way they talked about "el mundillo" (literally, the little world). Young people referred to "el mundillo" and assumed that I would understand what they were meant, even though I was not sure of the exact meaning. One thing was clear to me from the start: they all knew what they were talking about, and they were talking about the same thing. I soon became fascinated by the way they used the word and I felt that if I could understand its meaning/s, I would be closer to



understanding the Andalusian world that I was trying to explain. I became certain that "el mundillo" embodied a great deal of the meaning of 'being Andalusian'.

On one hand, the way young people used the expression "el mundillo" demonstrated a very important component of 'being Andalusian': a search for commonality and a will to publicly express "things we have in common" (Barth 1969). Commonality is, therefore, a basic element of the new Andalusian identity. "El mundillo" expresses a strong desire to be related to a defined and identifiable community. As Barth says: there are special situations in which 'things we have in common' need to be expressed. In the case of lower social classes living in marginal areas, with different problems from those of the dominant groups in society, they may react by emphasizing an internal commonality instead of looking for differences in relation to external 'others'. This is the case of the people involved in the Andalusian "fiesta" who have found in "el mundillo" an alternative way not only of being together but also of showing who they feel 'people like themselves' are. Within Catalan society, these people have come to think about themselves in terms of commonalities when confronted with others from whom they feel different. 'Being Andalusian' has helped them to identify those commonalities.

Andalusian cultural forms have helped young people to construct a recognizable common world. 'Being Andalusian' has enabled them to find a world of places where they like to meet ("el Centro", "el Rocio", "la hermandad", etc...), courses to do (choir singing, dance training, etc.), religious habits to follow (promises to the Virgin), common objects (clothing, the "Rocio" medallion, etc.), common

references they recognize (same music, same people, etc.), feelings they experience, dates they celebrate, and language they talk.

One result of this emphasis on commonality has been the construction of “el mundillo” as a very intense and self-sufficient world. Girls and boys repeated constantly that once they were ‘in’, they felt ‘hooked’ on it (“este mundillo atrapa”). Practices, symbols, and social relations reinforced the sensation that it would be very hard to abandon this world and people rejected the idea of ever leaving with expressions such as ‘I’ll never leave this’ (“Yo nunca dejaré esto”). There were many reports of people saying that when, finally, they did have to leave, or when they thought about quitting the association to which they belonged, the others would not let them.

Social relations in “el mundillo” were said to be intense and demanding. The general importance of friendship for teenagers is already well-documented and young people from the “mundillo” frequently talked about the intensity of their relationships and the crucial role that this had in their lives. I witnessed a good example of this during the first year of my fieldwork, when Jordy, Bea, Juan, Millan, Camila and Patricia formed a very close group of friends. Although the group broke up a year later, during the time it existed all the members talked about it as something hugely important for them.

The accent on commonality emphasized by the “mundillo” was also found through the logic of continuity. Young people highlighted the fact that expressions of Andalusian culture have to be understood as a continuous relation between a past and

a present. Andalusian elements have always been present in the cultural reality of these young people. Although the impulse of the last years has led them to discover certain traditions and aspects of a culture that they did not know previously, they often pointed out that it was not new to them and that in their "ambiente", the Andalusian culture had always been present. This connection usually came through music ("At home I've always listened to flamenco music") and dancing ("I've been dancing sevillanas since I was a child"), as well as a physical knowledge of Andalusia and a connection with people (usually family members) who still live there. Flamenco, sevillanas and popular Andalusian music served as important resources for the expression of feelings and the construction of a common identity.

Finally, commonality in the "mundillo" is also reflected in the way the Andalusian "fiesta" is experienced as a whole, an interconnected reality, not as a sum of various different activities. People (both young and old) talked about dancing, the Rocio, and the Feria as a single reality of which they were a part. This is significantly different from the original forms in Andalusia itself, where each consists of a different reality that individuals or groups choose to follow. Some people suggested that what happened was that one thing led you on to the next one, thereby creating a logical continuum of diverse activities. To be part of the Andalusian "mundillo" means being part of all of them and having a 'total experience', as CE described when she remembered her beginnings in the "hermandad". CE began by expressing herself in a Castilian typical of the middle classes, although as she became more relaxed, her Andalusian accent emerged. She had been a member of the "hermandad rociera" since

she was a child, when her mother enrolled her in a small “sevillanas” dancing club which, years later, has become one of the most important “hermandades rocieras” in Tres Barrios.

Quote 5/11:

CE: Entonces mi madre me dijo que había visto un sitio, y nos apuntaron allá, nos presentaron a Maribel. Empezamos y aprendimos. El presidente le dijo un día a mi padre que habían formado un centro que se podían hacer socios, que hacían excursiones, que eran todos andaluces, ‘nos gusta juntarnos, hablar de nuestras cosas’ y mi padre, también estaban un poco limitados ellos aquí, se apuntaron. Se apuntaron mis vecinos también, y ya empezamos a conocer a gente, y que si el Rocío, que si la Feria, y como era todo nuevo te metes mucho más en la cultura, el día de Andalucía, que si excursiones, entonces dijeron de hacer un cuadro de baile con los hijos de los socios. Así empecé.

1           CE: So, my mom said that she'd seen a place, and she signed  
2           us up there, and they introduced us to Maribel. We began,  
3           and we learned. One day, the president told my dad that a  
4           center had been set up and they could become members...they  
5           went on outings; they were all Andalusians; ‘we like to get  
6           together and talk’ and my dad –they were also pretty limited  
7           here– signed up. My neighbors also signed up and we started  
8           meeting people, and then it was “el Rocío” and then the  
9           “Feria”.... And since it was all new, you got much more into  
10          the culture, the “día de Andalucía”, the outings.... Then they  
11          talked about starting a dance troupe with the members’ kids.  
12          That’s how I started.

Formal organizations in Tres Barrios (such as “peñas” or “hermandades”) represent a way of understanding the “mundillo” as a unified reality which includes different “fiestas” and activities, even if some of these were not the original “raison d’etre” of that association. This is why, for instance, some “peñas flamencas” had a

small booth at the "Rocío" or saw no contradiction in organizing dancing classes for their members.

### "Aquí"

As Suttles (1968) suggested, in contrast to the idea that the suburbs only generate a sense of anonymity, peripheral areas of the city can in fact lead to the development of a strong sense of community. The way in which immigration, social class, and ethnicity have intersected in Catalonia has produced internal worlds of reference. For the people of Tres Barrios, the sense of being related to this internal world occupies a central position in their life experience. The Andalusian cultural forms and, in general, 'being Andalusian' need to be understood as an expression of this internal world of local references that people manifest with pride and love. In this section, I will examine the features of this internal world and its influence on people's attitudes and practices.

In Catalonia, in particular, there is a prevalent belief that people in working class immigrant areas like Tres Barrios have not developed ties of identity with Catalonia. Public statements tend to show ignorance of how people in working class areas like Tres Barrios feel about themselves in relation to the context in which they live with politicians repeatedly referring to the idea that those living on the outskirts of the city lack a sense of territorial identity. However, my perception of this issue contradicts that view. The level of awareness and identification with their place of

residence demonstrated by many inhabitants of Tres Barrios is far greater than that of many inhabitants of middle class areas in the center of Barcelona. Some recent research confirms that Tres Barrios is not an isolated case and that other areas of the Barcelona Metropolitan area have undergone the same process (Durà 1995).

The position of Tres Barrios in the general socio-historical context is very important for our understanding of the ways in which an internal world has developed. As described in chapter 2, the history of Tres Barrios started almost from scratch in the 1960's. Before the arrival of the immigrants, these lands were agricultural. Where immigrants are a clear majority the process of appropriation is easier than in cases where a local dynamic already exists in the area and people are obliged to come to terms with this. However, the original sense of territorial emptiness is often still evident in people's voices when they point out for instance that: "there was nothing here when we arrived". In addition to this historical factor, the establishment of Tres Barrios as a working class area has led to social segregation, a high density of social relationships and high intensity of local networks. Rodríguez (1993) pointed out that non-Catalan Castilian speaking immigrant workers have a sense of belonging to the towns where they reside but not to the towns where they were born. When all the above elements are present, there is an increased likelihood of 'internal worlds' emerging.

By constantly referring to "aquí" (here) the people of Tres Barrios emphasize the importance they give to the surrounding context and by repeatedly referring to their immediate context, they express how they envisage their world. And this

immediate context is the window through which many people of Tres Barrios view the world. Once it is created, "aquí" is continuously endowed with specific meanings. Thus, I am using "aquí" as a linguistic shifter.

Young people are the ones who refer most often to "aquí". When I asked them what they meant by this word their answers were never straightforward. Explanations of "aquí" were long and full of speculations and the use of the word were variable. "Aquí" referred to the imaginative space in which they felt included, and this space could change according to the situation and context of interaction. Sometimes they were talking about their actual neighborhood –Tres Barrios. On some occasions, they used "aquí" as an imaginative space within Tres Barrios and at other times the word was also used to refer to the town of Hospitalet. In the three cases, "aquí" appeared in contrast to an image of Barcelona as the city of 'the others'. But, in other instances, "aquí" was also used to refer to Barcelona itself, a city which has developed connotations of high social prestige in the last decade. Thus we see that "aquí" does not actually replace any other local/urban identities –either city or neighborhood identities. What is important is why people in Tres Barrios insist on using these references to "aquí" and what they achieve by doing so.

As some working-class studies have argued, working-class areas tend to develop certain common traits. Fried, for instance, found a greater number of extended, close knit patterns of social interaction conceived "as an extension of the home" (1973:81). What these studies have not shown however, is how individuals perceive these traits and what use (if any) they make of them. In Tres Barrios, many

people have developed a perception of a common life and "aquí" is sometimes used to indicate certain kinds of community traits that they perceive as specific to their community. For instance, they emphasize the high density of social relationships, the hubbub ("bullicio"), the vitality, and at the same time the calm ("tranquilidad"). They also agree about the convenience of the location and they emphasize the good public transport network. These standards of value are far less likely to be found among middle class groups, who tend to emphasize values such as prestige, safety, and family tradition. Thus we see that contrary to what many people may believe, living in Tres Barrios is considered by the people there to be full of advantages.

The quantitative data contained in the questionnaire given out during the celebration of Andalusian Week (1996) provide useful support for this hypothesis. Table 5/4 shows that a large amount of the people did not want to move from their place of residence. Expressed desires to move to Andalusia may be influenced by the context in which these questions were asked. In addition, more females than males expressed their intentions of staying.



Table 5/4: Would you like to move somewhere else?

	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
No	52%	70%	60%	68%	62%
Yes, to Barcelona	3%	0%	0%	5%	2%
Yes, in the same area	0%	4%	7%	5%	3%
Yes, to another part of Spain	3%	4%	0%	5%	3%
Yes, to Andalusia	10%	9%	13%	5%	9%
Yes, don't know where	10%	0%	0%	9%	5%
Don't know	23%	13%	20%	5%	15%
Total	31	23	15	22	91

Source: Ros (1996)

Just before the excerpt that follows, the three girls were discussing with me the differences they saw between rural and urban life. I took advantage of this to ask them about their city and the possibility of their moving to another town of neighborhood. C is the daughter of a Catalan mother and an Andalusian father. She finished her secondary studies and works as an assistant in a Chemical laboratory in a research center in Barcelona.

Quote 5/6:

AR: Si os tuvierais que cambiar de zona...

A: Pero por aquí, no me voy de aquí, porque no.

B: Yo no me quiero ir de Hospitalet, yo de los Tres Barrios no me muevo, como mucho... mira, el sábado fuimos a cenar a casa de unos amigos que se han comprado el piso en el Pra/t/, fuimos a cenar, y cuando yo me bajé del coche y vi aquello tan apaga/d/o, no había nadie, sólo coches, por muy bien que estuviera el piso, yo no me iría allí.

AR: Y al centro de Barcelona?

B: No

C: Yo sí, a mí el centro de Barcelona me gustaría, si es en algún pueblo de la costa [también]

1 AR: If you guys had to move...

2 A: I'd only go around here. There's no way I'd leave this area.

3 B: I don't want to leave Hospitalet; if anything the move would  
4 have to be in Tres Barrios itself. ....Look, on Saturday we went to  
5 some friends' house for dinner. They've just bought a flat in El  
6 Prat; we went to have dinner, and when I got out of the car and I  
7 saw how dead the whole area was...there wasn't anyone in the  
8 streets, just cars.... No matter how nice the flat was, I wouldn't go  
9 and live there.

10 AR: And how about the center of Barcelona?

11 B: No

12 C: I would, I like the center of Barcelona: and if it was some village  
13 on the coast [also].

In her answer to the question, A expresses great interest in continuing to live “aquí” (line 2). The reluctance of A and B (line 3) to move to a different area is a way of asserting their allegiance to “aquí”. Like the sisters A and B, many young people in Tres Barrios do not want to leave “aquí”. An important consequence of the existence of a strong internal world is the displacement of the ‘external world’. However C does at least consider the possibility of moving out of Tres Barrios (line 12). Why? As I will show in the next excerpt, the type of discourse in which “aquí” appears is also

relevant to the production and reproduction of social differences within the group. In this extract from a longer conversation I had with the three girls, we can see how the value of “aquí” is used. For B, liveliness is a sufficient reason to stay “aquí”, even if moving would mean a better standard of living (lines 8 and 9). The reference to the center of Barcelona (line 10) produces a different effect: while B does not like the idea of living in Barcelona, C sees no problems in moving to the center of Barcelona (or a village on the coast). The fact that C occupies a higher social position than A and B leads us to think that strategies for moving out of “aquí” may include strategies of class differentiation and distinction. Discourses on intentions and desires to move away from “aquí” are, therefore, useful for studying how strategies of solidarity, reproduction and distinction emerge in social life:

Quote 5/7:

AR: A ti [looking at C] dónde te gustaría irte a vivir?

C: A mí? [Pause] Por la zona céntrico o por la zona entre Hospitalet y Barcelona, Collblanc, esa zona me gusta mucho, a mí es que me gusta el bullicio, lo reconozco. Hospitalet? Me gusta más Barcelona, es como más independiente, ésto es [pause] es un pueblo, Hospitalet, tú sales a la calle, está la de enfrente, la de al la/d/o, se entera de a qué hora sales, a qué hora entras.

A: Sí

B: Sí

A: [Pero] es como todo, también controlarán en otros sitios cuando te vayas a vivir a un sitio, cuando tus hijos vayan creciendo, eso no lo sabrás.

C: Yo tengo amigas, tía, que viven en el centro y sus vecinos son más discretos, es que en mi barrio yo no sé en la tuya pero te vas a la panadería y te preguntan cómo está tu madre, cómo está tu padre, y tu hermano ha encontra/d/o trabajo, te vas al super y es lo mismo.

A: Pero eso es porque le das importancia a la gente porque yo por ejemplo, en mi calle, yo hablo del trozo donde yo vivo, hay gente que no conozco.

B: A mí me gusta por la tarde cuando llego, mujeres mayores que mi madre, se ponen en la puerta y a mí me encanta cuando llego de trabajar y verlas en la puerta, y pararme un rato a hablar, me encanta, a lo mejor me dan las nueve de la noche, y como yo también está la Micaela, una chica, que somos jóvenes, no? y nos gusta pararnos allí con las mujeres y B [her name], 'me quiere/s/ ir a comprar una bolsa de patatas ahí? Deme dinero que ya le voy yo', me gusta estar con la gente.

A: Es que depende del trabajo porque yo por ejemplo he para/d/o poco en casa [pause] y yo por ejemplo con la gente de mi barrio no tengo trato, no puedo decir que me controlan la vida porque con la mitad de la gente no hablo, si hablo lo típico de tomarte el café en el bar.

- 1 AR: Where would you like to go and live?
- 2 C: Me? In the city center, or in the area between Hospitalet and
- 3 Barcelona, Collblanc, I like that area a lot, I like the all the activity,
- 4 I know that. Hospitalet? I like Barcelona more, it's like, more
- 5 independent, this is just... Hospitalet is just a village, you go outside,
- 6 you see the neighbor from across the street, the one from next door,
- 7 and everyone knows when you leave, when you come home
- 8 A: Yep
- 9 B: Uh-huh
- 10 A: It's the same everywhere, people will also be checking you out
- 11 when you go and live somewhere new, when your kids grow up, you
- 12 never know...
- 13 C: Man, I have friends who live in the city center and their
- 14 neighbors are very discreet. In my neighborhood -I don't know
- 15 about yours-- you go to the bakery and they ask about your
- 16 mother, your father, whether your brother has found a job yet...
- 17 you go to the grocery store and it's the same deal.
- 18 A: But that's just because you pay attention to them, because me,
- 19 for example, in my street, and I just mean the part where I live,
- 20 there are people I don't even know.
- 21 B: Me, in the afternoons when I get home from work, I like seeing
- 22 women, older than my mother, who just stand in the doorways. I
- 23 love getting home from work and seeing them there in the
- 24 doorways, and stopping to chat for a while. I love it....Maybe it's
- 25 even 9 o'clock at night, and there's another girl, Micaela, and she's
- 26 there too, and we like to stop a minute with the women and it's the
- 27 typical thing: "B, why don't you go and buy me a bag of crisps over
- 28 there? - Sure, give me the money and I'll go for you". I like to be
- 29 around people.

30 **A: It depends on your job. For example, me, I'm never home...and I**  
 31 **don't really have a close relationship with the people from my**  
 32 **neighborhood. I can't say they watch over my life, because I don't**  
 33 **speak to half the people, and if I do, it's just the usual, having a cup**  
 34 **of coffee in the bar or whatever.**

C tried to solve apparent conflicting ideas (lines 14-18). After her last comments, it might have seemed as if she was distancing herself from the views of her friends so she starts agreeing with them again to some extent: she says she likes activity (lines 3-4). But then she introduces a new value: independence (line 5). Independence and anonymity are cultural values with a greater assimilation by middle class culture. For C, high density of population is less positive than it is for A and B because it restricts her feeling of independence. The association of 'here' with the idea of being 'like a village' used in a negative sense by C (line 5) was used by other young people in positive terms (see quote 5/9). The idea of reproducing some kind of "pueblo" life in "aquí" is frequent. References to "aquí" as a "pueblo" indicate the presence of elements of a nostalgic past in the lives of urban Catalans. For B, however, density of social networks is a highly positive element of living "aquí" (lines 22-30). The idea that here "everybody knows everybody" ("aquí todos nos conocemos") is repeated in young people's voices<sup>20</sup>. Intense social networks are a common feature of the culture of many working class areas. Finally, in the last segment of the conversation that I reproduce here, differences between C and the two sisters continue.

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<sup>20</sup>. The idea of 'everybody knowing everybody' is important in immigrant areas, as has been pointed out in some works on the historiography of immigration. Morawska (1990), for instance, showed how this was of central importance for the Jewish community in the US.

Quote 5/8:

AR: Te gusta por ejemplo Sagrera? [the area of Barcelona where she works]

A: No

B: Muy triste eso, a mi me gusta salir y ver gente.

A: Es eso, tu vas allí un domingo y es todo cerra/d/o, a lo mejor de tres bares en una calle hay uno abierto, se ve todo muy triste el ambiente.

C: A mí no es que me importe [vivir aquí] pero prefiero lo otro, a mí que me den un bloque, muchos pisos, a mí es que me gusta vivir a mi aire. Yo cambiaría el bloque por una casita, es más independiente, puedes hacer lo que quieras en tu casa, sin que nadie te diga que me molesta que estás picando, que me molesta la música, puestos a elegir donde sea, no me importaría, si fuera por aquí al la/d/o o si tuviera que ir a un pueblo por aquí cerca, pues a un pueblo, pero claro el asunto monetario a cero, así que me tendré que busca/r/ a alguno [hombre] que la tenga [la casa] ya monta/da

- 1 A.R: Do you like Sagrera for instance? [the area of Barcelona
- 2 where she works]
- 3 A: No.
- 4 B: All that area is very sad, I like going out and seeing people.
- 5 A: That's what it's like [laughs].
- 6 You go there on a Sunday and everything is closed, out of three
- 7 bars on the street there is only one open, everything looks sad.
- 8 C: I don't mind [living here], but for me the other way is better.
- 9 Just let me have a big block of apartments, lots of them. I like being
- 10 independent.
- 11 A: I'd change a block of apartments for a little house. It's more
- 12 independent and you can do whatever you want in your own house
- 13 without having anyone tell you you're bothering them if you're
- 14 making a noise or banging around. If I had to choose wherever I
- 15 wanted, I wouldn't care if it were right close by here. Or if I had to
- 16 go to a little village nearby, then I'd go, but of course, right now
- 17 I've got no money at all, so I'd have to find someone [a man] who
- 18 already had one [a house] all set up. [laughs].

Again, activity and liveliness appear as very positive values for the two sisters (as opposed to the sadness and quiet of other areas (lines 4-7)). A's definition of

independence seems very different from C's. Independence, for A, is the possibility of doing things the way she wants, at home (a somewhat internal definition of independence in contrast to C's more external understanding of the word). Finally, A says that if she could move somewhere better, she would go "anywhere" ("donde sea") (line 15). From her words, it seems clear that this "donde sea" only includes other working-class areas (lines 11-19)<sup>21</sup>.

In conclusion, the three friends are used here to show that values attached to "aquí" become important tools of social position and distinction. Discourses about places where people want to live and why, are important data full of social meaning.

A different aspect of "aquí" is cultural heterogeneity. Cultural heterogeneity and the immigrant origins of the people of Tres Barrios were often seen as very positive elements of "aquí". On many occasions people referred to "aquí" as a 'place of immigrants', where 'almost everybody comes from outside', and where 'there are very few Catalans'. Many people in Tres Barrios explicitly refer to their immediate local context in ethnic terms, instead of using other social factors, such as social class.

In this excerpt from a conversation with L (boy) and LA (girl), this issue was patently clear. L talked very positively about his town being a city of emigrants.

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<sup>21</sup>. Gans (1962) called attention to working-class people's need to repeat the same living conditions when they had to move out of one residential area and into another.

## Quote 5/9:

AR: Si un día os independizáis, dónde os gustaría ir a vivir?

LA: Sevilla, yo me iría a Sevilla.

L: Córdoba,...sí.

AR: Y si fuera por aquí?

LA: Por la zona de Hospitalet...

AR: A Barcelona no irías?

LA: No, no es por na/da/, me gusta, pero no, a lo mejor vivir aquí veo...pero irme a vivir a un sitio tan catalán como Barcelona, no.

AR: Pero en Barcelona también hay gente de muchos sitios.

L: Pero no e/s/ lo mismo, porque tú te metes en Barcelona y no es lo mismo, tú te metes en Hospitalet, Hospitalet es más parecido {en} estilo al pueblo, mira aquí, casi todo el mundo se conoce, es otra cosa.

- 1 AR: If you could be independent one day, where would you like to
- 2 live?
- 3 LA: Seville, I'd go to Seville
- 4 L: Cordoba...yes
- 5 AR: And round here?
- 6 LA: In the Hospitalet area
- 7 AR: And wouldn't you go to Barcelona?
- 8 LA: No, I like it but no, I think the best place to live is here... go and
- 9 live in a place as Catalan as Barcelona, no.
- 10 AR: But in Barcelona there are also people from lots of different
- 11 places.
- 12 L: But it's not the same. You get to Barcelona and it's not the same.
- 13 You get to Hospitalet and it's more like a village...look around,
- 14 nearly everyone knows everyone else, it's completely different.

The idea of mixed origins and cultures transcends the limits of 'here' when applied to the speaker's concept of Catalonia. LA shows this same phenomenon further on (lines 3-9) when she says that Barcelona is a 'Catalan' place where she wouldn't like to live. At the end of the transcribed fragment, L adds that besides the cultural mix, she likes the set up because everyone knows everyone else (lines 12-14).



The fiesta has only reinforced an already existing feeling of living in a place that they like, especially compared to past years. There is a general feeling among people that 'this is beautiful now/ our neighbourhood is beautiful now'.

Andalusian culture has become visible through its associations and this has helped to give the area a distinct personality. Many young people referred to the ethnic nature of Tres Barrios as something that they value, and they usually expressed it in term of 'Andalusianness'. For instance, they said that 'all the "jaleo"' (noise, movement) is here, "everybody is in one club or another", "in other places things are much more seriously organized" ("en otros sitios es más serio"). The Andalusian culture has helped create a feeling of coherence, which has contributed to the emergence of common references. As Emi shows, the Andalusian organizations (in this case, dancing schools) have helped to make past differences between areas of immigrants and areas of Catalans more obvious. These differences exist in Catalonia even within cities of great immigration, but they are not generally talked about either frequently or with ease. Emi refers to the differences between the place where she lived previously and Tres Barrios:

Quote 5/10:

**Emi: Yo antes vivía en el centro, al lado de la Rambla de Justo Oliveras, allá no había nada, ni una escuela de baile, y la gente eran catalanes-catalanes. Aquí en cambio hay mucho ambiente, es muy diferente.**

- 1 Emi: Before, I used to live in the center, next to the Rambla de**
- 2 Justo Oliveras; there was nobody there, not one dancing school and**

- 3 the people were really, really Catalan. But here there's much more  
 4 atmosphere; it's very different.

### Emotions

Emotions have a very important role to play in the search for commonality. The feeling of sharing common moments of deep emotions have shaped a sense of equality and the Andalusian "mundillo" is extremely rich in the creation of such emotions. Some people highlighted feelings of mystical and religious devotion; others emphasized the feeling of companionship and solidarity; on some occasions, simply having to perform in public (as dancers, singers, musicians, etc.) was lived with anxiety and passion. Nobody could avoid this network of different emotions. But in all cases, sharing these feelings with others was a crucial element of 'being Andalusian' and of the "mundillo", too. This social aspect of emotion as a collective experience often emerged in young people's conversations, where it led to much discussion.

The "Rocío" is an example of a festivity which provoked many different sorts of emotions. As this girl explained, the "Rocío" was a deeply emotional experience for her:

Quote 5/12:

AR: ¿Cuál es la fiesta que más te gusta?

CE: A mí el Rocío. A mí la Feria me gusta pero de cachondeo, lo pasamos de coña. Pero lo que me emociona es el Rocío. Se ovidan los rencores, las envidias, todo el mundo se quiere cantidad, vas a una

hermandad 'venga que venimo/s/ a despertaros', tú lo has vivido allá [talking to me]. Siempre desde pequeños que si el Rocío, que si la Virgen del Rocío, lo teníamos muy oído, en las sevillanas lo dicen mucho, Rocío, Rocío, no sé qué y un verano fuimos al Rocío chico y para mí fue, tanto para mi padre, para mi madre, como para mí, ver a la Virgen y ponemos a llorar los tres, nos emocionó muchísimo, lo idealizas, desde entonces lo he vivido más y es emocionante cuando dos simpecaos se saludan, los tambores, o cuando vas a la presentación de la Virgen, a mí me emociona mucho, esa fe que tiene la gente, desde los 13 años y mi ilusión es ir al Rocío de Huelva.

- 1 AR: Which fiesta do you like most?  
 2 CE: The "Rocío". I like the "Feria" 'cos you can really have fun  
 3 and a great time there. But the "Rocío" really turns me on:  
 4 everyone forgets about the people they don't like or are envious of;  
 5 everybody gets on well with everybody else, you go to a hermandad:  
 6 'heh, we've come to wake you lot up'; you've seen it there yourself  
 7 (speaking to me). From the time you're a little kid you always hear  
 8 about the "Rocío" or the "Virgen del Rocío"...the "Sevillanos"  
 9 mention them a lot.: "Rocío" this, "Rocío" that.... One summer we  
 10 all went to the "Rocío chico" and for me, just like for my dad and  
 11 mom, seeing the "Virgin", the three of us started to cry... It really  
 12 affects you a lot, you idealize it. Since then, I've lived it even more  
 13 and it's so moving when 2 "simpecaos" greet each other... the  
 14 drums.. or when you go and see the presentation of the "Virgen".  
 15 The faith these people have from the age of 13 really moves me. My  
 16 big hope is to be able to go to the "Rocío" in Huelva.

For her, the "Rocío" is a powerful catalyst for the emergence of feelings of brotherhood, solidarity, and love (lines 2-5). But it is also a mystical experience full of symbols related to the worlds of music, traditions, and religious figures (lines 10-12). The original "Rocío" in the Andalusian province of Huelva also plays a strong emotional role (lines 7-9). Many "rocieros" –both young and adult-- dream of going one day to the main "Rocío" celebration or, at least, to the small "Rocío" ("Rocío chico"), which is celebrated during the summer in honor of Andalusian emigrants, who can only travel to Andalusia at that time.

References to the emotional elements of the "Rocio" were very common in young people's conversations and they count the days leading up to the celebrations. I found that one of the most highly valued aspects of the "Rocio" was the feeling of brother/sisterhood among all the participants and during the whole period of the "Rocio" 'people love each other a lot'. There were frequent references to the origins of the word 'hermandad' (the literal translation would be brother/sisterhood), as an association of siblings. I witnessed two situations in which a young boy and girl knew in advance that they could not attend that year for personal reasons (she had had a back injury and he was doing his military service). In both cases, they said they were very sad and all their friends expressed great sympathy for them. In addition, young people talked about the promises they had made to the virgin, about how, every year, they cry when they enter the "Rocio" area, about the more touching moments of the route to the "Rocio", etc. In a society that discourages rather than encourages the expression of emotions, people in the "Rocio" have found a way of showing their feelings. For young males still living within the traditional patterns of masculinity, the fact that they can even cry –in fact, crying is considered by young people as something positive-- represents a challenge to the model of social relations inherent in society.

### Culture as class

Socio-economic conditions did not appear to be an element providing people with a logical awareness of their common fate or that shaped their 'we'. Discussions

centering on class were rare. However, it is possible to see the importance of class through a discourse on culture. Commonality was expressed in ethnic terms, which has helped to create the basis for a new class identity and culture. In Catalonia, cultural symbols –often ethnic symbols-- cut across class values. This can be seen in different ways.

“El mundillo” is also used to express social, class differences through common cultural issues. Working class young people may find it easier to talk about differences from others in terms of cultural differences than in terms of social class. The following excerpt from a long conversation with L, a boy who works in a shoe repair shop, is a clear expression of that sense of class commonality. I asked him about the relationship with friends he had before his participation in the “hermandad rociera” to which he now belonged. He explained that his friends were those with whom he felt he had most in common and he expressed a strong sense of sharing common interests with his new friends “del Rocío”.

Quote 5/13:

AR: Y tus amigos de antes?

L: No sé, se han ido perdiendo, con el trabajo, después de salir del colegio...estudié hasta primero de FP y luego lo dejé, a los 16 años empecé a trabajar, no me gustaba estudiar, no se me daba bien, no es que suspendiera mucho pero. Me relaciono [aún] con los amigos de la calle, que son los que iban al colegio, pero ya no es como antes. Ahora son éstos [los del mundo andaluz] [mis amigos]. También a ellos [los de la escuela] les gustaba otra clase de ambiente, a mí me gusta otro, claro que me gusta, no es que se haya perdido la amistad, yo hablo con ellos, sólo que hubiésemos tenido en común ser rocieros, hubiese pasa/d/o como con los amigos que te decía antes, amigos del Rocío

[pause] pero aquí estamos, nos entendíamos todos muy bien, tenemos los mismos gustos, ya no podríamos pasar sin ellos.

- 1 AR: And your friends from the past?  
 2 L: I don't know, we've lost contact, with work, later when you get  
 3 out of school... I studied until the first year of FP and then I quit. I  
 4 started working when I was 16; I didn't like studying, it wasn't my  
 5 thing, not that I failed a lot of subjects or anything. I [still] see my  
 6 friends from the neighborhood, who are the ones I went to school  
 7 with, but it's not like it used to be. Now [my friends] are these ones  
 8 [from the Andalusian world]. The others [the ones from school]  
 9 liked a different kind of atmosphere; I like other things, I mean, of  
 10 course I like theirs, it's not like we're not friends.... I talk to them,  
 11 but if we could have had in common the fact that we were all  
 12 rocieros, it would have been like with the friends I was telling you  
 13 about before, friends from el Rocio [pause]. But there you are, we  
 14 all get along really well, we like the same things, now we can't do  
 15 without them.

Although this fragment is a good example of rhetoric based on commonality, it also shows a second and very important element of "el mundillo". Instead of arguing that different social conditions had distanced him from his old friends, L perceived that it was the difference in culture which separated them and, at the same time, brought him together with his new group of friends. As he says, if he moved away from his old friends it was because of different cultural traits and not social differences. While pointing out some of the social differences that separated him from his old friends –basically educational goals and work experience (lines 2-5)-- he expressed things he has in common with his new friends in terms of culture and not class conditions such as social expectations, income, living conditions, etc. However, expressions such as "ambiente" (atmosphere, line 9), "sólo que hubiésemos tenido en común ser rocieros" (but if we could have had in common the fact that we were all

rocieros, lines 11-12), "amigos del Rocío" (friends from el Rocío, line 13), or "mismos gustos" (we like the same things, line 14) show perception of culture as the distinguishing point between 'us and them'. For instance, those who have different 'tastes' are, in fact, people with different social evolutions and destinies. On some occasions, conscious that not everybody liked 'this environment', young people justified it in terms of family cultural traditions or individual choices, rather than in social terms.

In working class communities such as Tres Barrios, social heterogeneity exists. For people here, recognizing that others have done better than they themselves is not an easy task. It is in these contexts in particular that cultural difference may emerge as an excellent way of talking about social differences. And as a result, instead of developing a social consciousness based on class issues, young people develop a cultural consciousness. Thus, social and cultural spheres appear to be deeply entrenched and, in many situations, it is very difficult to differentiate between the two. The "mundillo" occupies the symbolic space of cultural elements and contains social references of both class and social prestige.

### C. “El ambiente”

Tres Barrios serves as an empirical example of how people are not always willing to acquire social status at the expense of the betrayal of their internal worlds. Proudly talking about “este ambiente” (“this environment”) as something positive, many people were expressing their resistance to the dominant patterns of power and prestige. This was the case of Jose. He explained why he and his friends had exchanged their old “sala rociera” (a nightclub with Andalusian music and dancing), where they went every Saturday night, for a new one:

Quote 5/14:

Jose: Aquí estamos en nuestro ambiente, allí [the old sala rociera] iba gente muy pija.

- 1 Jose: Here we're in our own environment, at the other one [at the old
- 2 sala rociera] people were very snobbish.

I should have asked Jose more about what he had had in mind when he used the word ‘snobbish’, but I did not. I was probably baffled to find this word defining a working-class nightclub and so I did not react fast enough. Jose was no doubt indicating a subtle social break within the working class or, in other words, the existence of subcultures of style. In relation to language, ‘being Andalusian’ creates a kind of private sphere where there are different rules, and where people feel free to assert that they speak Andalusian (i.e. with a very specific accent that they call



“speaking Andalusian”) while “Catalan is not spoken” (“aquí, en este ambiente, no se habla catalán”).

All the Andalusian festivities are considered to have low social prestige. As the following example shows, when people in Tres Barrios talked about the way ‘others’ saw them, they were responding to stigmatization. This is the case of CE, a girl who worked as a sales woman in an insurance company and who had a degree in public relations. CE had a similar accent, appearance, and style of dress as a person from the middle class. She knew how to adapt to different situations –she ‘lost’ and ‘acquired’ her Andalusian accent when she spoke, depending on the situation-- and she seemed to be different from the rest. Talking about her close involvement with the Andalusian cultural movement, she said:

Quote 5/15:

CE: Yo nunca me he avergonzado, hay gente que sí [dicen] ‘voy al Centro porque van mis padres pero no lo digo’. Yo sí, en el trabajo {piensan} mira esta marujilla de Hospitalet, de Hospitalet, es que la gente relaciona ambientes flamenco, entidades andaluzas y tal con gente chola, mal vestida, lolaila, gitanaca, de la calle, de esta ‘pero qué pasa tío..’. Pues claro a mí me ven diferente, rubilla, mis camisillas, mis pantalones, finilla y [yo les digo] ‘es que yo estoy en un centro rociero y bailo flamenco y canto sevillanas’, ‘anda ya tía, te estás quedando conmigo’. De hecho me han venido a ver bailar o cantar con el coro, y les encanta y te dicen que nunca se hubieran imaginado que les gustara esto, es desconocimiento total, total. Se avergüenzan un poco, piensan que es de clase baja, a mí me da igual, yo tengo mi carácter y eso me gusta y ya está.

- 1 CE: I’ve never been ashamed. There are people who say “I just go
- 2 to *el Centro* because my parents do but I don’t tell anybody about
- 3 it”. Well I do. At work they think: “look at this (silly) little woman
- 4 from l’Hospitalet, from Hospitalet”. The thing is, people relate

5 flamenco, Andalusian organizations, and all that kind of stuff to  
6 rough, badly dressed, tacky, gypsy people who hang around the  
7 streets saying things like: “Hey man, what’s up...” And of course  
8 they see me as being different –blonde, well-dressed, my little  
9 blouses, my trousers, elegant– and I tell them I’m in a *Rociero*  
10 organization and dance flamenco and sing “sevillanas”, and [the  
11 others say] “yeah, right, you’ve got to be kidding me.” Actually,  
12 they’ve come to see me dance and sing in the choir, and they love it  
13 and they tell you that they would never have imagined they would  
14 like this sort of stuff; it’s just total lack of information. They’re  
15 even a bit embarrassed, they think it’s stuff for low-class people. I  
16 don’t care; I’ve got a strong character. I like it, and that’s all there  
17 is to it.

CE points out the low social value associated with Andalusian culture in Catalonia and explains that many people have to justify their membership of an Andalusian club. Even more importantly, she explains that the two worlds are separate and, in many cases, conflict with each other. The whole excerpt is a very good example of how confrontation and resistance to given value systems can lead to a fresh model in which class and ethnicity do not necessarily go hand in hand but can establish a new kind of relationship. However, CE’s situation turned out to be intriguing. After the above, she went on to say that she had decided to stop taking part in the “coro rociero” –where she was very popular-- for professional reasons.

## Quote 5/16:

CE: Antes estaba mucho más metida<sup>22</sup>, estaba allá, ayudaba a dar las clases, muy bien, de coña, mi segunda casa, pero después me puse a estudiar y pensé que es un mundillo, que es un hobby y tal y que tienes que buscarte tu futuro, desconecté un poco. [Pensé] ojo, que no acaba aquí todo. Una de mis cuatro amigas es la profesora de baile en la hermandad. Ella tiene una afición que yo no la entiendo, ella hay una fiesta y ella va allí, una misa [ella va] allí, es una persona que dejó el instituto y se puso a dar clases de sevillanas. Yo podía haber sido igual, pero lo vi tan [pause] una luz que me iluminó. A veces lo comento con ella, que no se cierre, que tiene 30 tacos y no tiene nada, ella está dando clases y no tienen nada, y eso puede ser un boom de 5 o 6 años y luego qué? Yo también estoy dando clases ahora, porque me gusta, me saco un dinerillo y ya está, pero no lo tomo como base de mi vida, ella sí. Yo si puedo voy [to Andalusian celebrations], al mio si, pero si no [voy], no pasa nada. Antes era mi casa, el cole y el centro. Hasta los 17, 18 [años] ya cambia. En mi coro se han quitado más de la mitad. Yo de hecho hace un par de años que lo quise dejar y no me dejaron. Yo les dije que tengo clarísimo que si tengo que estudiar el fin de semana no vendré a la peña no sé qué a bailar [...] Ven cuando puedas y punto. [...] Voy dos días a ensayar con el coro y el sábado a bailar.

1 CE: I used to be much more into it; I was there helping to give  
 2 classes, great, fantastic, like my second home... but then I started  
 3 studying and I thought it's a little world of its own, just a hobby  
 4 and all that and you have to look forward to the future, so I  
 5 dropped out a bit. (I thought) hold on, it's not all over now.... One  
 6 of my four best friends is the dancing teacher in "la hermandad".  
 7 She's hooked on it all in a way I can't understand...any fiesta there  
 8 is, she goes; any mass, she's there; she's someone who left high  
 9 school and started giving "sevillana" classes. I could have been the  
 10 same, but it seemed so (pause)...I saw the light. Sometimes I talk

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<sup>22</sup>. The expression "estar metido/a" is equivalent to English 'to be into' (example: "I was really into that"). In Spanish it also has a physical implication of placing or introducing something within something else. I think that it is interesting to note here that, talking about "el mundillo" or "el ambiente" this expression was used very often.

11 about it with her (and tell her) she shouldn't limit herself...she's 30  
 12 and she's got nothing; she's giving classes and there's nothing in it  
 13 for her; it's maybe a boom that will last 5 or 6 years and then what?  
 14 I'm also giving classes at the moment 'cos I like it, it gives me a bit  
 15 of extra money and that's it, but it's not my reason for living, like it  
 16 is for her. If I can go (to the Andalusian celebrations), my own, then  
 17 I do but if I can't, it doesn't matter. It used to be home, school and  
 18 "el Centro". It changes when you get to 17 or 18. In my choir more  
 19 than half have left. I really wanted to leave a couple of years ago but  
 20 they wouldn't let me. I told them that I knew very clearly that if I  
 21 had to study at the weekend, then I wouldn't come to "la peña" or  
 22 wherever to dance. (...) Just come when you can (.....) I practice  
 23 with the choir on 2 days and dance on Saturdays.

CE's words show that she realized that a certain 'separation' from "el mundillo" was needed in order to accomplish the kind of goals she had envisaged for her future (lines 1-5). She recognizes different levels of involvement, and believes that a very intense involvement, like the one that her friend represents, means a closed world that interferes with social and professional progress (lines 9-13). CE's priorities are very clear: her career is first. Thus, she will only attend the Andalusian festivities when her other responsibilities allow her to do so. She acknowledges that not everybody at the "hermandad" shares the same view (lines 18-24).

Young people in Tres Barrios with higher social positions and expectations represent a new model that comes between class and ethnicity. They try to blur the 'Andalusian' ethnic charge, which could stigmatize them, and instill a more 'cultural' meaning. They use different strategies and represent their participation in the 'Andalusian' world as being unrelated to any Andalusian ethnicity. Sometimes, they emphasize the entertainment side of the "fiesta" and proclaim, "it is all culture" ("todo es cultura"). By presenting themselves as Catalans, they try to distance themselves

from the Andalusian ethnic label. They make distinctions and boundaries between 'me and the others'.

This is the strategy that Blanca used to introduce herself to me. As is shown in this extract from our conversation, Blanca emphasized her Catalanism in front of 'the others', who, by contrast, were the 'Andalusians'.

Quote 5/17:

Blanca: Yo supongo que soy la más catalana de todo el grupo, porque yo en mi casa tengo música que no es de sevillanas y en el coro ya me doy cuenta, cuando cantamos una nueva [canción] todos la han oído y yo no tengo ni idea. En el coche escucho otra música.

- 1 Blanca: I suppose I'm the most Catalan of the whole group, because
- 2 at home, I've got music which isn't "sevillanas" and in the choir,
- 3 when we sing a new (song) all the others have heard it before except
- 4 for me. I listen to other music in the car.

Being the "most Catalan" (line 1) was used here to express a social distinction that allowed Blanca to set herself apart from the rest of her friends from the Andalusian world. Her behavior with her friends was very similar and on many occasions, she defended Catalan values and language when she was with them. On more than one occasion I heard Blanca defining herself as Catalan in front of her Andalusian friends. One day she insisted, in front of her friends, that she did not have any Andalusian music in her car (Andalusian music was playing on one of the two occasions when I got in her car). The result of her strategy was quite successful: among her friends, she had acquired an image as a highly valued 'esteticienne' and they referred to her as "the Catalan one".

#### **D. Concluding remarks**

The social relevance of phenomena such as 'being Andalusian' is that they enable us to identify important issues which emerge, with difficulty, in social groups which have no power. A detailed analysis shows that these kind of organized cultural movements based on origin are much more than simple *returns* to an impossible past. One of the most important reasons why some people appropriate cultures of the past is because it allows them to express and to define themselves in new ways. According to

Bilu (1991), representations of cultures of origin allow people to develop feelings of loyalties to their local environment and to express a profound sense of integration within the local sphere (Mitchel 1995). This, in Tres Barrios was articulated as "aqui". At the same time, the ethnic terrain provides a space where some of the problems of exclusion in the processes of national construction can be solved. Other nations with no state (the Basque Country, Quebec, Flanders) like Catalonia, have not been able to engage many of their inhabitants of immigrant origin in the construction of a national identity. For these people, the reinvention of these origins represents a way of solving the problem of community through "periodic infusions of *communitas*" (Conzen 1989) something which in this case, is articulated by the Andalusian fiestas. Instead of differences, mimesis and similarities are at issue. In the case of Tres Barrios, and in general in many parts of Barcelona's Metropolitan area, people try to become visible by showing not just a different way of being, but specifically of being Catalan. It is still too early to know whether or not this kind of resistance (Shultz 1994) is effective in Catalan society. However, the fact that many people in Catalonia feel threatened by this new way of *being* and by a whole network of *contested territories* (Cohen 1982) undoubtedly denotes a certain degree of success.

## Chapter VI: The Politics of Andalusia

At the end of 1999, just before the regional elections, the Catalan Socialist Party (PSC) partially financed the recording of a CD entitled "Elecciones por sevillanas"<sup>23</sup>. The CD only contained two songs: the first "Sevillanas de Pujol y Maragall", included the names of two of the candidates for the upcoming regional elections; the second "Viva la diversidad!" celebrated cultural pluralism in Catalonia. That year, both melodies were very popular at the stand of the PSC in the "Feria de Abril". This CD represents an excellent piece of evidence showing that politics and Andalusia go hand in hand in Catalonia. In this chapter I show the extremely intricate way in which that interconnection takes place. 'Being Andalusian' in Catalonia cannot be understood without acknowledging the political role that ethnicity plays.

Ethnicity has become a mobilizing resource in Catalan politics in many different ways. This chapter examines the case of the politics of Andalusia. The politics of Andalusia show that, as Cohen (1993) stated, a cultural movement is, *ipso facto*, a political movement. In contemporary Catalonia, the politics of Andalusia have become the most important scene of non-Catalan ethnic political representation. In this chapter I describe the traits of this new way of doing politics and I look for some clues to answer the question of what makes ethnicity a mobilizing resource in some

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<sup>23</sup> "Elecciones por sevillanas" is a play on words based on an expression used in flamenco culture to indicate the type of flamenco style.



particular contexts. At the same time I explain how the political and cultural issues that buffet some of them affect ethnic identities.

During the last fifteen years, slowly but continuously, Andalusianism has become a cornerstone of Catalan political life. It has also served different interests at different levels according to the moment and the need. For these last fifteen years, while Catalan regional autonomy was being rebuilt, a new political action group was being created, in an environment based on celebrations and regional folklore festivals. Among all the possible regional areas, the Andalusian has moved to a political turf definably legitimate and with more power than either the Aragonese (more recent), or Galician (growing) movements. The fact that Andalusian immigration continues to be the most numerous overall (see table 2.4.) is, undoubtedly, the reason for this. However, it is also important to take into account that the Andalusian folklore played an active political role within the political strategy of the Franco regime (see chapter 2). Now, certain politicians of the post-Franco period are ready to use it once again, albeit with different objectives.

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part considers the role that non-Catalan forms of ethnicity have historically played in the organization of Catalan politics. In the second, the main characteristics of politics in Andalusia will be examined and in the final section, I analyze the consequences and influences of politics of Andalusia on people's identity.

### **A. Non-Catalan ethnicity in Catalan politics**

Andalusian politics are not new within the Catalan political panorama. In this section I briefly explain the role that non-Catalan ethnicity has played in Catalan politics since the end of nineteenth century, when the massive movement of immigrants started arriving in Catalonia. As I will show, groups of people arriving in Catalonia became a political issue for different reasons and with very different purposes. The construction of an immigrant population as a political target and the presentation of a non-Catalan ethnicity as a legitimate terrain for political activity have been necessary steps in the formation of the politics of Andalusia in the first part of twentieth century.

One of the first times when a speech addressed to Spanish immigrants was heard in Catalonia was in 1901, under the First Spanish Republic, when Alejandro Lerroux was elected in Barcelona as a member of the Spanish "Cortes". In a period of intense social conflict and disillusion in Catalonia (Alvarez Junco 1991:352), Lerroux used a political strategy based on the utilization of anti-Catalanism as a mobilizing force. He obtained very good results among the immigrant population --from Murcia, Andalusia, Valencia and Aragon-- a working class that had not found in Catalanism the popular movement they needed. His strategy of dividing Catalans between 'friends and enemies of Spain' was hugely successful with the working masses in Barcelona (Coromines 1993). The term 'lerrouxism' came to denote the shift in the existing workers movement from a rhetorical ideology based on social class to one based on

linguistic and cultural differences.

The 'myth' of lerroxism as a personification of anti-Catalanism persists even today. The term 'lerroxism' or 'neo-lerroxism' often appears as a reference to any attitude, which might seem to be aimed at gaining the attention and votes of the non-Catalan population. 'Lerroxism' has frequently accompanied or even served as a synonym for other concepts such as 'opportunism', 'demagoguery', 'reactionary', and, of course, 'anti-Catalanism'. An example of this use occurred in 1980 when the Andalusian Socialist Party (PSA) decided to participate in the first regional democratic elections. The party's general secretary was frequently described as the new Lerrox and a Catalan newspaper published an article entitled "What does it mean to be a lerroxist?"

Nowadays, 'lerroxism' appears frequently, both in the comments made by political leaders and by journalists who have a vague understanding of public issues. The ghost of the old emperor of the Parallel district has returned to haunt public opinion, which consists of a large majority of citizens who are not even familiar with the lerroxist phenomenon. They might therefore be both surprised and manipulated by its correct interpretation... Lerroxism was, and still is, an attempt to manipulate the interests of Catalonia from Madrid by means of the groups or parties that depend, either directly or indirectly on Madrid. And today in Catalonia these forces still exist, many of them much more important than the PSA. (Avui, 7/23/1980).

In the late 70's and early 80's, while Spain was in the throes of democratization and the retrieval of national rights, Catalan and Andalusian 'causes' went hand in hand. It was in fact the approval of the Statute of Andalusian Autonomy (February 28<sup>th</sup>

1980, Andalusia Day)<sup>24</sup> which created the space for Andalusism within the Catalan political scene during the transition period. During these years, the discourse of some left-wing parties produced a symbiotic relationship between Andalusia and Catalonia. In 1979 a huge parade marched through the center of Barcelona in celebration of Andalusia Day. It was partly organized by different political parties, workers' unions, flamenco clubs, and the Blas Infante Andalusian Center. The fact that the parade was presented by the organizers as a homogenous event, is evidence of the role which the Andalusian struggle played in Catalonia at that time:

We are here as citizens of Catalonia –some born here, others from Andalusia itself, and other parts of the Spanish state-- to tell those who want to deny the autonomous rights of the Andalusian nation, that the people of Catalonia are fighting side by side with the people of Andalusia.....that the citizens who live and work in this land want the same things we have achieved for Catalonia for all of the peoples of Spain... (Part of the speech read on Andalusia Day, reproduced in *Treball* 12/6/1979).

According to certain newspapers, more than 9000 people participated in the parade, which consisted of people improvising flamenco dances. The Catalan and Andalusian flags blended together in the celebration, according to the reports and the testimony of the many people who were present at the event<sup>25</sup>. Some of the slogans on

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<sup>24</sup>. The "Andalusia Day" celebration in Catalonia was originally an institutional festivity, supported by parties and political institutions. The parades have been replaced by floral offerings, shaped in the figure of the Andalusian nationalist, Blas Infante, along with the presence of key players in Catalan politics, diverse cultural activities, and receptions provided by some key institutions. The political nature of the first parades has been supplanted, little by little, by a more cultural and festive atmosphere, always with a keen institutional presence.

<sup>25</sup>. Other events towards the end of the 1970's and beginning of the 1980's indicate the existence of a political climate favoring the inclusion of the "Andalusian cause" within the panorama of Catalan politics. For example, there was the presence of Andalusian politics in diverse political activities, including demands for social justice and regional autonomy for Andalusia. Also, the presence of flags

the flags and banners, according to those same sources, were: "Catalonia is with Andalusia, Andalusian National Day"; "Long live Catalonia, long live Andalusia"; "PSUC is with Andalusia"; or simply "Catalonia, Andalusia". The general environment was very favorable to the Catalan cause, with numerous cries in favor of Catalonia<sup>26</sup>.

But this synergic and positive spirit would not last much time. The case of the organization of a political party based on ethnic difference was received with skepticism soon. The PSA's experience was received with general skepticism and strong criticism from the majority of Catalan political leaders at the time. As stated above, the PSA initiative was labeled as "lerrouxist" from the very beginning. Even left wing parties, which formerly had been sympathetic to the Andalusian movement, were now very critical. The only attempt at formal political organization that has existed in democratic Catalonia, organized around non-Catalan identity, has been the experience of the Andalusian Socialist Party (PSA). The unique case of a non-Catalan ethno-political initiative emerged in the first years of the new democracy when the PSA, a political party with headquarters in the Andalusian capital of Sevilla, opted to seek seats in the Catalan regional parliament in the first autonomous elections, held in

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from other regional communities, including Andalusia, was a common sight at political meetings of the Catalan nationalist coalition.

<sup>26</sup>. Much of the information on the political events during 1979-1980, including the comments on this parade, have been provided by Kathryn Woolard, who was present in Barcelona during these years. She has also helped me to arrange these materials. However, I am entirely responsible for their interpretation.

1980<sup>27</sup>.

It is in this climate that the PSA decided to participate in the early regional elections in Catalonia<sup>28</sup>. In this political encounter they attempted to capture the immigrant vote in the region. The PSA obtained two of the five delegate seats they had hoped for, according to information I received from one of their strongest activists. The PSA did not take part in the subsequent election in 1984. By 1987, in the first elections of the European Parliament, the PSA had changed its name to the "Partido Andalucista". The political failure of the PSA has been used in many occasions to *show* that immigrants in Catalonia have recognized the Catalan political identity as the only legitimate one, as does the following passage:

If anything shows that the process guiding to autonomy has not produced a reticence among immigrants is the failure of the neo-lerrouxist PSA (...) If discontent had existed, it is clear that this party could have made it stick together. The citizens of Catalonia, however, organize themselves politically, according to their own convictions, and not on the basis of their origins, as the PSA claims. It was impossible for the pre-autonomic process to have predicted this. (Calzada & Llorens 1995:399).

Accusations about the political life of the PSA grew, linking it both with manipulative political strategies of other political parties based in Madrid and with

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<sup>27</sup> The introduction of the PSA in Catalonia came during the last few years of the Francoist dictatorship. Under the new rules of democracy the PSA, like all of the other parties, passed from the shadows of a clandestine movement and became a public presence. However, even before these elections were to have taken place, the PSA had already begun to stake out a political space under the new democratic regime.

<sup>28</sup> The leader of the PSA in Andalusia declared his political intention in the following manner: "Nosotros vamos a ir detras de ese andaluz, a defender sus intereses...vamos a defender exclusivamente los intereses de los emigrantes andaluces" (1980). Martín (1992) explains that in the latest advertising spots in television, the PSA has demanded not only votes for Andalusians, but also the entire non-Catalan population as defined by birth.

parties within the sphere of Catalan politics. This situation led to a huge debate –both in the parliament and in the press-- on the possible effects of this on the status of “la convivencia”, coexistence, in Catalonia. The very presence of the PSA in the parliament seemed to question everything that was politically untouchable and sacred, such as social peace and the need for one Catalan community. Left wing parties, in general, led the charge against each and every political use of the concept of ethnic origin –especially the ‘ethnic vote’-- which threatened to break the unity of class interests in favor of the interests of the capitalist class, as the following quotes from articles show<sup>29</sup>:

Those who want to divide Catalonia are the Catalan right-wing and the PSA is their instrument. They want to separate the working class from their political role. We say no to this; we will not fall into the trap of lerroxism (...) which wants this party {PSA} to have the Andalusians' votes and for the popular classes not to fulfil their role. (Avui, 8/29/1980).

It is possible, within the peaceful framework of democracy, for the diverse communities which have emerged as a result of emigration to Catalonia to become successfully integrated. If this happens, the affirmation of a national conscience will come to be something so unnatural in the political parties, that it will no longer serve as a point of differentiation. On the other hand, we have the fomenting and growth of anti-Catalan attitudes, which will, paradoxically, justify the existence of programs focussing on strictly nationalist issues (...) Finally, we must note that a growth in Andalusism would directly hurt all left-wing parties (...) since it would divide the vote of the working class immigrants (Hoja del Lunes, 8/28/1980).

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<sup>29</sup>. Horowitz (1985) makes reference to the dilemma that confronts leftist parties who encounter a system of ethnic parties functioning. The case of Catalonia provides a fine opportunity to analyze this phenomenon.

Finally, to what extent was the PSA initiative considered 'serious politics'? I would like to suggest that the emergence of the PSA in the world of Catalan regional politics was indeed a form of 'second class' politics. The following anecdote, supporting this claim, took place on the first day on which the Catalan parliament met, after the PSA had won their seats<sup>30</sup>. While all the new delegates wandered about trying to find the seats which had been reserved for them as a result of the political pacts established, the two PSA representatives unsuccessfully searched for seats set aside for them. Finally, they grabbed a couple of empty seats beside the door!

The 'myth' of Lerrouxism has accompanied non-Catalan ethnic cultural organizations until now. At the end of the 70's, when the first new "ferias" and celebrations of various regional origins started organizing under democracy, organizers and participants had to tranquilize the Catalan public opinion saying that they did not pursue a lerrouxist strategy<sup>31</sup>. For instance, even though the Andalusian movement has been more spontaneous, independent, and at times more progressive than it used to be under the Franco's regime (see chapter 2), the regional houses continue to carry the image of being a stronghold for the reactionary, anti-Catalan right wing. Progressive and social aspects are forgotten in the public image of these institutions. The role that

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<sup>30</sup>. This story was recalled in an interview by one of the representatives of the PSA in the Catalan Parliament.

<sup>31</sup>. These proclamations of not being using an anti-Catalanist strategy did not imply that they recognize the potential political power of immigrant associations and celebrations. An organizer of the first feria of Hospitalet wrote: "The fundamental problem of immigrant associations derives from the ambiguous situation of their member in the Catalan context. (...) Our problems cannot be treated as if we were foreigners (...) Our unrest can be translated into votes and the immigrant vote, if it gets oriented in opposition to the national Catalan vote, it can make impossible political life in Catalonia" L'Estaca, 1978 (5).



these regional houses have played in Catalan politics has continued to be perceived as a potential threat. In 1995 this image of the regional houses was expressed in the mass media again when a Catalan politician from the socialist party labeled the regional houses leaders critics of his 'nationalist profile' as 'reactionary'. Still carrying the dark shadow of Franco's years, regional houses are always accused of the same charges, no matter what they do.

### **B. The political role of the Andalusian cultural movement**

The use of the Andalusian cultural organizations currently forms part of the organizing and electioneering strategies of the political parties and Catalan institutions. There is no political party that stays out of the fray, although as I will show in the next part, the strategies used by each party are quite distinct both in intensity and in strategy. A cartoon, which appeared in the Catalan press, of a flamenco dancer with hands that mysteriously change her, confirms that the political use of the Andalusian movement is publicly acknowledged (see photo 15).

One of the first things that I found curious was to observe that many of the Andalusian organizations had been politicized. At least, that was the conclusion I reached after my first contacts with the Andalusian associations of the Tres Barrios. In my first visit to a flamenco "peña", I was surprised to see proof of this displayed in a very visible place: a bottle with the letters of a political party etched on it, the Socialist Party of Catalonia, the PSC. A few seconds later, I also saw a sticker on the wall with

the same letters. In one way or another, politics and political parties had penetrated the interior of that "peña". Throughout the next pages, I will examine the specific advantages that political parties see in the use of the Andalusian network of cultural associations in Catalonia.

### The ambiguity of Andalusian politics

How has non-Catalan ethnicity been used as a political resource in Catalonia? Which strategies have been most successfully implemented by political and cultural groups in the definition and construction of non-Catalan forms of ethnicity? (Herzog 1985).

In this section I seek to analyze the ways in which the recognition of non-Catalan forms of ethnicity have taken shape in Catalonia. At least at first sight, the absence of non-Catalan political parties or even electoral lists might lead us to believe that Catalan ethnicity is the only ethnic contingent in organized politics. However, this is not the case. Catalonia is home to a phenomenon similar to that described by Herzog in his analysis of Israel (1988). As in Israel, in Catalonia certain contending groups are apparently forbidden to use ethnicity as a tool for establishing their political framework. As a result, Catalanism would continue as the sole legitimate political banner. However, the boundaries of recognition of political ethnicity are very flexible in Catalonia. In each case, ambiguity is a political resource that we frequently see used in relation to the instrumental opportunities ethnic pluralism affords.

Overt references to any ethnic category except Catalan are taboo in official electoral politics and both the 'mainstream' political parties and the media agree to eschew and censor any perceived effort in this direction as anti-Catalan. Notwithstanding, Andalusism has always existed, in the dominant political language, within the sphere of the unspoken. Political parties play an active role in the fomenting of Andalusian organizations, activities, and identities. As will be shown, these parties either try to reap political benefits from the Andalusian organization or use it to control or contain the possible political threat of Andalusism, or both of these. The policy of ambiguous recognition followed by Catalan leaders may help in such goals.

#### The case of FECAC

Given the difficulties in analyzing ambiguous strategies in ethnic politics, I have chosen a form that simplifies this task. I have selected the most important case of a non-Catalan ethnopolitical organization from the long years of reconstructing Catalan regional autonomy: the FECAC, the Federation of Andalusian Associations in Catalonia.

In 1996, FECAC had 150 Andalusian entities as members throughout Catalonia, although the number of associations varies from year to year, many of the associations belonging to FECAC only having a few members. Although there is another federation in Catalonia which is made up of all immigrant associations besides the Andalusian ones –the Federation of Regional Centres in Spain in Catalonia (FECREC)-- it has very little political influence. FECAC is partially funded by public

institutions, like many other cultural institutions in Catalonia. It receives 10-15 million pesetas annually and is also provided with buildings in the city of Barcelona, which belong to the Catalan government.

Andalusian regional associations have made its own space within Catalan politics. The main political player in this associative movement is the FECAC. The current importance and recognition given to FECAC indicates that in contexts of ethnic-cultural differences, some ethnic organizations can play a key role in maintaining political and social equilibrium. In the last fifteen years, FECAC has become a mediator in Catalan politics legitimated by different government organizations, as noted in the press:

Throughout the years, the majority of these [regional] organizations, and particularly FECAC, have liked the idea of being courted by the political parties which, having decided that this was the ideal platform to reach certain sectors of electorate, have opted to support them. From the president of the Generalitat himself, the first politician to visit the Catalan Feria de Abril, to the Spanish president Felipe González- who held a private audience in the Moncloa<sup>32</sup> with the top representatives of FECAC (...) this organization plays an influential role on the Catalan political scene. (La Vanguardia, 4/20/1994).

For the last few years the role played by FECAC in Catalan politics has been similar to that of a lobby. It intervenes in and takes advantage of the spotlight at pre-calculated times of the year. For months on end FECAC will be completely absent from the political scene, leading one to think they have disappeared. Then suddenly, FECAC will once again be news and will appear both on television and in the press.

FECAC's name often comes up when the Catalan political linguistic issue is

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<sup>32</sup>. "La Moncloa" is the name of the Prime Minister's home in Madrid.

being discussed. FECAC has gradually become an organized interlocutor representing the voice of the immigrant in Catalonia in the discussion of the 'language issue'. FECAC's president is often invited to discuss aspects of the linguistic situation (i.e. interethnic issues) with members of the Catalan government. For instance, in 1997 FECAC formed part of the parliamentary report which studied a new legal framework for the Catalan language. FECAC has become a sort of 'pressure valve' which opens up every time a key issue emerges in Catalan politics. When these things become news, it is 'normal' for FECAC to specify its point of view, and for the press to publish it. FECAC wants to create an image for itself that is closely related to this political role. In an interview with the president of FECAC, he told me that he has direct contact with the main political figures of both Spain and Catalonia and the photographs hanging on the walls of his office --the Mayor of Barcelona, the President of the Generalitat and the King of Spain-- reinforce these links with official institutions.

In addition, every year in April FECAC's name appears in all the newspapers and on many of the Catalan radio stations. FECAC organizes the "Feria de Abril" and, taking advantage of all the related attention, usually broadcasts a fairly controversial message. The Feria de Abril constitutes FECAC's most important moment of the year. Just before the "Feria", the president of FECAC is asked to give interviews. In one of these interviews he makes provocative statements --either just before the opening of the "Feria", or sometimes when it is already under way. This can be read as a clear publicity strategy with the underlying motive of making the headlines and in this way

increasing attendance numbers at the "Feria". Besides the positive publicity gained by this strategy, the fact that it happens at all indicates that ethnic politics are an area in Catalonia where many battles are still being fought. As can be seen in the following headlines from different newspapers, the "Feria de Abril" brings about messages about language:

3/3/1994	"The Regional Centers in Catalonia support gradual linguistic normalization" (El Pais)
4/30/1994	"The Regional Centers launch a cry for tranquility on the language issue" (El Pais)
2/27/1996	"Catalan immigrant bodies unite and deny the existence of linguistic conflict" (La Vanguardia)
3/3/1997	"The Regional Centers reject linguistic impositions" (El Pais)
4/27/1997	"The controversy about the law on the Catalan language dominates the opening of the Feria de Abril" (La Vanguardia)
4/28/1997	"The Regional bodies ask Pujol "to shelve the law on the Catalan language"" (El Pais)
5/1/1997	"The Feria de Abril gives Pujol a royal welcome and sings him the "sevillana" "let me talk how I want to"" (El Pais)

Despite the clear political role played by the FECAC, nobody speaks openly about it. In Catalan politics it would not be correct to identify FECAC as a political agent. Rather, FECAC and the "Feria" are treated as simple representatives of a cultural tradition that finds its own place in Catalonia. FECAC also denies any political intention and plays the 'neutrality' game. Its president told me that everybody

has tried to 'discover' his political preferences but that he was the only one who knew the truth. In the interview, he said: "They have asked me if I support the Popular Party, if I am a nationalistic (...) It's nonsense, I talk to everybody, but nobody knows who I vote for."

The belief that the organized Andalusian structure somehow had a political goal has always emerged from time to time on the Catalan political scene. One illustrative example is from 1994, when FECAC began a movement to create a Confederation of regional associations (not just the Andalusian ones). People distrusted this initiative. When faced with accusations such as "the new association could be a spring board from which some of its supporters leap into politics" (*La Vanguardia*, 4/20/1994), the president of FECAC denied that the Confederation would have political intentions. He stated that this objective 'would be suicide'<sup>33</sup>.

The language used by the press illustrates the suspicious, alarmist tone that quickly appeared. For example, a headline said that the president of FECAC was "tranquilizing institutions" (*Avui*, 3/8/1994). The statement given by the president of a left wing nationalist party (ERC) was also published. He warned that if this Confederation hoped to make itself into a political lobby, their supporters were mistaken, "and they will pay for it" (*La Vanguardia*, 4/27/1994). The role of the president of FECAC also forms part of these fears. There is the continuous question regarding the president's intentions and the possibility that one day he might take

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<sup>33</sup>. When I asked FECAC's president why the association had originally been founded, he said that in creating FECAC the sole intention had been to coordinate the different activities related to Andalusian cultural celebrations at the beginning of the 1980's. When I mentioned a possible economic interest –an

advantage of the popularity that FECAC has given him in order to enter the world of politics on his own.

There are still some unsolved questions. Bearing in mind that FECAC is economically and organizationally dependent on political institutions --like the Generalitat de Catalunya-- to what extent do these institutions consider FECAC a means of controlling the proportion of ethnic conflict that a society, like the Catalan one, can allow? Or, as a well-known Catalan writer suggests, the reason why the political institutions have taken so much interest in FECAC and the "Feria" is related to the fear of the possibility that the radical right is moving closer to these organizations (Candel 1986).

#### "La Feria de Abril"

FECAC's 'baby', the Feria de Abril, is a first-class political exhibition attended and thus recognized by the politicians. The "Feria" has developed into one of the spectacles of mass culture that no politician wants to miss.

Since its beginnings in the 80's, the main political representatives have attended the "Feria". Moreover, from the beginning, the political parties set up their own stands ("casetas") at the "Feria" --wooden closed-off areas including a stage, a bar and tables, with the front decorated to look like a typical Andalusian house. Nowadays, all the political parties represented in parliament officially set up their own

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accusation that has always been suggested in relation to FECAC, and especially its president-- he denied this.



stands at the "Feria" --including parties from the left (PCC, IC, PSC), from the right (PP), nationalists (CDC, UDC) and left wing independent parties. (ERC<sup>34</sup>) (see photo 23).

Besides the stands, there is also a political 'ritual' which begins each April. The appearance of politicians at the "Feria", "the greater the publicity the better", makes one realize how important it must be to "be in the photo" (such is the type of language used at the Feria). The media keep a count of who has come and who has not. Each year, there are photographs in the newspapers of politicians making the almost obligatory trip to the "Feria": some are clapping along to the music while wearing a typical hat from Cordoba, while others are simply surrounded by children wearing typical flamenco clothes. The President of FECAC also plays up his role as the host. Having earlier sent out invitations, each time a politician arrives. The president goes to meet him at the gates of the grounds and walks through the streets of the "Feria" with him (see photo 24). On one occasion, in 1997, there was a high level of tension due to the "language issue" and the president of FECAC officially "uninvited" the Minister of Culture of the Generalitat from visiting the "Feria". There was a rapid reaction from the press. In the end, the Minister could 'be invited' and he walked along smilingly next to the president of FECAC. Moreover, while there, the high spot is the politicians' compulsory visit to FECAC's stand which is always situated in a privileged position and is generally larger than the others. Once there, the politicians chat with the president while watching a dance performance --taking advantage of the fact that the

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<sup>34</sup>. ERC did not take part in the "Ferias" of 1998 and 1999.

music drowns out what they are saying. By looking at the headlines the "Feria" has inspired over the last fifteen years, since 1984, one sees continuous references to *who* has gone. The role of the "Feria" within the framework of Andalusian politics is clearly illustrated by the fact that the president of the Junta of Andalusia makes a point of attending almost every year.

Besides all of this, the "Feria" is a surrealist piece of theatre where the political messages are strung across the streets of the grounds. An anecdote will help illustrate this point. In the stand of *Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya* (CDC), I found a pile of political brochures of the PSC, their most formidable rival in Catalonia. All kinds of political propaganda about different aspects of Catalan politics can frequently be found in the stands of the "Feria". The "Feria" magazine in 1995, an election year, was brimming with political announcements. However, it must be noted that every year this magazine contains articles by the main representatives of Catalan political institutions and others from all over Spain, welcoming the public to the "Feria" and commenting on political issues. FECAC often publicly defends its own neutrality, as well, naturally, as that of the "Feria". In this context and as regards the linguistic issue, it should not surprise us however that, on some occasions, the "Feria" has turned into a platform for groups opposed to the Catalan government's linguistic policy, who advertise and ask people to sign petitions there.

### The immigrant vote

The democratic system of political parties set up in Spain in 1976, after a long period of authoritative regime, created new political needs that had not existed until then. The fight against General Franco's regime had already been achieved. Thus, it no longer served the purpose of grouping together all of the clandestine political forces in the Catalan political panorama (Johnston 1991). Now there was the political need to form a social base for each of the political parties that existed in Catalonia. This social base implied both the electoral masses (voters) and a co-opting system of political leaders.

From the time of the period of the democratic transition, political parties and institutions realized the strategic importance of the citizens of immigrant origin. The political forces began to consider the best strategies to win the immigrant vote (a term that had never been used in the Catalan political vocabulary). The words of Jordi Pujol, the Nationalist Conservative party (CIU) candidate for the presidency of the Generalitat, in the 1980 elections clearly and convincingly expressed the importance that the immigrant population had in the new Catalan political scene, "The Catalonia of the future will be decided where immigrants are the majority". This is probably why in a meeting during the autonomic political campaign in 1999, this nationalist party included among the speakers Justo Molinero, an Andalusian radio presenter who had become very popular among the Andalusian community.

In the early years of the transition, it was discovered that some of the symbolic

elements of Andalusian culture –and of other autonomous communities too-- could be very attractive to people of immigrant origin. The flags of the autonomous communities of origin could be seen at many of the first election rallies. But other elements, like music, also became an instrument that some political parties begin to use to attract the public. For example, at the beginning of the 80's, a poster advertised an election rally held by PSC in a city in the industrial suburbs (see photo 16)

Penetrating the immigrant sector was easier for some political parties than for others. Due to the sociological make-up of their electorate, it was easier for the left-wing parties than the bourgeois, nationalist right wing. In 1983, a Catalan nationalist leader clarified the existing difficulties: "We believe that we should enter into clear and decisive contact with the immigrant population, who the socialists want to monopolize." (*El Periódico de Catalunya* 5/11/83).

The nationalist parties, both left and right wing, had to develop a complex strategy in order not to offend immigrants while at the same time defending their nationalistic values. The difficulties of blending nationalism and immigration within one political project became manifest. In general, the articulation of a political discourse that treats the combination of nationalism and immigration with coherence was very difficult for all political parties in Catalonia and created multiple conflicts within the majority of Catalan political parties.

The importance of the immigrant vote became clear in all the political parties. In the 1988 election campaign, at an election rally in Santa Coloma de Gramanet, a city with a strong immigrant component, the candidate, the President of the Generalitat

pointed out the strategic importance of the election results in cities like this: "I will know if we have won the elections in Catalonia when I find out the results in Santa Coloma". At this time, the immigrant vote also came to be seen as a key indicator in the analysis of "the construction of the country":

We cannot build the country if we are not capable of ensuring that our message is heard. We need to be able to achieve credibility in all sections of society, among those who arrived in Santa Coloma 50 years ago, as well as those witnessed by many of you here, who arrived 20 years ago with their suitcases, in this very square: la Plaça de la Vila (Jordi Pujol, electoral meeting, 1988) <sup>35</sup>

The role that could be played by the regional cultural movement, organized throughout the 60's and 70's in the new democratic period, was immediately valued and considered to be decisive. The agreements reached with the regional associations form part of the new Catalan political model under the democracy. The issue of cultural diversity began to be seen by some parties as a crucial point in the new political agenda being built. For instance, before the first autonomous elections, the following statement was issued by the Catalan socialists:

The only way to face up to and live with this danger is to design a process that clearly focuses on a new reality for the future, based on the reality of the Catalonia of today, based on its cultural diversity: Catalan culture and cultural forms contributed by the immigrants. It all leads towards what we, the socialists, call the New Catalonia (...) (Socialist declaration, 1979).

However, besides political speeches in favor of a model of Catalonia that included immigrant cultures, the political parties also acted in a more direct way. One

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<sup>35</sup>. CIU election rally (May 24, 1988). 1988 Autonomous elections. Shadow Discoteque. Santa Coloma de Gramanet.

founder member of the Andalusian Center Blas Infante (created in 1976) remembers that before the first democratic elections of 1977 all of the political leaders would come to the association's headquarters looking for the people they needed in order to be able to finish putting together the ideal election list at that time: "a woman, a blue-collar worker, and an Andalusian."

Finally, some political parties, realizing the importance of immigration in the Catalan context, created an internal group in order to organize their activities in this area. This is the case of the PSC, which in 1993 founded the "Fundació Gresol Cultural". According to people familiar with it, the aim of this group, which is responsible to the party, is to carry out an intellectual analysis of the cultural consequences of diversity in Catalonia. This is the only group currently in existence specifically created by a Catalan political party in order to work on this topic. In the introductory brochure of this foundation their objectives are expressed as follows:

The aim of the "Fundació Gresol" is to foment cultural and artistic movements which have emerged from the different expressions of cultural identity that exist side by side in Catalonia. It also aims to spread information about the history and development of these movements and the ways in which they are maintained and enriched, in order to contribute to the public's understanding of them. (Fundació Gresol Cultural, 1993:5).

Later, as part of its declaration of principles, we read:

{Catalonia}.....is a plural country, its cultural reality is not monolithic and definitive, but alive, dynamic, and plural in the same way that contributions from other places in the past have fused in the Catalan melting pot to create what is now considered to be Catalan culture (...) The "Fundació Gresol" believes that it has to follow this process of cultural interaction very closely, to analyze its causes, study its characteristics, and extract information that can lead us to a satisfactory outcome.(...) (Fundació Gresol Cultural 1993:6-7).

### **C. The Control of Andalusian organizations**

The case of the Andalusian cultural organization in Catalonia demonstrates how, very often, the existence of organizations of an ethnic character immediately sparks off a desire for control on the part of political parties and institutions. In this section, I will consider different ways in which the world of politics has interfered in ethnic organizations in order to control them. With this objective in mind, I will analyze the strategies of control, and therefore, of power that exist in relation to the Andalusian organization in Catalonia and the aims they pursue.

The control of the Andalusian associations in Tres Barrios means the control of the City's associative movement and this presupposes potential conflict. According to some historical leaders of the associative movement in Tres Barrios, the Andalusian movement is part of the City Council's strategy to break up a horizontal network of associations that had already existed –starting with the neighborhood associations, for example– and to impose a controlled, vertical alternative. This would thus mean a conflict between the concept of organizing associations from the 'bottom up' rather than from the 'top down'. The latter makes control much easier than a system which arises from necessity and the struggle for ones rights. According to one analysis, it is a form of "controlling and depolarizing these {popular} movements" (Cañadell i Trayer 1993). As I could perceive in the interviews I did with some of the historical leaders of the Tres Barrios, this was a general claim and a common regret they had against Andalusian organizations.

Understanding these strategies of control over the associative movement is a basic step to help us to understand how ethnicity is converted into a first-class political resource in contemporary societies. Control is exerted in three ways:

1. In the first place, political parties and institutions are behind some of the organizational initiatives within the Andalusian movement. The role played by the federations, groups and coordinators has been crucial. Behind these types of organisms, theoretically created in order to support the bodies of which they are made up, there are frequently specific political groups who have realized that this strategy is a clear guarantee of their power quota. These organisms have become fundamental elements in the organizing of Andalusism and its activities.

Thus, the history of the creation of these organisms which group together the Andalusian regional associations is interwoven with political strategies. The socialist party (PSC) is the party which, for many years, has seen most clearly that here is a strategic way of controlling the Andalusian movement. Two of the most far reaching, recent initiatives attempting to organize the Andalusian associations have been promoted by members of the PSC. The first, "l'Agrupament d'Associacions Recreatives i Culturals Andalus" [the Group of Andalusian Cultural and Recreational Associations] (AARCA), was created at the beginning of the 80's and disappeared a few years later. The second, "Coordinadora d'Entitats Andalus" [Coordinator of



Andalusian Associations] (CEA), includes the Andalusian Coordinators of three important cities in the Metropolitan area run by the PSC. It is not possible to understand their respective origins without placing them in the context of the political battles that existed within PSC itself. These coordinating organisms tried to cover certain electoral and social ground that the FECAC had neglected. The relationship between FECAC and these other coordinators is not good and has never been so.

Groups of associations are not the only entities that the political parties have directly founded. Sometimes, Andalusian associations themselves have been created by officials of political parties. Although in Tres Barrios there are recent examples indicating that political parties can directly influence the founding of Andalusian associations, these are not generally created as a result of the political will of members of a political party. The link, nowadays, is somewhat subtler than it used to be. Nonetheless, during the political transition when political militancy and associationism were at their highest point in Catalonia, political parties openly created some Andalusian entities. This is the case of one of the "peñas" of Tres Barrios. When the "Tertulia Flamenca" was founded it was completely linked to the communist party (PSUC). As one of the board members told me, one day, during a party meeting, it was decided to create an association dedicated to flamenco. This association, in contrast to the associations formed in the second half of the 80's, played a very important role in the history of the struggle for rights in Tres Barrios (Ibáñez 1992, Camós &

Perramón 1991). The fact that during those years the same people formed part both of the "Tertulia Flamenca" as of the neighborhood association movement is evidence of the social role played by that entity.

The initiative of the political parties also affects some of the fiestas. Celebrations –holidays and fairs– are public spaces where political messages can be spread and a favorable environment established and they thus always get politicians' attention. Hospitalet is a good example of the leading role of the municipal government in organizing Andalusian fiestas. The most obvious case is the celebration of the "Semana Cultural", a week of activities that has been celebrated annually in the city since 1990<sup>36</sup>. The City Council organizes this celebration via the "Coordinadora" of Andalusian Associations (CEA), which it controls. The "Semana Cultural" consists of a few days filled with different types of public performances related to Andalusian culture –coinciding, naturally, with the "Día de Andalucía". The inauguration of this "Semana Cultural" usually consists of a welcome speech generally given by someone from Andalusia, and the election of the "Andalusian of the Year". Throughout the 4 or 5 days that the celebration lasts, there are art exhibitions, concerts, flamenco performances, "rociera" masses, floral offerings to Blas Infante, speeches followed by dance performances, etc. The City Council provides both organisational and economic support. The funds for the celebration basically

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<sup>36</sup>. The name of this celebration has been kept in Castilian, throughout all of these years. In the annual programs that the City Council publishes, the words "Semana Cultural", as well as the rest of the text of the program, are only written in Castilian.

come from the City Council, although the County Council and the "Junta of Andalusia"<sup>37</sup> also contribute. The "Semana Cultural" is always organized on premises provided by the City Council.

Over the years, the City Council has increasingly played a more prominent role than the cultural associations themselves. One only has to compare the programs of the "Semanas Culturales" from 1990 and 1996 published by the City Council (see photos 17,18,19). In 1990, six Andalusian cultural associations were listed as organizers. In 1996, below the words "organized by" we can see the logos and names of the Coordinator of Andalusian Associations of l'Hospitalet and the City Council itself --and these are repeated twice in the small pamphlet-- while there is no mention of any associations. Moreover, the strategy of ensuring a municipal presence in the "Semana Cultural" is achieved by means of short texts next to photographs of the Mayor and the Deputy Mayor.

The growing importance of the role played by the City Council has not gone unnoticed by the associations. In 1996, after the celebration of the "Semana Cultural", different member associations of the "Coordinadora" asked the City Council to allow them to play a more active role and to be more independent in the "Semana Cultural". This request led to the outbreak of one of the most serious internal conflicts there has even been between the "Coordinadora" and the City Council. According to somebody closely involved

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<sup>37</sup>. La Junta de Andalucía is the official name of the Andalusian Autonomous Government.

in the Andalusian movement, people had become fed up with the servile attitude they had had towards the City Council. It is significant that the following year, in 1997, for the first time, the brochure included a text and a photograph of the President of the "Coordinadora", as well as a list of the eleven associations that form part of it.

The "Junta de Andalucía" contributes with some economic funding to the Catalan Andalusian organizations that are registered in their census and ask for some economic help. In 1986, when the Andalusian Parliament passed a law on Andalusian associations abroad, the representatives of the Junta explained that it was a way of recognizing of these cultural associations and of giving some kind of help to Andalusians that cannot return to Andalusia, yet. In addition to the help given to the peñas flamencas that have in their name the word Andalusia, the Junta helps funding the "Feria de Abril" and the "Rocío". The Junta has seen in the Andalusian movement in Catalonia a politically profitable arena where it is necessary to invest some efforts. This is why, as some people pointed out, the Junta funds the Catalan "peñas flamencas" with more generosity than the ones in Andalusia.

Control of resources is one of the principal forms of control that exists. Recent years have been popularly referred to as the years of "checkbook politics" because the Andalusian associations receive funds directly from public institutions. The expression "checkbook politics" also evokes an image of these associations kneeling before public institutions because of their

economic dependence on them. Nationalist government has been accused of trying "to buy votes" in immigrant areas where they have no political implantation. "Captive vote" is the term that mass media (newspapers basically) have used to refer to such strategy towards regional movement.

One clear example of the availability of resources is the fact that the City Council provides municipal buildings for use by the Andalusian associations (see photo 22). This helping hand is crucial for the associations, with their well-known, acute financial problems in maintaining their meeting places. Eight of the 14 associations with an Andalusian regional character that existed in 1997 in the city of l'Hospitalet were situated in municipal premises. This was an important milestone for many of the associations, who were thus freed from one of the most pressing burdens they had had to deal with hitherto: paying rent.

The strategy of concentrating the headquarters of the associations in one building, with a private area for each one, has characterized the way in which the City Council has provided premises for the associations over the last few years. In 1997, six associations were based in two collective spaces in Tres Barrios lent by the City Council –the first opened in 1993, and the second in 1996. Grouping associations and people in a collective space also makes it easier for the municipal government to exert control over them.

Allowing the Andalusian regional associations to use these premises has led to strong criticism from the other associations in the city. Other types of

cultural associations or institutions –youth groups, traditional Catalan dancing associations, etc.-- have complained that regional associations, especially Andalusian ones, receive preferential treatment. Cultural associations have made it clear that they do not agree with the criteria that the City Council uses to grant these public areas.

Finally, according to three people responsible for distributing economic grants from different institutions to the regional associations, their financing policies have created a visible problem: associations are set up purely to receive these grants; in other words, there is no concrete socio-cultural base behind the title of the association. These are colloquially referred to as the ‘ghost associations’.

2. At the local level, Andalusian ethnicity has been used as a way of “reducing the distance with the anonymous state” (González 1997: 71). The use of common ethnic ground has enabled municipal institutions in Tres Barrios to constitute a form of close political power for many of its citizens. The proximity between leisure and politics has clear political advantages for ruling parties and it constitutes an indirect way of control of the political scenario. The main goal is to instill the perception of being “your people” and, therefore, “your ruling people”. The informal treatment received by participants here sometimes oversteps the limits of simple friendliness and becomes a specific example of ‘favors’. I saw one example of a ‘favor’ when a local politician presented the

youth section of the "Coordinadora Andaluza" with a computer, which according to the young people, he no longer needed. They had also been promised soccer teams. This 'favored' treatment is openly recognized. The kids do not hide their direct connection with the politicians, but instead brag about it. It is a way of bringing them closer to positions of power.

Even when this behavior might seem suspicious, relations with the City Council are spoken about with total naturalness. A band that plays Andalusian music was performing at one of the city's celebrations one time, and one of the band members assured me that his band could count on the City Council's 'friendship'. However the naturalness of these personal relations is also evident in the behavior and words of the politicians themselves. One of the people in charge of the City Council's policy on these matters spoke in the first person when describing the relationship: "I got them a computer..." and "I got them air conditioning installed". He accepts that his participation in all of these matters is very personal.

3. Co-optation of the members of the Andalusian cultural movement is also a way of exercising control. One of the ways to co-opt the members of the boards of directors among the Andalusian organizations is through personal favors. People who work for the City Council or, in some cases, in jobs that are directly dependent on the City Council are commonly found on the committee of many Andalusian organizations. The president of one of the "hermandades

rocieras" was a bricklayer for the City Council, and I have also met members of other associations who worked as painters and maintenance workers in the municipal institution. The president of the "Coordinadora" worked for the local town Councilor of Tres Barrios. The president of one of the Andalusian associations once told me something which made me think that this connection is much more common than can be demonstrated here: "People [participants in the Andalusian organizations] are afraid. There are lots of people working for the City Council. If you ask them, they will say no, but I have lived it."

Some critics, sometimes even from the party in power on the City Council, have accused this practice as being 'favoritism', or as stated by a former member of this government, "according to article four, all members of the board of directors of these entities are employed by the City Council". A civil servant working on the City Council has observed that a new situation is being created in which some people become members of the Andalusian associations in order to find work.

### Political action

The organization of an Andalusian cultural movement provides new scope for action by the political parties and the latter have realized this very quickly. However, not all of them have taken advantage of it in the same way. While some political



parties have based their strategy on controlling and taking advantage of these resources, sometimes actually acting as an initiating force, others have decided to stay in the background, using this strategy only at specific times.

The support given to the Andalusian cultural organization in Tres Barrios has led to the development of a whole strategy of political action by the governing political party of the City Council. The fact that the PSC has occupied this position of power since 1981 means that both the planning and implementation of the policy have benefited from a period of continuity. Table 6/1 shows the results of political elections in Tres Barrios.

Table 6/1:

Electoral results in Tres						
Election type	Year	PSC	CiU	PP	CDS	IC
Municipal	1979	41%	4%	0%	7%	36%
Autonomous	1980	36%	7%	0%	5%	36%
General	1982	69%	4%	10%	3%	9%
Municipal	1983	68%	4%	6%	1%	14%
Autonomous	1984	59%	15%	7%	0%	10%
General	1986	68%	7%	7%	6%	5%
Municipal	1987	63%	7%	6%	8%	11%
Autonomous	1988	54%	14%	4%	6%	17%
European	1989	58%	7%	5%	5%	9%
General	1989	58%	7%	8%	7%	12%
Municipal	1991	64%	8%	7%	2%	12%
Autonomous	1992	54%	18%	6%	2%	11%

Source: Electoral Census (1994)

The City Council has found a perfect political arena in the Andalusian organizations and the ways in which the municipal institutions have managed to take

advantage of this indicate that the results, up to now, have been considered positive.

It is possible to transmit political messages of all kinds based around the Andalusian organization and its celebrations. The Andalusian fiestas end up as a political platform used to make contact with the community and ethnicity thus acts as a communal meeting place for politicians and citizens.

Many different types of political action take place. Firstly, the fiesta is a place where election messages can be launched. During the Good Friday procession in 1996, when the date of the municipal elections was just about to be decided, I took the following notes (see photo 20):

The politicians are towards the front of the procession, between the band and the float. (...) The float is moving up the streets. The politicians cannot miss this opportunity to greet the public and be seen in public. The most popular person, however, is not a professional politician, but a journalist from a political radio station and one of the best-known and most respected people from Tres Barrios. He immediately greets anyone who says something to him, and he knows how to make the best impression, asking them, 'Where are you from?' which he keeps repeating. The senator and the Deputy Mayor watch him out of the corner of their eyes and listen to all of the people's comments. 'I'm from your family,' one woman tells him, and I think she means the big family of radio listeners, a term often used by this radio station. Suddenly, the Deputy Mayor whispers something in the journalist's ear. Ten seconds later, the journalist says, 'You all look great and so well dressed; It's obvious that people have a lot of money here, and that's because you have Corbacho (the Mayor's surname). Long may it last!' (Good Friday 1996).

Andalusian celebrations are also a context used to transmit political messages of coexistence and integration in the Catalan society. In addition to electoral messages, the Andalusian arena often becomes a regular platform for the broadcasting of political messages about coexistence in Catalonia and the non-existence of linguistic conflict.

In 1994, when the president of an Andalusian association from Tres Barrios, on receiving the 'Andalusian of the Year' annual award from the "Coordinadora Andaluza", criticized linguistic politics, it led to such an outcry that it was finally decided to take back his award. For some people, it is very important to maintain an image of the Andalusian cultural movement as being very far from any feelings of anti-Catalanism.

However, in other cases the Andalusian platform is used to communicate a different type of message which sometimes contradicts the above. For example, issues such as the debate about the non-imposition of the Catalan language or solidarity with the poorest regions of Spain (this due to the current debate about the amount of money each autonomous community must pay to the central government) are discussed. At the same time, the "Semana Cultural" plays with subliminal symbols and ideas related to identity. The opening ceremony usually encourages the participants to remember the homeland they have left behind, though always from a Catalan perspective. Figures from the Arts, the media and politics are invited to read a special opening speech which ends with shouts of "Viva...Long live..." both Andalusia and Catalonia. Another of the early moments of the "Semana Cultural" is the placing of a wreath in memory of Blas Infante, finished off with the singing hymns from Catalonia and Andalusia, significantly in that particular order (see photo 21).

Behind this 'celebration-City Council' connection there is also a tactic used to identify the celebration with the city and, at the same time, to construct a new identity for the city. That is to say, an image of the city is constructed from the Andalusian

identity while at the same time directly relating this image to a defined political force. We must also bear in mind that the context of the city, and of Tres Barrios, is typically characterized by the lack of public expression and collective identity. Every year the Mayor sends a personal invitation to all the citizens inviting them to attend the "Semana Cultural".

The programs of the "Semana Cultural" are another example of the role of identity in the celebration. As already mentioned, the City Council appears in these documents as the main organizer of the event. Since 1985, there has been a welcoming text and a photograph of the Mayor in the brochure itself. Since 1996, however, the Deputy Mayor, who is a key figure within the Andalusian movement in Tres Barrios, also appears along with the Mayor. Expressions such as the following are evidence of this desire to work towards the creation of a city identity: "Once again, Hospitalet welcomes....", "Hospitalet puts out the flags to celebrate...", "...a celebration which is clearly established in our city...". In the opening speech of the "Semana Cultural 1995" the Mayor said: "What we see here is Catalan culture in Hospitalet". Seeing, from the programs, where the "Semana Cultural" activities are held leads one to realise how many of these celebrations take place in municipal buildings. Moreover, it is clear that each year there has been an attempt to concentrate more events in the same places. In 1990, the eleven events were distributed among four municipal buildings and in one public square. In 1996, although the thirteen activities were held in four different places, the majority of the events took place in one of the municipal centers. Using one main space may make it easier for people to relate to the fact that all of this is a 'gift'

from their City Council.

The celebration can also be a place for political recruitment. In many conversations I have had with people close to the Andalusian organizations, they have openly referred to "el partido" (the political party), assuming that I would know that they were talking about the PSC. Many of the board members of the associations have openly expressed their support for "el partido" during their interviews with me while others have pointed out that they are actually members of the party.

However, this co-optation is most evident among the young people. As many people familiar with the world of municipal politics have told me, within the varied strategies designed by the City Council to attract young people—including such things as student, voluntary and ecological organizations-- there is also a special area reserved for regional movements and the Andalusian one in particular. The City Council has proved to be very enthusiastic about the existence of juvenile sections in each of the Andalusian associations. This interest, they say, stems from their awareness that the future of the Andalusian cultural movement will depend upon the young people. However, besides this, juvenile Boards in each association can also serve as visible interlocutors for communication purposes, as a kind of Youth Section ("Coordinadora Joven") within the "Coordinadora Andaluza". A failed attempt to coordinate these juvenile boards of directors and the City Council were the so called "corresponsals" (representative people) which were supposed to have acted as a bridge between both institutions but failed for an excessive control and a lack of real participation.

Different levels of contact exist between the young people from the Andalusian world and the City Council and the PSC in power there. In some cases, young people who work in the City Council either have a direct link with one of the Andalusian associations or are linked via their families. In other cases, there is simply an attitude of understanding or affinity. Finally, there are the young members of the political party of the City Council. The celebrations can often play an important role in the recruitment of these people, as is shown by the following anecdote: One day, in a noisy bar during the 1996 "Semana Cultural", a young man came up to me. That day happened to coincide with the celebration of the autonomous elections and he came over to me to ask if I was a member of "el partido". When I said I wasn't, he offered to back me whenever I decided I was ready to become a member. He later told me that that day he had already managed to get two young people to join the party, and he showed me who they were.

Lastly, the type of support given to Andalusian associations has created a new format for the defense of 'other cultures', of a 'plural Catalonia', values that are not always easy to express in Catalonia. The PSC is the front-runner in this strategy, with the party itself personifying this defense. An internal document states the following:

Faced with this situation, we, the Socialists, once again appear to be the only ones who can guarantee respect for the bilingual and multi-cultural reality which is our society's most important heritage, as well as the future base of our culture and our coexistence.(...)

People can easily question the real cultural purpose of the centers of popular culture from other regions of Spain. If, as we have said, we confirm *that Catalonia is an undeniable pluricultural reality*, the question is easily answered. (Italics from the original) (1997).

We can see subtle references to this coexistence in many texts and messages.

This text written by the Mayor in one of the "Semana Cultural" brochures also reflects this new tendency:

...a well-established event, one more example of how organizations in the city help to maintain and spread the typical characteristics of the different cultures which live there together and which, day by day, work towards creating their own cultural identity, based on pluralism and mutual respect (1996).

It is certainly worth noting that all these brochures are monolingual i.e. always written only in Castilian.

### Proximity

As I said before, one of the most successful aspects of this strategy has been to achieve something crucial, but at the same time very difficult for politicians, especially in a time of crisis regarding political legitimacy: the feeling of proximity. The Andalusian movement has benefited from the constancy and the high level of receptivity provided by ethnicity (Herzog 1988). Andalusian associationism helps to create a perception of politics as something familiar to people, a place where direct links can be established between the political class and the people it governs.

One of the most important achievements of the Andalusian movement in Tres Barrios has been its ability to take over an area belonging to one political group where the influence of the latter has no rivals. Little by little, the strategy of gaining control

of the organization via the control of the associations, their events, a large part of their economic resources, and their infrastructure, has created a strong connection between the ruling political party in the Municipal government and the Andalusian movement.

As can be seen in the following table, there is a general perception that the City Council does work with the Andalusian associations:

Table 6/2:

Does your City Council collaborate with the Andalusian associations?					
	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
Yes	48%	57%	53%	59%	54%
No	19%	4%	0%	0%	8%
Don't know	32%	39%	47%	41%	38%
Total	31	23	15	22	91

Source: Ros (1996)

More than any other political party the PSC has always had a clear strategy of what can be called 'being there/ being present', a role which none of the other parties can fulfil because of the sociological background of their members. 'Being present' at the events organized around immigrant cultures has become a normal part of this party's political activity with certain people specifically in charge of carrying this out and never failing to appear. 'Being present' means in some way giving 'moral support' to that celebration. 'Being present' is also normally rewarded with a public announcement of the type "Thank you Mr. X and Mr. Y for being here with us today".

However, the politicians from other political groups do follow a similar strategy, although one which is not as consistent. The politicians show up at all of the



Andalusian cultural celebrations and we have already seen the importance of 'being present' at the "Feria de Abril". Someone close to the organization told me that having a stand at the "Feria" is considered to be an act of political importance. In the Tres Barrios, politicians attend any Andalusian cultural event. In some instances, all of the political forces attend, as is the case of the "Semana Cultural" or the opening of municipal centers. But there are other, more intimate, celebrations where only representatives of the PSC turn up. This is where proximity wins out.

On one occasion, during the Andalusian Easter celebrations ("Semana Santa Andaluza") in the city, a representative of the "Coordinadora" of the Associations emphasized their feeling of 'brotherhood' rather than their economic agreements with the City Council. The choice of this word shows us the importance of creating political relationships that also include sentimental feelings.

Lastly, concealed in this desire for proximity, lies an important subliminal aim related to the use of ethnicity in politics as an adscriptive element. On the wall of the entrance to the PSC headquarters in Tres Barrios there is a poster that says: "Vote for Andalusia. PSOE of Andalusia". In one way or another, these cross references between a political party and people's cultural origins thus create, even on a subconscious level, vital links between ethnicity and a specific political belief.

#### **D. The perspective of the participants**

As I have shown in earlier chapters, ethnic and social circumstances have helped in the emergence of the Andalusian associative movement. The connections between the Andalusian organization and political interests described above have played a key role in the social success of the Andalusian cultural movement by creating a possible framework for Andalusism. For its members, as a result of the interconnection between the political forces and the associative movement, participation in that movement has become a means of social and political empowerment. Although not all the participants are necessarily conscious of the benefits that derive from being in the Andalusian movement, political forces have been decisive in the recruitment and loyalty of key participants. The most active, involved, constant members of Andalusian organizations know that they are part of a political game which, at the moment, benefits them and brings them closer to political and social power. My young informants, for instance, could have not have imagined a few years ago that they would be able to address some of the main figures in municipal power by their nicknames and be addressed by them in the same way or even using first names. Thanks to the Andalusian associations, they have established a direct relationship –often referred to as ‘friendship’– with their leaders. The connection between the politicians and the citizens goes way beyond formal relationships and ends up establishing a very personal interpretation. In Tres Barrios, people who participate in the organization of Andalusian culture have an open door to establishing

direct relationships with those in power. I witnessed an example of the familiar tone used by many participants when talking about politicians.

Reactions to political interests aimed at Andalusian associations have been manifold. Each association has figured out for itself the best ways to take advantage of the world of 'alternative' funding. The participants, especially those who head the associations, acknowledge that they are involved in a kind of 'game', a contest of conflicting interests in which they play a decisive role. In some cases, pragmatic attitudes can be seen, like when Jose told me that "we will simply have to come to an understanding with the Popular Party the day they are in power."

However, within this game, the reactions of the main players also reveal other things. During my research, I have seen how a perception of there being too much control over Andalusian organizations has led to an attitude of rejection towards parties and political strategies. One clear example of this happened when one of the Flamenco associations decided not to change its name although their refusal to include the word Andalusia (or a derivative of it) meant that they could not receive funding from the "Junta de Andalucía". The conflict described above between the "Coordinadora" and the City Council also shows the counter-productive effects of an excessive desire to control.

The ghost of 'public funding' floats above the Andalusian associations. Knowing that they depend on public finance in many different ways: free rent, free publicity for some of their activities, direct support for some of their cultural activities, indirect support through salaries to civil servants in charge of the associations etc. they

are afraid to give an image of lack of independence. This is probably why in many interviews, some presidents of Andalusian associations have alluded and emphasized the fact that although they receive public funding, they are absolutely independent.

## **5. Concluding remarks**

In this chapter I had given some answers to the question of whether the Andalusian cultural manifestations in Tres Barrios emerge mostly in response to political forces or, in other words, to what extent ethnicity has become a mobilized resource in Catalan politics. The Andalusian cultural revival could not have become so well established and could not have become such a real presence in the life of the Tres Barrios without the existence of the political forces and circumstances shaping the Catalan scenario. There are some circumstances that have favored the political use of Andalusia.

First, fragmented societies at risk of losing their social cohesion provide a good opportunity for the growth of ethnic politics. In Catalonia, ethnic politics have reaped benefits from both general and local politics. In the sphere of autonomous politics, the fear of having no control over a relatively high percentage of the Catalan population excluded from the nationalist political spectrum has led to the acceptance, by Catalanism, of the organization of an Andalusian movement within Catalonia. Political forces in general have seen a way of acting over demobilized groups, such as young

people. In contexts like Catalonia, where political exclusion is highly correlated with origins, ethnicity becomes a useful resource. Sometimes, hegemonic nationalist institutions have given their support to Andalusian organizations –and therefore to ethnic politics-- in an attempt to break down the dividing walls between different areas and getting into a difficult terrain. The tradition of using non-Catalan ethnicity with political purposes in the past and the existence of a shared collective identity (as Catalans 'with no roots', as working class, as inhabitants of Tres Barrios) helped in the political mobilization of ethnicity.

Second, in local/municipal politics in many cities in Catalonia, as a consequence of spatial segregation, ethnic politics have become a common strategy in the establishment of new avenues of political control and manipulation. The use of Andalusian organizations has allowed some political parties to have a full political domination of areas and groups. In Tres Barrios, the domination of the PSC in the political sphere for the last 20 years has found in the Andalusian celebration a good partner. Although the most direct consequence on the Andalusian organization until now has been of consolidation and expansion, the risks of becoming too dependent of a certain political strategy are high.

## Chapter 7: Conclusions

The Andalusian revival in Catalonia represents a challenge to public discourses on nation and identity in Catalonia and Spain. My main goal in this study has been to show that unequal power distribution is a crucial challenge in the construction of nations. Basically, I have shown that the way in which power is unequally distributed is causing one of the most serious problems in the consolidation of Catalonia as a nation. This dissertation shows that Andalusian festivals, associations and fiestas are only the visible tip of an intricate conflict for social and political power in Catalonia.

This dissertation sheds light on one of the most important conflicts that modern states are facing: the construction of identity. The process of people's identification with the symbols of a nation has a central role to play in the survival of those nations but that identification does not always occur. Although the modern world is organized according to the logic of national structures, people's actions, references and experiences are not necessarily contained or explained within this logic. In fact, in a global world, the explanatory power of the nation itself has decreased. People maintain multiple levels of attachment with different territorial and political units, and are able to combine the complexities of different relations with national feelings, at the same time and in different ways. National identities are therefore being questioned by those who propose alternative ways of defining themselves which do not necessarily coincide with those that they have *imagined*.

During this century, immigrants from impoverished regions of Spain – Andalusia among them— have come to Catalonia as a cheap labor force to fuel Catalan economic growth. This immigration was particularly significant in the early 1950s and declined in 1975. Since the 1980s, however, there has been an increase both in the number of organizations of Andalusian culture and in the participants. These organizations and the Andalusian fiesta in general, demonstrate the crucial role that contextual factors play in the definition of oneself and of others. Recently, there has appeared to be a general feeling of confidence regarding the ability of Catalan society to offer an open, attractive model of identification that would make any other definition of ‘who we are’, different from the accepted norm, unnecessary. However, despite this general feeling, some people in Catalonia have suddenly started to find a new meaning in being Andalusian, even in cases where neither of their parents was born in Andalusia.

Being Andalusian in Catalonia represents an alternative which challenges the way in which the Catalan nation and identity have been defined. Being Andalusian shows that contextual factors are crucial in processes of identity production and, in particular, in the construction of a new identity that comes from working class people in Catalonia. Being Andalusian has thus been defined as an alternative way of being which questions public discourses and expected “normal” processes of identity formation.

Being Andalusian represents a response to the process of the construction of the Catalan nation from inside. This is why it was said in the first chapter that the Catalan society creates the problem that it is trying to solve. Social unbalances, inequality, and urban segregation that divide the Catalan society in two and are necessary in the process of building the Catalan society are, at the same time, a major difficulty in the construction of a Catalan identity. Being Andalusian is at the same time a result and a challenge to a pre-defined process of national building based in an ethnified social structure. Social unbalances, inequalities, and urban segregation that divide the Catalan society in two are being reproduced in the construction of Catalonia. However, these very same conditions are also causing the greatest problems for the construction of Catalonia. The Andalusian movement is used here to explore these contradictions.

One of the problems in the construction of nations is treating categories of national identity as if they were something independent from the distribution of power. Often the mechanisms involved in the construction of nations—based to a large extent in the creation of homogeneous societies—work as if they were independent from the distribution of social resources. In societies like the Catalan where ethnicity is highly interconnected with issues of power and social class, becoming part of that homogeneous entity is not an easy endeavor and, in some cases, not even a real option. In this work, I have shown that inequalities in the distribution of power constitute a decisive obstacle in processes of national construction, and it is so in three different ways:



First, differences in the social organization of life (in the sense of possibilities and constraints) constitute new sources of people's culture and identification. Urban and local aspects are crucial in the development of these identities in which, for instance, cultures of immigration are often found. Ethnicity becomes then a social and a political resource that brings very important benefits in terms of economic and political interests.

Second, when people live under very different social conditions, physically segregated, and with very different life experiences and expectations, it is very unlikely that ethnic categories—such as being Catalan—would be interpreted and accepted in the same way as if they were neutral names for all of “us”. Ethnic categories are also class categories and develop problems of access, exclusion, rejection, etc.

Third, the way in which other categories, different from national ones, emerge may be a sign of the existence of a conscious strategy of nations to keep some groups apart from power and hegemony. An open conception of “us” within which everybody could easily feel a member, conflicts with the relations of hegemony (Hall 1986) that dominant nations need to maintain and reproduce themselves. Dominant nations imply creating limits and boundaries between “us and them” for those groups who could imply any kind of risk.

Following Hall's theory of hegemony, I believe that the case of Catalonia shows that hegemony is not deducible to the process of the production of consensus

but it also involves a way in which a specific alliance of class fractions is able to survive. In Catalan society, hegemony implies both nation and class and, as Hall pointed out, hegemony not necessarily demands a production of consensus or a process of incorporation. Hegemony operates through the production of a certain convergence of interests through which subordination and resistance are contained. This is the national project of Catalonia has to be understood also as a process of constructing hegemony.

Examining the meaning of being Andalusian in Catalonia allows us to understand more clearly what it means for individuals to think of themselves in terms of being working class, or Catalans, or immigrants, or young people, etc. In other words, this case helps us to understand that the process of production of social categories is contextual and that identity is linked to the capacity of some of these categories to solve their problems in real life situations. A major aspect of this work has been the attempt to highlight the need to ask why people find some categories more attractive than others. For instance, in the case of Catalonia, I have shown that the associated meanings of being Catalan contain elements of social and cultural distance and imply such difficulties that people have started to look for new avenues in the construction of themselves.

In addition, in Catalonia, like in any other modern society, there are contradictory forces at work in the formation of groups. In this study, the relationships between different levels of identity formation are shown to be conflictive. Class structures, social power and political interests are, for example, three elements that do

not always shape, in the same way, people's perception of what is (and what is not) significant. I have tried to show how both internal and external tensions coexist within these three central aspects of identity formation.

The following is a summary of the most important conclusions reached:

- i) There is still a conflictive relationship between immigration and culture in Catalonia and the whole subject of migration has invariably been treated with hesitation and reluctance. Immigration, while being an intrinsic element of the region, has not been considered an official part of the construction of the new democratic Catalonia. The idea that immigration is an exogenous factor, something that does not "really" belong to Catalan identity, is still present. Catalonia is an example of a context where immigration, for some, constitutes a political challenge to the basic foundations on which the nation is constructed (unity, homogeneity, confrontation with an 'other'). It is interesting to note that it is precisely the framework in which political minorities such as Catalonia are embedded which constitutes the principle difficulty in the recognition of the immigrant majority, particularly by the state itself. The lack of a precise, clear and genuine recognition of the positive value of immigration and diversity impedes the consolidation of Catalonia as something desired and attractive for many Catalans.

- ii) Andalusian organizations have a strong link to the working class. In the analysis of immigrant cultural organizations, ethnic and class expressions of sociability cannot be separated. A great number of the characteristics of the celebrations of Andalusia - their structure, location, and the values implicit within them - indicate that social class has a strong influence on the emergence and consolidation of social organizations of ethnic character. The relationship between Andalusian celebrations and working class organizations cannot be limited to just one aspect. Rather, class creates a framework which conditions and facilitates the existence of specific cultural types of origin. At the same time, the Andalusian organizations not only help many people in their daily lives but also in their struggles to overcome the barriers with which the working class is faced. The material perspective on ethnic organizations is fundamental in order for us to understand that ethnic categories and symbols only have sense in specific contexts of opportunities and constraints. Thus, one of the challenges for the construction of national identities arises from the consequences of social segregation and social inequality which set people apart in different worlds and with very different problems.
- iii) Rhetoric is of central importance in societies where no state structures exist. People in situations of peripheral nationalism are constantly struggling to try to understand the external definitions that "others" have already made of them. The process of social and cultural integration is not simplified purely by not

crossing national borders. The problems are different but they are equally important and issues of citizenship are also relevant. Nations without a state must take into account the situations that people experience in their everyday lives.

In the case of Catalonia, the specific ways in which nationalism, ethnicity and class intersect have created thin lines of identity which obstruct people's identification with Catalonia. The complex problems of the Catalan system of identity and integration are still unsolved. Difficulties and limits to being Catalan, as I have shown, emerge, at times, from internal dynamics created in places like Tres Barrios. Contradictory signals exist when someone wants to be admitted as a full member of the group. The individual's social position affects this process of identification although not necessarily in the direction anticipated, as has been shown. The Catalonia-Spain dichotomy acts as a constant reference point for people in Tres Barrios and leads to significant contradictions in the process of identification. Neither the official policy on the national construction of Catalonia nor the methods used to implement this policy in the last 20 years have taken these difficulties into account. 'Catalonia' and 'being Catalan' have been related to a highly politicized vision of what being Catalan means.

In this context, the words of a boy from Tres Barrios are very useful in order to remind us of the consequences, for national identities, of ignoring these difficulties: "I don't really like Catalonia" ("A mí es que Catalunya no

me tira”). For some people, being Andalusian is a way of saying that they can’t be Catalans and a giving up of the struggle for integration defined in terms that they consider unattainable.

The difficult process of becoming Catalan has direct consequences on the creation of Catalan identity. Competitive assimilation in Catalonia, a key element of the Catalan model of ethnic relations, suffers the effects of a social structure with rigid ethnic boundaries. Significant aspects of Catalan identity are being questioned in the daily lives of the people of Tres Barrios. Even though the political creation of a new Catalan ethnicity has tried to blur the meaning of the native-immigrant dividing line, the real experiences of the people in Tres Barrios are that origin does matter. New values such as the lack of roots and hybridism have become new symbolic elements of a way of being Catalans. The Catalan language, one of the most important symbols of Catalan identity, has had to face the challenge posed by many people questioning its positive, and necessary values. Obstacles inherent in the use of the Catalan language have helped to shape new relations between language and identity. In general, people’s attitudes of desiring more rather than less, their love of differences and their respect for variation and multiplicity have not always found an immediate or welcoming response from within Catalan nationalism.

- iv) Being Andalusian in Catalonia enables us to identify two important contradictions in the Catalan model of integration: First, although the Catalan

model represents an open form of integration that allows for a certain degree of difference, cultural divergence from the core Catalan is relegated to the social margins; it is ignored and stigmatized. Being Andalusian in Catalonia runs counter to the predominant assimilationist approach towards immigrants and in that sense it can easily be conceived as a movement opposing a model of power relations that excludes some people because of their “difference” while simultaneously obstructing the total integration of its members. Being Andalusian implies a new way of being Catalan which requires alternative definitions of belonging and incorporates difference, elevating it to a central position in a model of a pluralistic society which considers ‘difference’ to have a neutral role within power relations. Although the role played by the new Andalusian identity and cultural organization is still marginal, the fact that within Catalonia this new way of being Andalusian represents an opposition movement, undoubtedly denotes a certain degree of success.

Second, being Andalusian also constitutes a second contradiction in the Catalan model of integration. According to that model, the Catalan case should have been one of linear integration: by being in Catalonia—especially by being born there— new Catalans would incorporate Catalan values, identities and traditions, including the Catalan language. But integration is not a linear process. It questions the inevitability of assimilation and implies a new way of constructing a narrative of a particular view of history. The way in which people adopt some of these cultural patterns and do not adopt others is the

result of their life experiences, which gives meaning to some of these practices while rendering others meaningless. The fact that Catalan values imply social positions, situations and realities that do not correspond to the positions, situations and realities of all Catalans impedes – instead of facilitating — assimilation. The question: “Are new Catalans integrated in Catalonia?” should lead to an affirmative answer since these people have constructed a system of references which enable them to act in a complete way in their surrounding environment. Listening to Camila's comments on her level of integration in Catalonia however, taught me that integration is an analytical concept which is far removed from people's real lives and worries.

Being Andalusian represents a new expression of the ways in which some working-class immigrants and their descendants, through a re-creation of origins, have come to interpret social life in recent years. Origins, in the Andalusian fiesta, are taken from the present and adapted and reinterpreted. Images and symbols related to people's origins are tools, which can be used to express a sense of integration and commonality within a community.

Being Andalusian is also a way of interpreting the terms 'high class Catalan ' and 'non-Catalan working class' that have been assigned to different people, and it represents a dynamic dialogue about tradition in which power imbalances are revealed. Participating in the 'Andalusian' world is considered to be unrelated to any Andalusian ethnicity and not as a contradiction to being Catalan.



- v) Finally, the Andalusian cultural revival could not have become so well established and so active in the life of Tres Barrios without the existence of the political forces and circumstances shaping the whole Catalan scenario. Politics and the Andalusian celebration in Catalonia are realities which are intricately interwoven.

In Catalonia, ethnic politics have clearly benefited from both general and local politics and one of the challenges for Catalan politics has been to combine the different levels of ethnic politics in non-contradictory terms, as complementary levels of the same - multilevel - reality. On a general level, the role played by Andalusian politics within the Catalan political world is central to the issue of internal cultural diversity in nationalist Catalonia. The Andalusian organizations and celebrations have allowed the ruling Nationalist party in Catalonia to find a way of solving one of the most problematic and confused aspects of the Catalan model of diversity: internal homogeneity within Catalonia versus external divergence in relation to Spain. In a strange way, via many contradictory and ambiguous movements, ruling Catalan nationalism has found in Andalusian politics a strategy for maintaining a balance between a growing demand for recognition coming from above and the need to build a unified image of Catalonia. Giving support and legitimizing a federation of Andalusian associations or simply by setting up a stand at the Feria, nationalists have lessened a possible source of political and social

conflict while simultaneously recognizing the existence of differences within Catalonia. In addition, since Andalusian celebrations still occupy a position of marginal importance, another goal of Catalan nationalism is being accomplished: the partial recognition of internal diversity, not overtly visible to everyone.

On the other hand, the control and manipulation of Andalusian associations provides political benefits for the left wing party which governs many of the local councils in the working class cities of the Barcelona Metropolitan area. The most important of these is the establishment of a feeling of 'intimacy' and a 'logic' of Andalusia ('your people') as a clear political option. Although, up to now, the most direct consequence of this use of the Andalusian organizations has been one of consolidation and expansion, the risks of it becoming too dependent on political strategies are high. In addition, the Andalusian fiesta, swamped by political interests, has already lost some of its initial spontaneity and social relevance as an expression of popular culture containing elements of social criticism and resistance to hegemonic forces.

Whether or not nations will come to represent a recognizable source of identity and identification for the majority of their transnational citizens will depend on the ways in which they become attractive for people. A phenomenon such as the Andalusian in Catalonia indicates that some people have preferred other sources of identity which are more local and less prestigious. Nations can no longer ignore that

social integration is a key condition for national identification of immigrants. If they really want to solve the problem of lack of identification, they will have to stop creating the root of that problem: static structures of power, social division, and fragmentation. Peripheral nationalisms have an even greater challenge in the context of social diversity.

At the present time, hundreds of people of all ages from African, Latin American and Asian countries are flocking into Catalonia every day. "Transnational nationalisms" Wicker (1997:31) need to think very carefully about what makes them attractive to new transnational immigrants. This is undoubtedly one the major challenges that Catalan nationalism will have to face in the coming years.



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**Newspapers and Current Journals**

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**Statistics**

Ajuntament de l'Hospitalet

Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya

Junta de Andalucía