

Gender, migration and identity: Spanish migrant women in London

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the effects of international migration in shaping the national and gender identities of Spanish women, who migrated to England between 1940-1992. The thesis examines the process of construction of these women's national and gender identities in their country of origin. However, international migration means a change of socio-cultural and linguistic context that may call into question these women's notions of femininity and national identity. Thus, the thesis analyses in considerable detail how different women migrants use aspects of their cultural heritage as frameworks in shaping their national and gender identities in England.

This thesis is structured in three main parts. The first part deals with the theoretical decisions taken in this thesis and also questions the categorisations of migrants found in the literature. The first part positions the thesis within a theoretical framework and a specific research design used in this study. One appendix expands on the decisions which are taken. The second part analyses the constructions of gender and national identities in Spain before migration. It examines political ideology and definitions of femininity imposed on Spanish women via the Catholic Church, the school and the government. Women's narratives reveal the shaping of Spanish gendered identities, in different social classes and generations. The third part examines the role of the Spanish and the British governments in the movement of Spanish migrants to the UK and the ways their policies treated male and female migration differently. However a major emphasis is placed on how women in their own accounts of their experiences tried to transform these discourses - and the discourses on femininity - which confronted them. The conclusion includes reflections on the implications of this study for the existing literature concerning gender, international migration and processes of identity formation.

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A mis padres y a mi abuela

“Uno nunca vuelve, siempre va.”

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PART I

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the effects of international migration on the shaping of national and gender identities of Spanish women who migrated to England between 1940-1992, from different socio-economic and educational backgrounds. Very little work on Spanish migration to the UK has been done, although this is one of the largest migrations from Southern Europe. Almost no research has been conducted on the gender dimension of this migration. No work has been done on the making and taking of gender identities within these migratory processes.

Thus, the aims of this thesis are to analyse how these women *construct* their national and gender identities according to certain historically available modes of representation. This thesis investigates whether women's socio-economic and educational backgrounds in Spain have contributed to their self-understandings in England. This study also examines how shifting political discourses and economic interests in the UK and in Spain between 1940-1992 have shaped women's choices of employment and nationality in the UK, and how, in turn, these choices have affected women's own constructions and re-constructions of national and gender identities.

The main argument to be explored in this thesis is that there are three important loci that shape national and gender identity: institutions and their ideologies, accumulated cultural practices, and the individual. The individual acts as an active interpreter of social forces and cultural

practices making personal choices within historically specific parameters. The question examined is whether a dramatic change, such as migration, is likely to force the person to adapt the claim to an identity or to change the meanings associated with that identity. Thus, the narratives of the women in this study are treated as the biographical articulation of social forces, cultural practices and personal experiences.

This thesis will examine two processes: the process involved in the constitution of national and gender identities by a range of social forces¹ and the process of women's agency and production of meaning in their shaping of their national and gender identities as processes and products of social interactions and power relations.

The perspective that this study outlines is one that considers social forces as both a material and an ideological configuration, which is played out at the level of institutional forms and which is individually experienced. Thus, this study uses an analysis of narratives from interviews with 35 Spanish women. Hence chapters will follow the principle of a shift in focus from theory to fieldwork data.

In exploring national and gender identities the terms "Spanishness" and "Englishness" are utilised. These terms define - for the purposes of this study - what women view as characteristic of Spanish and English societies and ways of life, respectively. This is not to say that there is an essence to the concept of "Spanishness" or "Englishness". The meaning of those concepts is as varied as respondents' perceptions of what identifies each socio-cultural setting.

¹ This study focuses on the family, the educational system, the Catholic Church and Spanish and British migration policies as social forces.

What is, and what is taken to be Spanishness and Englishness has varied through time, both in material reality, and in writings of historians and social scientists. In addition, those who have lived history in these countries vary in their perceptions of what is to be Spanishness and Englishness.

Thus, the accounts elaborated by respondents may essentialise cultural forms, or attempt to claim a natural association between a specific cultural heritage (Anglo-Saxon or 'Spanish') and a particular place or territory (England or Spain). The accounts of the women interviewed may tend to evoke homogeneous national identities: Spanish and English, thereby concealing internal debates and differences within the Spanish nation and the English nation. Some account is taken of this, for example, varied appropriations of Francoist notions of femininity and nation by respondents of different socio-economic, educational backgrounds and generations is explored in Chapters 4, 6 and 7. As will be shown in those chapters, images of 'Spanishness' for some respondents, sometimes, serve as a metonym for an 'authentic' universal Spanish identity and a universalist cultural heritage uncontaminated by regional, class differences and processes of migration.

Perhaps, being in England has blunted an awareness of regional diversity in Spain, in the perspectives of the Spanish women in this study. It may also have been their response to the unifying effect of a totalitarian regime that suppressed regional differences.

In fact, Francoism affected different Spanish regions and socio-economic groups differently (Cámara Villar 1984; Hank 1991; Labanyi 1985;

Lerena 1986). The Spanish Civil War was the last of the European religious wars in the first half of the century but it was also a class war. In nationalist propaganda it was presented not only as a war against Freemasons, considered the historic protagonists of anti-clericalism, but also as a war against Marxists. Threatened less by the legislation of the Republic than by the rhetoric and the revolutionary atmosphere of the spring and summer of 1936, the majority of the Spanish upper classes were enthusiastic supporters of Franco's rising. The middle sectors of society were less consistent. Many young intellectuals and professionals supported the Republic; many of the older generation alarmed at what intellectuals, such as Julian Marías, Unamuno and Ortega y Gasset, called the proletarianisation of life styles, often withdrew their allegiance from the Republic (Ortega 1990:93-111).

Part class war, the Civil War was also a war against 'separatism'. According to Franco's government, separatists were the third element in the triad, which together with Masons and Marxists was responsible for the destruction of Spain. In 1932 the Republic had granted limited home rule to Cataluña by a Statute of Autonomy (Hank 1991:13); just after the war broke out in 1936, it granted a similar statute to the Basque provinces of Guipuzcoa and Vizcaya (Conversi 1997:32; Mercadé 1986). To the supporters of the Right this was to betray the unity that was the glorious creation of Spanish history, a unity for which the army was the safeguard.

Under Franco, Nationalist Spain emerged from the war in 1939 supported by two pillars: the Army and the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church supplied the ideological and emotional cement, which bonded together the nationalist clans (Botti 1992:102; Cooper 1976:48; García Fernández 1965:19;). That the Church was restored to power and privilege reveals

the true significance of the Civil War. It had been fought to save conservative interests threatened by the reformism of the Second Republic and to save a conservative class scared by the advance of the proletarian parties after February 1936. Franco's first government, appointed in January 1938, reflected the balance of forces in the new regime. It was dominated by conservative monarchists and soldiers (Abella 1985:78; Esteban and López Guerra 1977:34; Pierson 1999:26).

Spain in the 1950s was a society vastly different from other Northwestern European societies. Whereas in England the vast majority of the population had left the countryside for the towns, over half of the population of Spain, in small rural towns and villages, still got its living from the soil (Shubert 1990:63; Esteban and López Guerra 1977:109-135). Rural society was sharply divided between rich and poor, between regions of stability and regions of unrest. Spain was not then homogeneous, these contrasts between rural society and city and between working class and middle class are examined in Chapter 4, which looks at the formation of women's national and gender identities in Spain (Garrido 1993; Nash 1989; Roig 1989).

Similarly, patterns of land ownership in Spain were not homogenous. Outside the regions of genuine peasant proprietorship, property concentrated in the hands of a land-owning class, and this was especially so in the latifundios (great estates) of La Mancha, Extremadura and Andalucía, where the owners were often absent. The great estates had been expropriated regions, collectivised in the Republican zone; after the war this social experiment ended with the restoration of the old landowners. Spain was divided between proprietors, a conglomerate of upper middle class owners (who had their estates when the church and

common lands were sold by the Liberals in the nineteenth century and nobles who had held their lands for centuries), 'middle' peasants who could make a decent living out of their farms, and beneath them an agrarian semi-proletariat of struggling small proprietors (Abella 1985; Pierson 1999:63; Sevilla Guzmán 1976:101).

Apart from gross inequalities in income there was an acute regional imbalance between areas of development and areas of backwardness. These patterns continued over time in Spain. For example, in the 1930s in 'Spain' the Catalan peasant, in spite of a severe crisis in the 1930s, was a prosperous entrepreneur compared with Castilian farmers on their arid, small farms. In the 1960s the sons of Basque family farmers would leave the farm, attracted by higher wages in industry (Alberola 1994; Esteban and López Guerra 1977:113).

The orange-growers of Valencia who supplied much of Spain's foreign exchange were well-to-do by Spanish standards, though they had suffered a setback when their markets were endangered by the world depression in the 1930s. Even Andalucía, which may appear as a homogeneous region of great, extensively cultivated latifundios of absent aristocratic landowners, included both the rich soils of the Campiña de Córdoba, with its agricultural entrepreneurs and industrial crops, and the poor farms of eastern Andalucía where only seasonal emigration to France could provide a living salary (Shubert 1999:62; Castells 1977).

This imbalance in agriculture was paralleled by the imbalance in industrial development. There were different 'Spains'. Thus during Franco's times, the north became industrialised while the south stagnated. The cities, where the workers lived in shantytown suburbs and the

wealthy French-style mansions stood in contrast to the rural pueblos, villages in the Castilian campos. The urban Spain of the dynamic periphery drained the villages in the decaying centre of a surplus population that could find no profitable occupation (Castells 1977:180).

Hence Spain's late industrial revolution was confined largely to two regions: Cataluña and the Basque provinces. The few members of a powerful local industrial and banking oligarchy controlled much of this industry. This oligarchy saw the Basque country and Cataluña as progressive communities tied to a backward agrarian Castilla (García Fernández 1965:239; Labanyi 1994:18), symbolised by the 'parasitic' capital, Madrid, where politicians and civil servants, out of touch with the economic realities of the country, controlled its destiny.

Differences between regions are not central to the work of this thesis but several of these differences are noted in Chapters 3 and 5 which look at social agents in Spain and migration policies in Spain and in the UK respectively.

Spanish regional disparities in per capita income remained severe during Franco's regime. In the 1970s the disposable income of a family from the poor rural provinces was a third of that of the rich industrialised regions; a family in Jaen, Segovia or Cuenca existed on a fraction of the income of a family in Bilbao or Madrid (Castells 1977; Esteban and López Guerra 1977). Surveys² revealed a lower standard of living and a diminished participation in the benefits of the consumer society in the poor regions.

² (Encuesta de equipamiento y nivel cultural de las familias, published by the Presidencia de Gobierno in 1975:65, vol. 1).

For example, in 1970 70 per cent of Madrid homes possessed a television set; but only 11 per cent in the province of Soria (Domínguez Ortíz 1991).

Disparities in income and education were consolidated in the class formation(s) of Spain. After the Civil War the dominant class was an amalgam of landowners, financiers and entrepreneurs that had grown up during the nineteenth century. Its values were conservative and aristocratic, its mode of operation: familial nepotism. The establishment functioned in the protected, closed world of the autarkic economy, it enjoyed the favours of the regime and its members were the familiars of Franco. This establishment formed the upper ranges of what was termed in Spain 'the traditional middle classes'. At its core were the professionals: doctors, engineers, professors, lawyers (Esteban and López Guerra 1977:34; Llera Esteban 1986). The majority of top posts in most ministries were filled from the administrative class of the Spanish state with professional academic qualifications in law, engineering and finance. The bureaucratic and political class shared remarkably uniform social and political origins (Grugel and Rees 1997:30). Again, while the theme of class formation was not a central question in the fieldwork, it is interesting how Chapters 4 and 7 illustrate the origins of self-labeling upper-middle class respondents.

The sector of the active population that grew most rapidly in the late 1960s was the service sector. This brought new blood into an expanded middle class: top executives and technicians. The gap between the middle classes and the working classes did not narrow over that period. The difference between the higher paid workers - especially in the service sector - and those at the bottom, was still large. The gap was more

dramatic in the poorer provinces, where the working class remained large and the middle class small. With the decline in importance of the agricultural sector the urban working class became the most numerous and potentially powerful class in Spain. It was no longer in the late 1970s the traditional manual working classes sharply cut off by dress and behaviour patterns from the *clases acomodadas*, the well-to-do. However there was a poverty of the rural areas and the new poverty of the industrial suburbs, in neither case compensated by adequate social services, particularly in the countryside. Working in two different jobs and undertaking long hours of overtime were a necessity for many. In 1970, 56 per cent of Barcelona workers spent over eight hours a day at work, and a fifth of those in Madrid had more than one job (Carrasco 1997:108; Paz Benito 1993; Esteban and López Guerra 1977:112).

In a rural province like Extremadura social mobility was very limited: with increasing costs the poor peasant could not survive and the labourer had no hope of buying a smallholding: for this rural working class the only chance of improvement was emigration (Pérez Díaz 1980:58-125).

The provinces that contributed the largest migration first to Latin America and then to Europe were of two types: the first one corresponded to regions with a high density of rural population. The second corresponded to those where there were the two biggest cities in Spain and migration was an urban phenomenon.

There was a division of Spanish emigrant groups depending on the regions of origin. One group was made up of men and women from Galicia and Canary Islands in which there was a predominance of transoceanic migration directed mainly to Latin America until the 1960s,

the trends of Spanish migration to Europe will be looked at in Chapter 5. A second group was made up of men and women from Andalucía, where migration was directed to Northwest Europe in the late 1950s and 1960s (García Fernández 1965:292).

As can be seen Spain was a diverse society regionally and in social classes. Shubert observes that:

The modern history of Spain, and especially its modern social history, is much less developed than that of France and Germany. We know much more about populations than families, about relations between social classes than between men and women, about labor than leisure (Shubert 1990:7).

Responses to Francoism amongst family members were also diverse. The experience of Franco's regime suggests that national Catholic ideology tried to resurrect a nation of imperial warriors and saints in a society battered by hunger, isolation and bitterness. Furthermore, its definition of national identity was divisive. It rested on dichotomies internal to the nation (good Spaniards/bad Spaniards) as well as external to it (spiritual Spaniards/materialistic foreigners) (Botti 1992; Labanyi 1994:43; Pierson 1999:157). Some respondents' references to their parents' different political ideologies in Chapters 3 and 4 provide empirical corroboration of a tense relationship between 'winners' and 'losers' amongst family members in the Spanish Civil War and the effects on the interactions amongst family members subsequently. Nevertheless political differences, in these cases, were silenced in the family context despite a limited rebelliousness from some respondents. Some of them observed that their fathers forbade any political discussion within the family.

At the same time, the oppositional character inherent to the formation of national identities (the us-versus-them phenomenon) within the families raised serious questions about the viability of 'Spain' as an 'imagined community'.

Some studies have analysed the transformations of the family unit during Franco's regime and Spanish democracy looking at the incorporation of women to waged work and its effects on women's and men's roles within the family (Durán 1995:24-30; Folguera 1993:187-211; Garrido 1993; Pérez Oliva 1994).

Other studies have focused on work identity of Spanish women during Francoism and the tools of Franco's regime to impose public gender codes (Garrido 1993; Lorée Enders 1999; Morcillo 1999; Nash 1989; Romero López 1996:187-218). Aurora Morcillo demonstrates how a gendered model of citizenship shaped the Spanish university and its educational mission during the early decades of the regime. Although middle and upper middle class women attended the university in increasing numbers, their identity as scholars contradicted official notions of the 'true Catholic woman', that is women who looked after their families as their sole aim (Instituto de la Mujer 1995; Morcillo 1999:89). The issue was not the limits of women's behaviour but rather whether they could incorporate this activity into a coherent sense of personal or family identity as women. Paid work tended to be seen as a distraction from the real business of motherhood, socially accepted as long as it did not interfere with domestic and reproductive responsibilities (Durán 1995; Durán 1981; Folguera 1993; Carrasco 1997).

First the tendency to equate 'work' with wage work outside the home reduced many female tasks to non-work. Further, even when women worked for wages, their relationship to work was always considered subordinate to their primary identity within the family, as wives and mothers. Complicating this subordination is the importance of class categories to work identities. Since the majority of women wage labourers were poor women, they were often viewed by society as an aberration from normal middle class standards. Thus, their work experience never challenged the supposedly universal Francoist ideal for the domestic woman. In fact all women worked, whether they were middle class housewives or working class day labourers. The Francoist ideology created a gendered work culture that shaped what women could do, how others perceived their work and how work was incorporated into their sense of identity.

Therefore studies have paid particular attention to work identities of Spanish women during Francoism and the transition to democracy and how paid work challenged women's identities as only wives and mothers within the model of the family unit. Fewer studies have focused on contrasting political ideologies within families and how these shaped the identities of family members during Franco's regime. Although the theme of respondents' work - as housewives and as paid workers - is discussed in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7, this study focuses on its effects on the formation of respondents' gender and national identities. However the theme of different responses amongst family members to Francoism will not be examined in this thesis.

In the collection and analysis of data for this thesis I had to choose between replicating the multiple 'Spains' by region, by class or by

different family members as shown above, or looking at the construction of multiple selves of some Spanish migrant women in London.

The emphasis of this study was on the second: that is, how a small group of migrant women interpreted social forces and cultural practices and how these reflected on their understandings of themselves in a migratory process. It is acknowledged that women in this study are not representatives of all the regions in Spain. Working class respondents in this sample came mainly from Galicia, middle class participants came from a variety of regions and the upper middle class respondents came mainly from Madrid. It is acknowledged that the sample is not representative of the universe of Spanish immigrant women in London. Therefore, due to the limits of my sampling criteria, as well as the fact that the sample may reflect a self-selecting bias, the results of the present study must be interpreted with caution. This thesis has focused primarily on married women with children. The following are not represented in the sample: divorced, single mothers, lesbian women and very few widows and unmarried women respectively.

The reader should keep the following caveats in mind. A snowball approach to sampling led to opportunistic decisions regarding the inclusion of respondents. This survey sampling relied on respondents' personal connections and on their identification of others they thought could qualify for inclusion in this study and these, in turn, identified yet others.

Therefore, even when social scientists manage to avoid leading questions and forced choices, sociological survey designed to give an insight into individual opinions are at best a snapshot of a selection of individuals at a

particular moment. A series of such snapshots is a shaky basis from which to infer changes and trends. On the other hand, the more personalised perspective of an individual or small community within the larger groups is always partial and may be completely atypical. A series of interviews with small groups would be shaped by structural and interpersonal dynamics not so very different from those of mass surveys. Neither of these approaches can unlock the 'truth' of respondents' identities. There is not only one. The questions raised and the positions taken are presented broadly on women's own terms and the different emphases of each chapter acknowledge the discourses dominant in respondents' accounts. This is not to suggest that these Spanish migrant women in some way speak for themselves in this text. An author's power to select and represent sources cannot be surrendered and to claim otherwise would be fallacious. Therefore a different qualitative research might have yielded different results.

However, as Firestone (1993) suggests, the most useful generalisations from qualitative studies are analytic, not 'sample to population'. This thesis based on qualitative sampling focuses on Spanish women who were raised in Spain paying particular attention to their socio-economic and educational backgrounds and the historical periods they migrated to the UK. Choices of interviewees were driven by conceptual questions such as how international migration by different groups affected processes of national and gender identity formation in different periods, not by a concern for 'representativeness'.

This thesis presents different accounts of processes of national and gender identifications in Spain and in England, at different moments in women's lives and with different people (i.e. interactions with English or other

foreigners). The principal concern was with the 'conditions' (structural in the form of social forces, cultural practices and psychological process due to cultural shock after migration) under which identifications operated. Kvale states that "the subject matter [in qualitative research] is no longer objective data to be quantified, but meaningful relations to be interpreted" (1996:11).

Therefore, in this study the issue was not generalisability. It was that of access. The decision to conduct qualitative interviews was not to discover how many women shared a certain characteristic. It was to gain access to the cultural categories and assumptions according to which one socio-cultural setting (depending on respondents' definitions of that concept) construed the world. As Hammersley points out "qualitative research is concerned with identifying cultural patterns" (1992:49). How many and what kinds of individuals hold these categories and assumptions is not, in fact, the compelling issue. It is the categories and assumptions, not those who hold them, that matter. In other words, this qualitative piece of research did not intend to survey the terrain, it was much more intensive than extensive in its objectives. The sample was not chosen to represent some part of the larger world. It offered instead an opportunity to glimpse the complicated character, organisation and logic of certain culture(s). How widely what was discovered exists in the rest of the world could not be decided by qualitative methods but only by quantitative ones (McCracken 1988:17).

With this in mind empirically focused chapters are underpinned by a critical concern for the women's accounts discussed and chapters insist on the material circumstances of cultural production.

The thesis has three main parts. The first part will look at the theoretical decisions that have been taken and will challenge a number of conceptualisations of women migrants. It will also position the thesis theoretically and outline the strategy of the research design. One appendix is offered, it outlines the tactical detail of the research design.

The second part of the thesis is divided into two sections. The first one explores the social construction of women in Spain under Franco and during the transition to democracy. The second section looks at fieldwork findings on women's formation of national and gender identities, differentiated by socio-economic groups and by historical periods.

The third part is divided into two sections. The first section uses statistical information from British and Spanish official sources to show the gendered patterns of migration from Spain to the UK in different historical periods. This section also analyses the existence of kin ties and informal social networks between women migrants and the UK. The second section, which is a major part of the thesis - the closure as it were between social forces and individual biography - deals with women's narratives of national and gender identifications in England. The conclusion includes reflections on the implications of this thesis for research on international migration, gender and identity.

The next chapter will challenge a number of conceptualisations of women migrants and will look at the theoretical decisions taken in this thesis to inform the qualitative research which was conducted. These theoretical decisions include the strategic choices, which inform the research design.

CHAPTER 2

APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION, GENDER AND IDENTITY, POSITIONING OF THE THESIS

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to arrive at decisions of how to theorise the articulation of three areas: international migration, gender and identity. This chapter will deal with the categorisation of 'migrant' interlinked with the analytical categories of working class, race, ethnic minority and 'the other'.

There is no literature that is useful for understanding the constructions of identity of Spanish migrant women in England. Therefore a new approach will be suggested. The point of this chapter is to look at some approaches to thinking about the constructions of identity of Spanish migrant women, and not least the concepts of culture, class, race, 'the other' and similar mono-thematic labels, as well as forms of 'three-fold oppression'.

The proposed concept of culture used in this thesis turns attention away from boundaries of 'class', 'race', 'ethnic' and 'the other' in the way that the literature has treated them. Instead, this thesis will focus attention on people's experiences of cultural identity in a host country. Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis it is necessary to study cultural differences between the migrant's country and the host country, paying particular attention to migrants' differences within and amongst social classes, education and political and historical circumstances in the migrant's country of origin. This study investigates the similarity and diversity of migrants' social class and educational attainment in the migrant's country of origin and the

effects of migration experiences on the shaping of the migrants' cultural and gender identities in the country to which they migrate.

Second this chapter will try to get away from theories of international migration that have tended to focus only on the working class, which has been treated as homogeneous. Many analyses of migration have also reduced cultural differences to racial differences, ignoring the features that are specific to each migrant group and its history. Thus, the literature on international migration has often been reduced to the study of subjects of one class, the working class; or to one colour; or to one origin such as 'black-ethnic'. Currently, the analysis of migration has focused on the analysis of the multipurpose category of 'the other'. This has generated a confusion of terms between culture, colour, ethnic origin and an unclear definition of 'other'.

The relevance of the concept of culture

Most anthropologists today probably agree that cultures are not bounded, coherent and timeless systems of meanings (Hannerz 1992:3). A person's interpretation of an object or event includes an identification of it and expectations regarding it and, often, a feeling about it and motivation to respond to it (Derné 1995:102; Rosaldo 1989:102). Meanings are the product of current events in the public world interacting with people's understandings which are in turn the product of previous such interactions with the public world (Sperber 1996).

To the extent that people have recurring, common experiences - experiences mediated by humanly created products and learned practices that lead them to develop a set of similar schema - it makes sense to say that they share a culture. Culture, in this formulation, consists of regular occurrences in the humanly created

world in the schemas people share as a result of these, and in the interactions between these schema and this world (D'Andrade and Strauss 1992; Hannerz 1992:4)¹.

The understanding of the internalisation of culture by the individual will generate a better comprehension of individuals' identifications with what they perceive as their cultural identity. In addition, this will help to see how migration to a different socio-cultural setting changes individuals' national and gender identifications.

International migration is a particular cultural challenge. This involves a decision of who is a migrant and whether this is a neutral term.

In the 1970s, mainstream migration research in Europe focused on waged labour and on temporary labour migrations (Castells 1975; Castles and Kosack 1973; Castles and Kosack 1985; Salt 1976; Serrano and Montoya 1965)². One debate which emerged strongly during the 1970s was around the inter-relation of race and class and much was written about this (Miles and Phizacklea 1979)³. In the literature on migrant women, their position in society and in the labour market was defined as one of limited opportunities, at the bottom of the job ladder (Anthias 1982; Morokvasic 1983), marked by vulnerability, subservient status and dependency. Though there is much evidence to support the multiple barriers and oppressive relationships these women faced, this approach mostly contributed to their social construction as victims⁴.

An emphasis on the position of women in migration is a relatively recent development by feminist scholars who were instrumental in changing the definition of women from 'migrants' wives' into 'women migrants'. Feminist oriented studies

took up the issue from another angle and pointed to the use of women as source of cheap, flexible labour (low paid or unwaged) within ethnic economies. They criticised gender blindness and stressed women's resourcefulness (Anthias 1992a 1992b; Bhachu 1993; Brah 1993, 1996; Buechler and Buechler 1981; Buechler 1975; Gabaccia 1994; Gonzalez and McCommon 1989; Kutluer-Yalim 1981; Morokvasic 1991b; Phizacklea 1983,1988).

In the 1980s the theoretical debate on class and race continued (Phizacklea and Miles 1980; Phizacklea 1983)⁵. Not much attention was given to gender differences, though stereotypical categorisation of 'traditional' women and 'Asian women' were widely used, as Allen illustrated:

Women emerge in the literature occasionally as wives, and a little more frequently as mothers, as independent actors they are highly invisible. Their invisibility is attributed to their cultural conditioning within traditional Asian societies (Allen 1980:327).

In the 1990s, the equation of race with black-white relations was shown to be inadequate for dealing with the European context. Studies on the construction of whiteness (Frankenberg 1993; Hickman and Walter 1995; Phoenix 1994) demonstrated the restrictive notions of culture and a confusion of terms between colour and culture. However, an unstable combination of skin colour and distinctive culture was ultimately the criterion which marked off 'ethnic minorities' from the majority population in Britain (Ballard 1992; Cohen 1986)⁶. Thus, this thesis questions the adequacy of the terms 'black', 'ethnic' or 'other' to account for differences and similarities in women immigrants in England.

Migrants as a working class

Similarly, this thesis questions the validity of reducing the identifications of women migrants solely to a working class status. Such an approach has been used to investigate migrant groups. However, they do not look into migrants' multiple and varied cultural backgrounds, their multiple and changing social classes, and their educations to account for the variety of migrants' identifications in the host country.

In the 1970s studies on migration (Castles and Kosack 1985; Castles and Kosack 1973; Salt 1976; Serrano and Montoya 1965) considered the migrant as a uniform working class⁷. Thus, one of the main characteristics and shortcomings of Castles and Kosack's approach, in their works from 1973 and 1985, was the emphasis on class as an homogeneous category of analysis. The authors' notion of migrant labour as a class situation assumed a unity of the working class before immigration occurred in North West Europe (Castles and Kosack 1973:5).

Castles and Kosack argued that migration to an industrialised urban society promoted the independence and emancipation of women, particularly with reference to the taking up of employment by women who had not worked for cash in the country of origin:

Migration to Western Europe is certainly an act of emancipation for many people...Such [migrant] family structures are matched by traditionalist social norms, particularly with regard to the position of women...Arrival in Western Europe, where women are expected to dress attractively and where they take an active part in economic and social life, can cause considerable difficulties for immigrants, whether men or women (Castles and Kosack 1985:47).

The authors prioritised working class subordination over other types of subordination rather than exploring different power relationships, for example between men and women. Migrant women's access to waged work was seen only in terms of an abandonment of an attributed norm of non-work.

Castles and Kosack identified work with a paid activity that, usually, was done outside the house and which enjoyed, in general, a social recognition. This implied the perception that women who 'worked' as housewives or who were not recognised as legal workers, did not work⁸. Women were considered problematic since their inactivity worsened the problems of adaptability to the host country experienced by the family group. Castles and Kosack's discussion focused on women's alienation, the divisions that they suffered between themselves and other members of the family and their lack of understanding of the industrial world in which their husbands lived.

The authors contributed to a widely spread assumption about immigrant women as simple followers of men, with inadequate skills and an inappropriate knowledge for life in a modern urban environment, with a tendency towards submissiveness rather than resistance. Castles and Kosack studied women as a special category of migrants that were successful in the process of migration so long as they embraced the 'modern and emancipatory' value system of the host society. Nevertheless, this perspective did not reveal the complex ways of interaction that developed between members of the family group or between women and the dominant society⁹.

Two assumptions demarcated Castles and Kosack's work: first 'tradition' became an alternative for an analysis of migrant women's specific socio-cultural backgrounds. The authors relied on stereotypes of migrant women as dependants,

migrant's wives or mothers, unproductive, illiterate, isolated, secluded from the outside world. These characteristics were usually attributed to the women's alleged 'cultural background' and labelled as 'tradition'. Second, the authors did not address gender differences in migration as a factor worthy of analysis. Thus, Castles and Kosack's stereotype operated for all migrant women irrespective of their specific national and cultural origins. Migrant women seemed to acquire the right to a sociological existence once they were acknowledged as economically active, as productive.

Morokvasic (1983:23) argued against Castles and Kosack's approach to migration pointing out that whether the authors arrived at the conclusion that migration emancipated or reinforced the 'traditional ties', whether the transition from tradition to modernity was considered a linear process or not, their hypothesis remained the same: paid work as an attribute of modern society was seen as a mediator, a facilitator in the transition to modernity.

These approaches are inadequate for the present study because there are silences about how migrant women's experiences might differ from those of an ungendered individual. Questions about how geographical mobility across national boundaries, and by different social classes, might alter culturally rooted understandings of femininity. The gendered processes in the construction and maintenance of perceptions of femininity have been hardly investigated by the authors. Another categorisation that this thesis questions is the view of women migrants as a racialised working class.

Women migrants as a racialised working class

Robert Miles and Annie Phizacklea's work has sought to prioritise the role that class and production relations played in the reproduction of racism and migration. However this approach carries problems of economic determinism and theoretical abstraction (Miles 1982; Phizacklea 1983; Phizacklea 1984, Phizacklea and Miles 1980)¹⁰.

The description of 'racialised' workers as a class fraction in the UK did not analyse the heterogeneity of labour categories and the different employment characteristics of other European migrants. Cohen underlines the confusion in the terms 'racism' and, hence its derivative 'racialisation':

Racism becomes defined in terms of features which are specific to black (or Afro-Caribbean) experience, for example, or to the peculiarities of English history, so that anti-Semitism or the specific articulations of racism which have developed in say the Irish or the Scottish contexts or in other European countries are treated as 'special cases' because their inclusion would 'deconstruct' the ideal type...But putting these accounts together does not add up to a multidimensional approach that could provide the basis for a general theory; it only amplifies their essentialism (Cohen 1986:84)¹¹.

Phizacklea and Miles, in their works of 1980 and 1983 respectively, argued that migration to an industrialised urban society promoted the taking up of employment by women who had not worked for cash in the country of origin. As Phizacklea pointed out:

For millions of women the transition from unwaged to waged work has come about through migration...Wherever a woman comes from, wherever she migrates to, whether or not she works, is married or has children her primary role in life will be defined not as a waged worker

but as a mother and a domestic labourer (Phizacklea 1983:1).

This approach suggested a radical shift of focus from Castles and Kosack's work that looked at migrant women as dependents on their husbands and families. Thus, there was an analytical shift from focusing on women as dependents to viewing women as waged workers.

However, there are two assumptions in Phizackela's work. First, that migrant women had not worked for pay prior to their arrival in the host country, which is a gross generalisation¹². Second, there is an assumption implicit in Phizacklea's work on the homogeneity of histories of women migrants and the reasons underpinning their decision to emigrate. That is, the assumption that women migrants emigrated for economic reasons instead of, for example, family and/or husbands' pressures, adventure, or formal education opportunities. In addition, Phizacklea does not address differences, within the working class, amongst women of different educational levels¹³. Therefore, the concept of working class needs a more precise definition indicating material differences and non-material ones such as formal knowledge. Furthermore, Phizackela's focus on a uniform working class erased differences amongst a wide diversity of socio-economic and cultural systems between countries.

Three-fold oppression model

This thesis also questions the three fold oppression model (Anthias 1982; Morokvasic 1983)¹⁴. While the analysis that women migrants experience a triple discrimination as women, as foreign migrants and as workers is true, it represents an oversimplification of a more complex situation. Women migrants do occupy differentiated positions. However, writers using this model only took into account

paid work and within it working class migrant women. There was an oversimplification of women's experiences and identifications with a working class.

This approach did not attempt to locate and conceptualise agency on the part of the women migrants. This model, however, is useful since it moves away from the essentialist notions of 'race' utilised by Miles and Phizacklea. Thus, by considering women as foreigners this new identification does not reduce women to ex-colonial or 'black' immigrants. However, the 'three-fold oppression' model needs an additional perspective, that of the women migrants themselves. Their assessment of their own identifications with social class, and their positions as migrants and women to inform the analysis of this thesis.

Women migrants as waged and as domestic workers

A number of authors have pursued the broader implications of migrant women's paid work by pointing out that this cannot be adequately addressed without a consideration of domestic work within the household (Dumon 1981; Foner 1979; Kutluer-Yalim 1981; Ley 1981)¹⁵.

However, this approach assumed that being actively involved in the production process, having the same power as all productive workers, was the precondition for women's emancipation. Secondly, immigrant women cannot be considered as one homogeneous group but do vary with regard to cultural background, social class, education and age, amongst other differentiating factors. A question to be explored in this thesis is whether emancipation is the direct result of having a salary. Remuneration may bring economic independence but does not necessarily bring emancipation¹⁶.

Generally studies of women migrants as waged and domestic workers were shaped by social theorists who, in an attempt to correct previous views that emphasised the victimisation of the powerless and the force of social structure over human agency, made efforts to rationalise the actions of working people, women and migrants. However, this model was not created as a model to understand, for example, the strategies of migration of middle class families or gender relationships that could be perpetuated by upper middle class families after migration.

In addition, other issues that are not considered are how these processes shaped women's representations of themselves, the negotiations women pursued in their gender relationships and why women had to take domestic work. Thus it is necessary to study the broader context of social change in gender relations, in the countries of origin in which the decision to migrate occurred. In addition, how women's histories were mediated by different experiences of migration which, in turn, shaped women's understanding of themselves needs exploration.

Other studies useful for this thesis are concerned with language difference and its psychological effects on women migrants. The inclusion of the study of language in the analysis of migration is an advance in the analysis of the complexity of factors that shape women's identities.

Working class migrant women and language

A group of scholars researched the importance of foreign language learning for working class migrants in getting better positions in the labour market of the host country (Andezian 1986; Appleyard and Amara 1986; Boyd 1986; Dumon 1981; Kutler-Yalim 1981; Ley 1981; Schwartz 1994)¹⁷.

Language is an important identifier when addressing individuals' construction of their cultural identity for two reasons: lack of knowledge of English and thus, the inability to communicate with the host society and the formation of strong social networks among migrants. Second, language is important due to the concern some first generation immigrants show for what they view as the loss of cultural identity of their children by adopting English as a first language.

The multiplicity of categories of analysis utilised by these studies makes for a richer picture of women's experiences of migration and representations of themselves. However, in this work there are several assumptions. First, it is assumed that migrant women were working class and poorly qualified. Second, it is assumed that once women have had language training they could have access to better jobs, although the last premise may not necessarily follow. The grouping of all women migrants under the same rubric - working class - does not account for the differences in experiences and self-representations of these women.

Migrant women as reproducers of national ideologies

The work of a group of authors (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992; Eastmond 1993; Yuval-Davis and Anthias 1989) is relevant for this study because it illuminates how women are, on the one hand, carriers of national ideologies and, on the other, agents in shaping their cultural identifications in the host country.

This work focused its analysis on women in relation to men as honour keepers, or women in relation to the nation as reproducers of national ideologies. Anthias and Yuval-Davis recognised that the literature on migration had reduced ethnicity and/or race to belonging to minority groups, or subordinate groups within a nation-state

(1989:3). Women, they claimed, occupied a central place in process of signification embedded in racism and nationalism. Yuval-Davis and Anthias pointed out the relationship between women and nation:

... Women are also controlled in terms of the 'proper' way in which they should...reproduce the boundaries of the symbolic identity of their group or that of their husbands...Women are seen as the 'cultural carriers' of the ethnic group (Yuval-Davis and Anthias 1989:9).

These studies demonstrated how women were crucial to the construction and reproduction of nationalist ideologies. Women could serve as the symbolic figuration of a nation¹⁸. These authors' work links nation and women as culturally embodied subjects. Thus, it moves further the theorisation on the women's construction of national and gender identities. However, two other themes need investigation: firstly, the processes by which women take up different identifications and act upon national ideologies and, secondly, the representations of femininity by structural forces such as the government or the church or the school.

Immigrants as 'others', 'subjectivities', 'hybrids', and 'displaced'

This thesis will not utilise post-structuralism approaches (Ang-Lygate 1996; Brah 1996; Ganguly 1992; Hall 1992, 1990; Hall and Gay 1996; Laclau and Mouffe 1985; Rattansi and Westwood 1994; Rutherford 1990; Weeks 1990). All these authors share the notion of subjectivities and displaced and diasporic subjects when referring to migrants¹⁹. However this thesis argues that subjective definitions of identity in post-structuralist theories can be interpreted in several ways. From the relativist point of view which predominates among post-structuralists, subjective constructions of identity do not take into account the experiential facet of identity.

In other words, cultural identity requires practical or public demonstration of features such as for example language, phenotype, dress code, folklore dance, cuisine, mannerisms, gestures that are shared and are particular to a specific socio-cultural setting. The post-structuralist notion of 'subjectivity' can simply mean that actors decide and choose their own cultural identity. This position seems reasonable as it does not deny that real, tangible factors are involved in the construction of identity. However, there is still a tendency amongst post-structuralists to separate the reproduction of cultural values from the biological reproduction of agents and education of those agents in a specific socio-cultural location. The subjectivist representation of ethnicity arises from a false dichotomy between agents' biological origins and their subsequent history in specific cultural groups. In fact, agents only exist as dynamic, historically and physically situated identities. Likewise, the ethnic group is not only a subjective experience but rather something tangible in both an experiential form and a cultural sense²⁰. Cultural identity is not only a subjective experience. It is also a concrete material certainty by means of having been raised in a specific socio-cultural group and having been exposed to and learned social cues in the ethnic group experience.

Many post-structuralist authors²¹ present a free-floating creation of identities that do not account for the similarities of traits across socio-cultural groups such as sexual inequality. As Fraser and Nicholson, who point to the emancipatory claims of feminisms ask: "How can we speak out against sexism as detrimental to the interests of women if the category is a fiction?" (Fraser and Nicholson 1990:420). The focus on either structure or subject exclusively does not examine the subject-structure relationship and, hence does not claim transformative agency on the part of the subject (Reay 1995).

Positioning of the thesis

This chapter has tried to identify decisions about positioning this thesis. The main aim has been to challenge the conceptualisations presented by the literature on migration, gender and identity. It has been shown that the term 'ethnic minority' as used in the literature examined embodies a number of contradictions. The subject of immigration has been treated as colonial in most literature on race and migration. The focus has been and still is on race since many British immigrants came from the colonies and colour is an issue. Thus, there has been research on the continuity of these colonial immigrants as settled groups. These appear in the literature as ethnic minorities or racial groups. Nevertheless, immigration to the UK came also from other countries where there was not a clear distinction of colour but of cultural background and language.

The categorisations of women migrants as a homogeneous working class have also been rejected. These did not account for differences of socio-economic systems in women's countries, nor for differences in formal education of women. The literature reduced women's experiences and self-representations in the host country to an experience of a specific social class, or a race, an ethnic minority, a domestic worker or a fragmented subjectivity. In so doing the literature failed to take into account women's agency in the transformative process of migration and its effects on women's self representations, which this thesis will emphasise.

This chapter has attempted to demonstrate that each approach to migration, gender and identity was an attempt to build a theory that could account for the differences and similarities presented by diverse migrant groups in the UK. Each approach built

on previous studies and perspectives to elaborate a more complex picture in the study of migrant realities.

However, there are serious gaps in those approaches that do not address what constitutes culture for the migrants themselves, and how their construction of culture differs from what they perceive to be the culture of the country they migrate. This silence poses difficulties in understanding the meaning migrants attribute to their cultural and gender identities and how these may be transformed in the host country. There is a misconception on the part of some researchers who stereotype and generalise on migrants' experiences of migration and how this affects migrants' cultural and gender identities. Writers²² have focused on the influence of one social dynamic at a time: class or race or nationality. This denies the multiplicity of factors that may influence subjects in the daily construction of their identities which Pierre Bourdieu captures with the notion of 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1977:54).

Thus, this thesis will seek to move forward theorisation about the formation of national and gender identities of international migrant women. This thesis will emphasise migrants' understandings of their own identifications.

It will be recalled that the main argument to be explored in this thesis is that there are three important loci that shape national and gender identity: institutional discourses, accumulated practices and the person as an active interpreter in whom social forces, cultural practices and personal choice interact within historically specific parameters. Migration is likely to force the person to adapt a new social identity or to change the meanings associated with that identity.

Therefore the main argument of this thesis needs a theoretical framework that takes

into account gender, social class, education and identity. Hence, this study will draw from a theoretical approach that is sensitive to social forces and human interactions as well as to the layers of meanings arising from both: Bourdieu's theory of practice. Thus, this study will draw on three key concepts: habitus, negotiation and identity which this thesis will utilise to explore the main argument and inform the fieldwork data analysis.

In this thesis the concept of habitus will be utilised to explore power dynamics in ordinary taken-for-granted situations. It is hoped that habitus will shed light on how social forces in Spain and in England affected women's self-representations and representations of English nationals, and what different strategies women used in order to cope with unknown constraints in a foreign country. The concept of habitus is expected to provide a method to analyse simultaneously "the experience of social agents and the...objective structures which make this experience possible" (Bourdieu 1988:782).

However, Bourdieu leaves unexamined the trans-national reliability of the concept of habitus where cultural, symbolic, economic and social capitals change. In the case of international migration there is a displacement of the socio-cultural and linguistic context that agents embody.

Every mode of domination presupposes an order shared by the dominated and those who dominate. This order, this symbolic representation of a social structure comes to work in the actions of the agent by being incorporated as part of the agent's habitus. As Cicourel suggests one can use habitus as a tool for examining domination as everyday practice (Cicourel 1993:111). However, what happens when the 'doxic' order changes? A 'doxic' order is one in which:

The established cosmological and political order is perceived not as arbitrary, i.e. as one possible order among others, but as a self-evident and natural order which goes without saying and therefore goes unquestioned (Bourdieu 1977:166).

This question is paramount when addressing the agents' claim to a cultural and gender identity. When international migration occurs the socio-cultural and linguistic continuum is broken and agents are likely to change the meanings associated with their identity.

Perhaps there are problems in operationalising habitus when examining a dramatic discontinuity, between socio-cultural and linguistic different contexts, as in the case of international migrants. Habitus may not account for what transformations take place when women's social practices are discordant with a new location. Thus, this thesis will examine the shift from one set of social practices in Spain to another in England and its effects on women's identities.

Women's traditional strategies which assume familiar patterns of relations (between them as Spaniards and others as non-Spaniards, for example) are deployed in relation to novel phenomena which do not respond to those strategies in familiar ways. This change of socio-cultural-linguistic context calls into question both the strategies of practice and the nature of the relationships which they presuppose. Migration to a socio-culturally and linguistically different country stresses changes of meanings in the social world that may provoke a revolutionary process in the meanings that women assign to their cultural gendered identities as Spanish women.

The homogeneity of agents' dispositions is broken once migration is in place as reliability of meaning and prediction of actions regarding the other is non-existent.

Gendered and classed habitus may not fit with a different socio-cultural context. The concept of habitus needs to include the variations in agents' dispositions caused by international migration. The concept of habitus needs to account for cases where the social norms and cultural meanings transmitted are discontinued by international migration.

Furthermore, there is another aspect in which this study may diverge from Bourdieu's theory. While Bourdieu has been an influential proponent of 'embodied' knowledge his use of 'embodiment' has not paid attention to the role of the subjective, emotion and motivation in the selection of social practices and identification that agents embody. Thus, he overlooks the role of motivation and emotion as forces for either reproduction, uniformity, diversity and change of social practices. Not all regularities in practice are remembered equally well because the learner's motivation makes a difference in what learners pay attention to and how well their experience recreates learned social practices and identifications.

This thesis looks at how women have constructed gender and national identities within the limits of and negotiations with institutions such as the family, Catholic Church and educational system. In this thesis women's accounts will illuminate how they have overcome the various forms of domination through various forms of negotiation. It is being suggested that the agents' subjective viewpoints will help to analyse how migrants strategically use aspects of their cultural heritage as frameworks in constructing their cultural and gender identities. This thesis will emphasise in its fieldwork and does emphasise as a strategic principle the importance of looking at migrants' life experiences as the reflection of the articulation of social forces and migrant's choices when modulating cultural and gender identities. Thus, important within the analysis is the notion of negotiation

which, the thesis argues, recognises the agency of women in their own construction of identities. Hence, cultural and gender identification will be treated as a subjective process (Lott and Maluso 1993 Rosenwald and Ochberg 1992; Deaux 1992; Okamura 1981)²³. This emphasises the importance of looking at migrants' life experiences as the articulation of social forces and personal interpretations and choices in negotiating their cultural and gender identities at different times in a migrant's life. The emphasis on human agency refocuses the analysis on the ways in which the women sought to come to terms with immediate circumstances and problems that originated from international migration. The thesis will analyse the way in which social constructions of femininity by the family, religious schools, Franco's government and the Catholic Church limited in most cases women's possibilities for action and how, in turn, these women constituted and resisted the re-production of action²⁴.

Conclusion

This chapter has mapped the theoretical framework of this thesis and the concepts for interpreting the data. This chapter has tried to interrelate three concepts - habitus, agency and negotiation - in the analysis of women's accounts of their identities. The first concept is a way to discover how institutions and their hierarchies of domination affect individuals' positions in society and, consequently, shape individuals' identities before and after migration.

The radical change of international migration between countries that are distinctively different in their socio-cultural and linguistic systems represents serious problems for the maintenance of a coherent identity structure. This way of viewing identity interrelates with habitus as a method to investigate how social forces shape

individuals' identities in the country of origin and of reception. The concept of identity from women's subjective perspectives will show the negotiations a person establishes with the social forces when reproducing or resisting learned patterns of behaviour. The subjective approach to cultural and gender identities will show the negotiations the migrant is forced to make in order to accept, reject or embrace the host's society (or an interaction of those three actions at different points in a migrant's life cycle). Thus, in this thesis an effort was made to link agency, social forces and personal history.

The details of the research design (see the Appendix) were shaped by these strategic themes and three other elements: my concern for women's experiences, their socio-economic backgrounds and my autobiography. The use of ethnographic research is useful to this study because it aims to investigate the construction of identities in everyday life by using women's own understandings of their experiences (Reay 1998:167; Steedman 1989:100; Weiler 1988:58). Mohanty (1992:76) quotes Teresa de Lauretis who gives the question of experience a foundational status: "The relation of experience to discourse, finally, is what is at issue in the definition of feminism" (1984:5). This perspective is, thus, an inductive procedure to arrive at empirically grounded understandings and explanations of social phenomena embedded in gendered practices. Ethnographic research aims to understand the everyday meanings and interpretations subjects ascribe to their surroundings and the acts that arise from these interpretations (Bertran 1998:232; Maynard 1994:16; Camino 1994:2; Buijs 1993:18). A concern for women's experiences allows this thesis to see respondents as creators of new meanings in the (re)-creation of their identities out of contradictions between and within their past lives in Spain and their present lives in England.

Feminist epistemology helped this study to problematise how official sources and historical documents constructed women migrants. This epistemology looks at primary sources, although it also looks at how constructions of those sources have been challenged by women's own accounts as a complement to historical sources. Feminist praxis has pointed out that the researcher investigates from her or his specific history (intellectual, political, emotional) as opposed to a more 'masculine' and 'objective' epistemology (Harding 1994:107; Harding 1987:3; Stanley 1990:26). Feminist epistemology has broken down the concept of theory with a capital 'T' produced by 'experts', into theory produced by agents who experience the 'realities' which researchers study.

Thus, giving rise to "Feminist theory' is...theory derived from experience, analytically entered to by enquiring feminists" (Stanley 1990:24). Therefore, this study will seek to give women a voice that has been absent in the literature produced on Spanish migration. It involves women in rethinking their own experiences and their relations with official bodies such as the Spanish embassy, the British state, personnel at the borders and different official organisations that made decisions about their staying in the UK, influenced their choosing a job and their training. All these relationships affected women's experiences of migration directly and, in turn, contributed to their self-representations and the representations they constructed of English people.

ENDNOTES

1. When this study refers to culture, then it will do so only to summarise such regularities. Thus, the concept of culture focuses on people's (more or less) shared experiences and the schema they acquire on the basis of those experiences. Schema is cultural to the extent that it is the product of humanly mediated experiences and to the extent that it is not predetermined genetically. Hence, people internalise recurring cultural practices. However internalisation is a process that is selective and transformative (D'Andrade and Strauss 1992).

2. These studies on migration addressed emigrants as 'movements of labour'. These authors saw immigrants mainly as workers, although there was a considerable heterogeneity of work and social situations. It was primarily the industrial and service workers that was established as the norm for the migrant labour force (Böhning 1976:569). In this literature there was little acknowledgement of social class differences and the extent to which differences in social class within the immigrant group, for instance, were relevant.

3. This was a consequence of the gradual tendencies of immigrants towards settlement. It was also a consequence of the transformation of labour migration and the modification of the basic features of migratory flows, namely, the presence of family members and the formation and strengthening of networks based on kinship (Beyer 1976; Bohning 1976; Hollingsworth 1976; Sandlund 1976).

4. Morokvasic criticised the victim approach in her later work:

Migrant women end up having access to a very limited number of positions in society and in the labour market. The explanation for this situation has far too often adopted the 'blame the victim' paradigm: it has been assumed that migrant women's culture of origin, their lack of preparation for modern, urban societies and work are responsible for their situation and lack of choices (Morokvasic 1991a:71).

5. However, an increasing stress was put on anti-racist policies in Britain. This was the case in a climate which equated race and ethnicity particularly with being black, and being black with being an immigrant (Rex 1986:77).

6. 'Ethnic minorities' were frequently seen by the literature to have more in common with one another than with the 'ethnic majority'. The term contributed to a de-emphasis on diversity among the groups so designated while exaggerating differences from the rest of the population. Even when it was argued that the basis of inclusive designation was a common experience of racism this procedure frequently failed to take into account the diverse ways in which racism could be experienced by different groups (Ballard 1992; Field 1987; Modood 1988; 1992) or, within them, by men and women (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992; Yuval-Davis and Anthias 1990; Unterhalter 1997).

To label immigrants, 'race' and ethnic minorities, under the category of 'race' did not make those arguments necessarily adequate as theoretical explanations of discrimination. However, racial differentiation was thought to be a physical phenotype biologically inherited and ethnic differentiation was based on cultural differences which had to be learned (Outhwaite and Bottomore 1993:205). The attempt to capture the commonalities in experiences of racial and ethnic exclusion led some to argue that a single term which accurately identified the basis of oppression was to be preferred. Since skin colour was a key marker of status in Britain, it was argued that the term 'black' was the appropriate one to use to refer to all those who were victims of the exclusionary practices of white racism (Ballard 1992; Modood 1988; Mason 1990).

In recent years, the range of different ways in which racism may be experienced has been increasingly questioned by those who stress the diversity of cultural identities. Modood epitomises this position on race:

Being white or not is the single most crucial factor in determining the sociological profile of any non-white group in contemporary Britain, dwarfing class, employment, capital assets, skills, gender, ethnicity, religion, education, family, geography and so on, all of which will be secondary in the sense of race or each other in the total sociological outcome. Hence the sociology of any of the new ethnic minorities flows in its general outlines from this fundamental racial divide (Modood 1992:28).

Race, ethnicity, geographical origin and immigrant status are terms that public authorities, community policing or media use to describe minorities that are perceived as phenomenotically different from the 'white' majority. These terms exclude immigrant 'white' minorities. 'The Guardian' newspaper says:

The official labour Force Survey paints an up-to-date picture of how Britain's **ethnic minorities** are faring in the labour market. [This is followed by a list of 'ethnic minorities' divided by sex]: ...Black Caribbean, Black African, Black other, India, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese, other Asian, **Other** (other refers mainly to North African, Arab, Iranian or of mixed origin...How this group fares and prospers in the workplace is a crucial question for the future of harmonious race relations in this country. Are they to remain as marginalised as their **immigrant** parents, or is there evidence for assimilation and improvement? (The bold font has been added) (Leslie, The Guardian, 14 August 1996:18).

This extract by Prof. Leslie in The Guardian shows the plethora of terms, some national, some racial and some cultural used to describe 'ethnic minorities' although 'white' 'ethnic' minorities are not mentioned.

7. Serrano and Montoya (1965) and Salt (1976) in different works argued that there was an implicit desire in the migrant to ascend upwardly: for example by saving in the host country and returning home to set up a business. These studies postulated that the foreign nationality of the immigrant was established as a criterion of discrimination by the native working class. According to these authors, the native working class demanded that natives be given preference over immigrants in the distribution of employment positions by impeding the access of immigrants to the economic status of natives. Therefore, the threat to the economic status of natives would be removed or at least reduced. Where this solution was put into practice, discrimination occurred against the immigrants. Thus, according to this approach there were two different classes: a native working class and an immigrant underclass, and this would continue through different forms of discrimination and xenophobic ideologies (Serrano and Montoya 1965:113). John Salt expresses his concern about migration theories:

A major problem has been the lack of reliable data on the social consequences of migration and this has often made for emotional and ideological, rather than objective approaches (Salt 1976:78).

These authors - from the fields of economics and geography - assumed that migrants were mainly a reflection of the poor economy of the sending country. The outstanding difficulty with this literature was its inability to explain anomalies, for example, why some people seemed not to emigrate, despite their poor financial situation.

8. Migrant women who 'worked' as housewives or 'worked' in domestic service, but in the illegal sector, were subject to pre-capitalist work relationships, since their work did not have the category of merchandise, as was the case with paid work. Women became a non-recognised category of worker, and therefore submerged and more dependant than any other. Castles and Kosack's allusions to women's work were usually located by reference to their families as the following quotation demonstrates:

He [the migrant man] will find the traditional attitude of the mother of his children one which fails to satisfy him (Castles and Kosack 1973:361).

9. Morokvasic (1983:22) questioned whether the opposition of the 'traditional' (the culture of the sending society) and the 'modern' (the culture of the receiving society) was appropriate to a description of this change. She indicated that in numerous cases gross assumptions were made about the cultural background of immigrant women.

The approach typified by the work of Castles and Kosack constructed a rigid picture of societies which were in the process of change. It silenced the diversity between sending and receiving countries and within both countries. It failed to highlight regional, cultural, class, linguistic and gender differences. Their perspective graded the emancipation and oppression of women in the host society, as opposed to the home country, from the

understanding that there was less oppression in the north west of Europe and more in a 'traditional' country.

Although, the freedom of women to take up employment may be a necessary prerequisite for economic independence and an 'egalitarian' relationship within the family (Delphy and Leonard 1992:52) it is not sufficient. It must be recognised that many migrant women in Western societies work under conditions that are far from emancipatory, in any sense of the word.

Twelve years later, in 1985, Castles and Kosack added a postscript to the second edition of their 1973 book, where they confirmed their views:

Migrants' wives might like the greater freedom which Western women enjoy - many immigrant workers, particularly Muslims do not allow their wives to work or have any contact with the outside world - ...Men originating from traditional societies observe the increasing independence of women with suspicion and fear (Castles 1985:362).

10. What was at issue in the migrant labour approach was not 'race' as such but the racialisation of a specific migrant population in the historical context of post-1945 Britain, as Phizacklea illustrated:

There are important differences between the indigenous and the migrant group which derive from migrant status. In analysing the effects of migrant status we are examining the relationship between the ideological and politico-legal factors. The first layer of that relationship is between nations, between the economically dominant capitalist nations (the importers of labour) and the economically dependent 'sending' formations...It needs to be recognised that the ideology of racism is not only directed at ex-colonial migrant labour, but all foreign labour. Thus, the second layer of this relationship is between migrant labour and indigenous labour and the deep division this ideology of racism creates between them, resulting in exclusionary practices and the fragmentation of the working class (Phizacklea 1983:6).

The migrant labour approach emphasised the ways in which migrant labour was included or excluded in terms of the relations of production. Miles and Phizacklea argued on the basis of a critical reinterpretation of classical and neo-Marxist theories of class, the state and ideology. They constructed a theoretical model of racism which prioritised the political economy of migrant labour as opposed to what they called the 'race relation problematic' (Miles 1982:169). Miles saw 'race' as itself an ideological category which required explanation and which, therefore, could not be used for either analytical or explanatory purposes (Miles 1982:177). With regard to women migrants Phizacklea

stated:

Migrant women workers are very much a part of Western European working class, their issues are class issues and to ignore them is to consciously lend support to those who actively seek to weaken the working class internationally (Phizacklea 1982:112).

Miles and Phizacklea claimed that the concept of race was a social construction which attributed meanings to certain patterns of phenotypical variation (Miles and Phizacklea 1984:22). This process of attributing meaning to 'race' resulted in a reification of real social relations into ideological categories and led to the common-sense acceptance that 'race' was an objective determinant of the behaviour of black workers or other racially defined social categories (Miles 1982:176). Precisely, because they conceptualised 'race' as an ideological reification they suggested that 'race' could not be the object of analysis in itself, since it was a social construction.

In rejecting the descriptive or analytical value of 'race' as a concept Miles and Phizacklea insisted on the importance of racism, and the formation of what they called a racialised fraction of the working class and of other classes (Phizacklea and Miles 1980:224). However, with the rejection of the category of race they did not consider the specificity of the ethnic category (Anthias 1990:24). Miles' approach was interpreted as a way of reiterating the role of class determination as opposed to 'race'. Miles argued that his model was grounded in the notion that internal and external class relations were shaped by a complex totality of economic, political and ideological processes. Miles located racism as a process of ideological construction and prioritised the 'effects' of the relation of production (Miles 1984:159-170).

He distinguished between processes of generation and reproduction of ideologies and pointed out the need to develop a specific analysis of ideologies, in particular, historical contexts. Miles claimed that production relations provided the historical and structural context within which racialisation occurred. It is the emphasis on production relations, according to Miles, and not the importance of culture that provided the material and political basis of racism within the working class (Miles 1984:228-30).

11. Thus, the host society may represent immigrants differently depending on whether immigrants are phenotypically distinctive from the majority of the host group population. Cohen points out that there are also 'white' 'ethnic' groups who may experience different discriminatory responses from the host society to 'black' groups. Therefore, migrants' self-representations must be considered in order to distinguish their experiences from the abstract and amalgamating position of 'racialised working class' that emerges from Miles' theorisation.

12. Research conducted by Brettel (1982,1979), Buechler (1981) on migrant women in Europe and Schwartz (1994) on migrant women in the USA demonstrated that a majority of working class women migrants worked for pay in their home country.

13. Research conducted in the USA on graduate women immigrants from Asia or South America (Schwartz 1994) points out how they work in menial jobs due to their poor English skills and/or their immigrant status. Thus, are graduate women classified as 'working class'? Their problems and circumstances may not be shared by 'native' working class women with no education.

14. Anthias opened a chapter of her work summarising the premises of this model:

This chapter is concerned with the way in which ethnicity and sexual divisions are used by Greek-Cypriot men for the 'management' of ethnic or minority disadvantage and for the achievement of the economic aims of migration: Cypriot women, we argue, suffer a 'triple burden' as women, as migrants and as workers for migrant men (Anthias 1983:73).

Much of Anthias and Morokvasic discussion around immigrant women and the labour force was centred around concepts such as the oppression women suffered by virtue of their sex, nationality and social class.

Anthias pointed to the use of women as a source of cheap labour (low paid or unwaged) within ethnic economies. In criticising the gender blindness of the literature on migration, she addressed a gendered exploitation in kin type arrangements and reflected a concern for an improvement of the condition of migrant women.

From this point of view, being a woman became one of the criteria in determining the extent of discrimination. This approach claimed that as foreigners, immigrants and women they occupied the lowest levels in the labour force hierarchy, working primarily as poorly paid domestics, cleaners and waitresses. According to this approach, being foreign born could also confer a disadvantage independent of sex. In such case immigrant women could have lower status occupational positions compared to native born women of the same socio-economic background. Morokvasic (1983:27) suggested that for Yugoslav women in Europe it was their status as foreigners that was most responsible for their low prestige and oppressive situation.

In a later work Morokvasic 1991 criticised her own approach: women were seen as passive tools of male networks not as active agents in the complicated dynamics between ethnic networks and labour market conditions (Morokvasic 1991:80). In other words, while focusing on the usefulness and resourcefulness of ethnic women for ethnic economy and business formation, the 'three fold oppression' model did not investigate the question of usefulness and resourcefulness of ethnic economy for women. Bhachu argued in this line:

...These Models based on the 'powerless/passive/static model' fail to take account of the transformative powers of Asian women in generating and in manufacturing their cultural systems. These models deny their roles as the cultural entrepreneurs they are (Bhachu 1993:113).

There was a risk inherent in the three fold oppression model of concluding that women were but resources for ethnic economies and were a condition for the access of men to a wealthier positions. This led to victimisation of women.

15. These authors have considered the question whether migration and women migrants' taking up employment in the host country led to a change in the distribution of power within the family.

These studies, which have attempted to analyse the relationship between paid work and domestic work of immigrant women have generally revolved around two issues. On the one hand, these authors were interested in the change of gender relationships within the households in the host society. Therefore, they were interested in the impact of supposedly 'new' work roles on domestic relationships between husband and wife and between mothers and children. On the other hand, the focus was sometimes simply on increasing the double burden that immigrant women had to carry, particularly child care and housework.

The focus of these studies varied according to the immigrants' home contexts and their cultural backgrounds. In Ley's study of migrant women in Switzerland her findings were that new economic and social responsibilities were the bases for a woman's increasing importance within the family (Ley 1981:84). In Kutluer-Yalim's research on Turkish migrant women in Germany, her findings were that women's role in the family was undermined especially for housewives who were isolated from an extended family network, and who found themselves increasingly dependent on their children or husband to deal with the outside world, where they did not know the language (Kutluer-Yalim 1981:72).

On the other hand, Dumon's study on women migrants in north west Europe pointed out that the relation between the work of working class women migrants and their work at home was at least threefold: often the reasons for waged work were family related, women needed to help the household financially. Second, the content of the paid work was, generally, household related. Third, Dumon claimed that paid work affected positively immigrant women's relations with their families in terms of their position within the family (Dumon 1981:36).

In Foner's work on Jamaican women in England an immigrant woman's improved access to and control of economic resources was viewed as the basis for an enhanced position

and power within the family. Foner stated that regardless of other drawbacks “residence in England gives Jamaican women the chance to earn a regular wage which has led to a dramatic improvement in their lives” (Foner 1979:83). Foner, took women’s work as an instrument for their possible emancipation.

16. In the case of domestic service most women may enjoy the material benefit to help their household but may not find any psychological reward. The social representation of a job such as cleaner may influence how women view that job and, in turn, how they view themselves. That is, there may be a devaluation of the job and of themselves for doing that job. The type of job women perform may be important for a sense of empowerment.

Most of these studies adopted the household as a unit of analysis. This model assumed that strategies of migration were based on a deliberate house-hold calculation that led eventually to migration, regardless of whether people migrated as individuals or as family units. Migration was assumed to be one of the many choices available to households. Yet the attribution of individuals’ actions to household strategies has generally been assumed, not investigated. What were the social constraints that influenced women’s work in the labour market and at home? How did they come to form and prioritise their domestic work and their waged work as a variant of their housework? And why they would only seek work as domestic workers?

Wolf suggested that proponents of the household strategies model typically dispense with inquiries into the subjects’ viewpoints because they assume that people - especially poor people - cannot explain their own behaviour (Wolf 1990:60). If researchers listen to the voices of women immigrants, however, the notion that migration is driven by collective calculations or household strategies may become increasingly difficult to sustain.

17. The relevance of these studies for this thesis is various: firstly, these authors focused on women immigrants from non-colonial countries. Thus this approach dealt with language training which was paramount for immigrant women in the labour market but also in women’s personal relationships with the outside world and their families. Secondly, this literature looked at feelings of inadequacy and even shame that immigrant women had when their children had to translate for them in public places (Kutler-Yalim 1981:66). Therefore, these studies looked at non-colonial working class migrants, paid work, education and linguistic difference. The psychological effects of the latter on immigrant women were given particular attention.

Some of the authors mentioned in the previous section (Dumon 1981; Kutler-Yalim 1981; Ley 1981) and other scholars such as Schwartz (1994) focused on paid work of migrant women, language training and its relation to migrant women’s upward mobility in the labour market. This body of literature argued that difficulty in gaining access to language and job training programmes reinforced the socio-economic stratification that existed among immigrant women, which was closely related with country of origin (Andezian 1986; Appleyard and Amera 1986:219; Kutler-Yalim 1981:61). This stratification

extended into the labour market experiences of immigrant women, where being foreign operated to the disadvantage of some birthplace groups, but not others. Boyd (1986:52) in the Canadian context, demonstrated that some groups were more disadvantaged than others. The least disadvantaged were immigrant women from the United Kingdom and the United States who came not only with higher educational achievement but also from countries that were close to Canada both linguistically and culturally.

A number of authors claim that knowledge of English language was a major factor in the position of immigrant women in the labour market in the case of Anglo-Saxon countries. Not knowing the language of business and of social relations meant that many jobs in which English was the language of work were forfeit; as a consequence the worker who was not familiar with the official language was more likely to participate in an ethnic-linguistic labour market or to hold menial positions (such as cleaner, chamber-maid) in which extensive verbal or written instruction was not needed to accomplish the task. It followed that language acquisition was a key factor in the socioeconomic advancement of immigrants and their integration in the host country (Ley 1981:22).

Schwartz in her study, based on qualitative data on immigrants from different parts of the world in the USA, confirmed the linkages between language, job skills and position in the labour market. She claimed that these links reinforced the already existing socio-economic stratification that existed by nationality among immigrant women (Schwartz 1994:129). Women who knew English well were less likely to be limited in employment opportunities by ethnic-linguistic labour markets. However, women who were less educated, who knew little or no English and who because of migration policies were ineligible for additional language and job-related training programmes, were limited to a set of occupations with lower salaries and less desirable work conditions. Illiteracy and language problems did exist which in turn caused and perpetuated the isolation of immigrant women and their lack of independence and self-confidence (Schwartz 1994:73).

Appleyard and Amara researched a sample of Greek immigrants in Australia (1986). In this study Greeks described language difficulties as one of the most important differences between Australians and themselves:

Greeks who tried to obtain employment through official agencies were frustrated by not being able to understand the names, nor find the addresses of potential employers because these were written on cards of introduction in English, which they could not read (Appleyard and Amara 1986:219).

Only rarely did they [Greeks] find it necessary to use more than a few basic words in English. They worked in factories with other Greeks, lived in houses inhabited by other Greeks, and socialised almost exclusively with other Greeks (Appleyard and Amara 1986:222).

18. When represented as guardians of the 'ethnic group' and nation, women not only demarcated political and cultural boundaries, but constructed and reproduced particular notions of their specific culture through their relationship to the upbringing of children and involvement in social and religious practices (Yuval-Davis and Anthias 1989:10).

In these studies there was a concern for the woman as a reproducer and as an agent in the production of meanings (Buijs 1993:4-6; Eastmond 1993:35). These authors stressed that the processes of ethnic formation were significantly gendered, that women had a different relation to ethnicity compared to men. They claimed that gender was linked to conditions of reproduction of ethnic groups. Women were seen as active agents in the constitution of ethnicity through the creation of the conditions of existence of a group.

However, the dynamics of the family for the construction of women's gendered cultural identity in marriage, in the division of work within the family were not sufficiently considered (Adkins and Leonard 1996:6). The authors did not analyse gender relations within the family unit, so as to underscore how families arrived at particular strategies: Is the process of reproducing national ideologies a smooth one or is there a negotiation between husband and wife? Do women see themselves as representatives of their 'nation'?

In the case of kin-work, Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992:124) suggested that ethnicity created variation in the gender division of labour in the household but they did not give attention to how the social organisation of family labour contributed to the formation of ethnicity itself.

Anthias and Yuval Davis (1992:124) focused on the external constitution of ethnicity i.e, the regulation of marriage. However, an insight into how ethnicity was constructed within the family household, what were the relations between husband and wife and children that constituted a sense of belonging to a particular cultural group was missing. Anthias and Davis pointed out that ethnicity created diversity in the family form (1992:115). However, these authors did not address whether the division of work among the family and the (lack of) negotiations that originated that division, were themselves factors that constituted a sense of belonging to a particular cultural group.

19. Post-structuralism challenges all the previous assumptions on the migrant as classed, or as worker, or victim or 'black'. Instead, the authors use new terms, some of them borrowed from biology, such as 'hybrid' to emphasise the idea of the migrant as a construction, a 'product' and a mixture of sites and positions that are actively shaped by the agent and that the agent chooses according to contexts and audiences. A post-structuralist approach to migration might use terms such as 'other(ness)', 'marginalisation', 'narratives of dislocation', 'marginality', 'diasporic subject', 'diasporic context', 'hybrid identity', 'subaltern communities', 'displaced subject'. The main focus of post-structuralist studies is on the construction of cultural identity or what they call 'subjectivity', which are then sometimes treated as separated concepts. Subjectivity, they

claim, is not essentially given. It is constantly under construction. It is a process in which differentiation from others is a powerful constitutive force (Ganguly 1992:31; Hall 1992:276; Hall 1990:226; Rattansi and Westwood 1994:29). According to Rutherford:

Identity is made out of different elements of experience and subjective position, but in their articulation they become something more than just the sum of their original elements (Rutherford 1990:19).

These authors argue that the construction of identities in western Europe is permeated by binary oppositions such as culture-nature or rationality-irrationality (Rattansi 1994:59). The first term is constructed as superior and the second poses features that threatens the first. Thus identities, these authors suggest, are constructed by power relations and are always open to dislocation and threatened by the 'outside' or the 'other' which, in fact, defines the positive elements (Rattansi 1994:26; Rutherford 1990:19).

Rattansi attempts to demonstrate a post-structuralist analysis of colonial immigration to Britain:

Take the stereotypes of British Asians and British Afro-Caribbeans, as part of the cultural repertoire of inferiorization, exclusion, abuse and discrimination in contemporary Britain. A postmodern framing is alert to significant dislocations in a process often portrayed as all-encompassing and monolithic, smoothly reproducing racialist stereotypes and practices of discrimination in institutional sites, such as schools. A postmodern framing requires that we break with reproductive models (Rattansi 1994:60).

As post-structuralist literature has noted, subjectivities have multiple identities as a result of their participation in various contexts and their engagement in numerous projects (Ang-Lygate 1996:152). Some of these identifications may be more durable than others, but none is fixed; they are all subjected to a process of negotiation and re-articulation through various narratives and specific forms of collective action (Rattansi 1994:29). This means that national identification can no longer be propounded as the dominant identification, that is, the identification which should always override other allegiances in scope and power. Instead, it becomes one identification among many, for the nation is only one of the communities to which individuals happen to belong (Ganguly 1992:31).

Therefore for post-structuralist authors the concept of community is no longer based on ascriptive membership (Barth 1969:10), that is, on strong communal attachments nor based on shared values or shared origins (Smith 1986:191). Barth's standpoint presents essentialist narratives of community as well as a strong emphasis on different levels of community, the family, the neighbourhood, the nation. Smith approach may lead to the idea of

'natural' communities which often leads to domination and exclusion. Thus, post-structuralism challenges Barth and Smith's conceptualisations of 'community' and claim that ethnic groups are largely constructed entities.

20. For example, corporal expressions that are understood only by somebody who has been raised in or has been exposed to a particular socio-cultural setting: the lifting of the eyebrows to express 'no' in a Greek context or the movement of the fist with the fingers up in an Italian context to express negative surprise. To underline the importance of the experiential mode in an ethnical group it is necessary to look at the need of adequate performance in the displaying of the cultural identity (Geis 1993; Shweder 1990).

Adequate performance of cultural identity is rigorously judged within the group more than by outsiders. For the latter a few tokens of the identity are usually sufficient. There is a whole body of cultural features and cues that figure prominently at crucial times in a social interaction. One cue that is an important factor in categorization is movement, style, and mannerisms that belong only to that particular cultural group and which the person does not choose but learns. Liebkind distinguishes between two aspects in cultural identity:

Ascribed aspects of ethnicity are involuntary such as sex or skin colour. A person's ethnicity is ascribed in the sense that one cannot choose the ethnic group into which one is born, but it is achieved to the extent that the meaning that it acquires for one's total identity is a matter of choice (Liebkind 1992:149).

21. Authors like Laclau and Mouffe (1985) share the term 'subjectivity' with a poststructuralist approach when referring to identity. They assert the plural and contingent basis of subjectivity of cultural identity. Laclau and Mouffe are opposed to the 'essentialist' view that individuals and classes are coherent, unified subjects whose actions reflect their underlying essence. They argue that it is only in our social relations that we acquire 'subject' positions, and that moreover, such subjective identities are multifaceted and may overlap with one another. Consequently, in this view, no identities can be 'privileged', as the salience of particular identities depends on the existence of discursive practices which make such identities subjectively accessible (Laclau and Mouffe 1985).

This argument not only points out that other identities apart from 'social class identity' and 'racial identity' need to be recognised but that the elements that constitute the social identity and the racial identity need to be comprehended in terms of their articulation.

Recent theoretical emphasis on the subjective and constructed nature of ethnic/racial and national identities (Diaz-Andreu 1996:52) also applies to the relationship between history

and ethnic identity. Contrary to ethno-essentialist assertions these authors argue that ethnic groups and nations do not usually have continuous linear histories incorporating a common origin. Such accounts of group history are constructions in which the past is selectively appropriated, remembered, forgotten and invented but, at the same time, reproduced and naturalised in the popular consciousness (Anderson 1993, Peterson 1982).

Laclau and Mouffe offer a dispersion of subject positions:

The epistemological niche from which the 'universal' classes and subjects spoke has been eradicated and it has been replaced by a polyphony of voices each of which constructs its own irreducible discursive identity (Laclau and Mouffe 1985:195).

Laclau and Mouffe have produced a provocative critique of Marxist theory, particularly powerful in the doubts they cast on class as the primary determinant of identity and on socialism and the emancipatory end of politics (Marshall 1994:73). The authors point out the dangers of Marxist structuralism, however they abandon the socio-political power of critique against social class conditions or sexism or cultural difference. There is only a relativistic and atomistic variety of subjects left who have the sole power to construct their own discourse. The forces within a historical context that shape each subject are not taken into account, nor are the similarities of effects of those forces on a group of subjects. The possibility of revolution or transformation of conditions is non-existent. Emancipation is not possible. As Marshall points out: "Certain liberatory struggles such as those on behalf of homosexuals or working mothers could emerge only once their corresponding subject positions or 'identities' were created" (Marshall 1994:118).

The polyphony of voices, which Laclau and Mouffe are referring to, are shaped by a multiplicity of conditions (gender, class, age, colour, cultural and linguistic difference) which do not occur in a vacuum. These conditions and the reflection of subjects' positions within society need to be acknowledged. The 'irreducible discursive identity' needs explication as to the process of construction of that identity.

22. In their enthusiasm to explore social dynamics in migration most authors discussed in this chapter have denied that there are important psychological questions to be addressed as well. Some sociological approaches disregard immigrants' perceptions of their positions and the negotiations of cultural identities that immigrants endure on a daily basis. The psychological effects of cultural shock on migrants are generally not examined. In turn, these approaches have disregarded how immigrant's interactions with the host country affect their perceptions and representations of the other. It is the recognition and reclaiming of this tension between subject and society that allows to reconceptualise gendered, classed and foreign subjects as relationally and historically interpreted. Thus, it is this recognition of the tension between structure and agent which is multiple, often contradictory and actively constructing representations according to certain historically available modes of identification.

23. To account for changing identity this thesis adopts a subjective approach to identity drawing from the literature of social psychology, which considers the personal definition of identity from two perspectives: first, the degree to which an individual claims an identity that might on the basis of objective criteria be assumed; and second, what meanings are associated with a given identity category (Lott and Maluso 1993 Rosenwald and Ochberg 1992; Deaux 1992; Okamura 1981). From this perspective the social identity and the personal identity are less clear.

There is, according to Liebkind (1984), Okamura (1981) and Sandlund (1976), a tight bond between culture and identity membership of cultural group which is linked to the subjective position taken by individuals and groups. Within sociology and anthropology, cultural identity refers to a broad sense of cultural 'belongingness' and shared values derived from group membership, a 'common' history and language (Shweder 1990). It is not that culture, which may be in continual transformation, is viewed as something static and fixed nor that a cultural minority is considered to live as homogeneous closed cultural entity. Elements of culture may be transformed or filled with new meaning and take on a new significance in contact with other ethnic/cultural groups (Wilpert 1989).

Cultural identification, this thesis argues, is a subjective process, a matter of "the individual has the option, on the one hand, of emphasizing or obfuscating his ethnic identity, or on the other of assuming other social identities that he holds" (Okamura 1981:460). However, transmitted as it is in primary socialisation, cultural difference is a most pervasive part of identity. Given that gender is deeply implicated in the complex of social processes and institutions devoted to ancestry, sexual coupling, procreation and care of children, one's gender identity is given particularistic meanings by one's cultural background. Gender identity is fundamental to and intertwined with cultural identity. Differing moral conceptions of gender roles may be located within one single cultural group or contrasted across cultures (Weinreich 1989:57). Breakwell considers the whole dichotomy of cultural and personal identity to be a temporal artefact, as social identity becomes personal seen across biography (1986:159).

Social practices are cross cut by socio-cultural constructions of gender. Social relations exist as relations of unequal power which produce re-created social practices. These relations are constructed and regulated through numerous practices, in the realms of labour, education, religion, language, just to name a few. Marshall (1994:120) claims that any mode of interpretation through which identities are constructed is the result of contestation and resistance, allowing some interpretations and suppressing others.

The meaning of identities to the individual, includes looking at how far the individual accepts an attributed identity as well as its emotional significance which has both personal and social facets (Breakwell 1992:4). The emotional angle together with socio-economic and cultural conditions may explain how women's representations of themselves and others are integrated.

A psychological approach and more specifically what in the USA is called psychology of migration (Espin 1996, 1994; Gringberg and Grinberg, 1984; Salgado de Snyder 1987), dealing with social and psychological factors, affecting international immigrants identity, describes the process of readjustment immigrants have to undergo in the host country. This approach defines migration as a traumatic and a critical experience. Migration is viewed as one of the contingencies in life that exposes the individual to states of disorganisation that demands a rapid adjustment from the agent in order to overcome the transitional period in the migration process. If the person has not been successful in adjusting herself to the migration experience this may cause different forms of psychological and physical pathologies such as depression and psychosomatic illnesses respectively (Salgado de Snyder 1987:480).

If the subject had the capacity to overcome such experience not only will she surmount it but her creativity in terms of resourcefulness and capabilities will be enriched and broadened (Gringberg and Grinberg 1984:32). The possibility to develop a sense of belonging seems to be an indispensable requirement in order to accept the host country as well as to maintain a feeling of one's own identity. The migrant does not belong to the world she left nor the world she lives in.

Espin, Gringberg and Grinberg, and Salgado de Snyder claim that migration is a change of such magnitude that it puts at risk personal identities. There is a massive loss of what the person considers meaningful in her life. This includes people, places, language, culture, customs, climate, objects and sometimes profession and socio-economic milieu to which memories and biography are closely linked. The individual faces primary fears: fear of losing already prescribed habits in her native social context. This generates serious feelings of insecurity, increases the isolation and the experience of loneliness and fundamentally it weakens the feeling of belonging to a social group (Espin 1996:6). How the agent assimilates this sense of loss of her expected routinised order will reflect in her process of cultural and gender identification in a new setting.

In the sociological literature cultural identity is often used synonymously with ethnicity (van Soest and Verdonk 1984). In social psychological analyses, however, cultural identity is clearly anchored in the identity process (Lange and Westin 1985:92) whereas ethnicity is part of the structural relationship between cultural groups. Ethnicity has often been seen in sociological literature as the focus of identity, but this thesis explores the possibility of being an immigrant without representing oneself as 'ethnic'. Hoffman stresses in her autobiography "I want somehow to give up the conditioning of being a foreigner" (1989:202).

Sarup defines a foreigner as "a person who does not belong to the state in which we are, the one who does not have the same nationality. A person who is not a citizen of the country in which s/he resides" (Sarup 1996:7). However, this statement only explains the institutional meaning of 'foreignness'. There is another definition which remains unseen: the self perception of one's national identity. A Spanish woman may hold, officially, a

British nationality. Yet being a 'British' citizen does not necessarily change the way she may see herself, as a Spanish foreigner in Britain or as a person with a split national identity, for example.

24. Liebkind claims that the identity of an individual is formed, developed, changed and preserved throughout life in various identity negotiations, the first of which take place between parents and children (1992:165). The effect of cultural change caused by immigration is more complex. On the one hand, cultural change brings with it anxiety which is usually related to external locus of control, but on the other hand the same change might motivate the immigrant to adapt and adjust, resulting in self-reliance and internal control (Hui 1982:312). Weinreich (1989) postulates that change and temporal development of identity takes place in attempts at resolving conflicting identities and in the formation of further identifications. It has been noted that in multi-cultural contexts cultural identification is a two dimensional process, in which both the relationship with the familiar cultural group and the relationship with the new or dominant culture must be considered (Liebkind 1970:83). Thus, cultural identity is achieved through an active process of self-definition and self evaluation.

The overall identity process itself is conceived of as a continuous dynamic interaction between the self and others where changing identification patterns within and across cultural boundaries modify the self constructs and/or the value systems of individuals (Lange and Westin 1985; Weinreich 1989). It amounts to a continuous defining and redefining evaluating and re-evaluating of oneself on the basis of one's past and present experiences, internalising as well as rejecting definitions and evaluation suggested or imposed by others (Lange and Westin 1985:18-19). The conditions shaping the cultural identity of immigrants vary considerably. It appears that self-definition, a sense of belonging, and pride in one's group may be key aspects of ethnic identity that are present in varying degrees (Emmison and Western 1990:241-253).

PART II

CHAPTER 3

THE SHAPING OF GENDER AND NATIONAL IDENTITIES BEFORE MIGRATION

Introduction

This chapter examines the political discourses regarding femininity presented to women via Franco's government and the Catholic Church in Spain. It explores how an understanding of these discourses can illuminate the constructions of gender and national identities of Spanish women in the UK. This theme will be developed further in the analysis of women's understandings and negotiations of Spanish femininity in Chapter 6.

This chapter argues that the contribution of social agents - the family and religious schooling - to the shaping of women's identities in Spain affected respondents' definitions of their identities in England. That is, the constructions of women's identities in their home country conditioned their perceptions of what were appropriate cultural gendered behaviours in the host country. Hence, the ways masculinity and femininity were constructed in Spain were central aspects of how national identity was conceived and experienced.

This chapter is divided in three themes. The first theme is the analysis of the political discourses of Franco's government and the Catholic Church on femininity and their implications in the transition to democracy in Spain. The second task is to examine the function of a specific educational organisation for women - the Feminine Section - created under Francoism. The third theme will look at the influence of the Catholic Church in Spain on women's education.

Franco's gendered political ideology and economic interests

This section maps the Francoist ideological configuration between 1939, the end of the Civil War; 1975 when Franco died; and the aftermath of Francoism. The death of Franco did not constitute the end of the system of symbols and meanings attached to education, the Catholic Church or the family, that Francoism had formed. This section gives an insight into the effects of dictatorship on the ideology of institutions and on democracy in Spain in order to analyse the appropriation, resistance and/or negotiation of these discourses by the respondents in later chapters.

The argument is that Francoist cultural norms redefined women as angels, Madonnas or prostitutes. The ideal of the model 'woman' precluded any female agency in the public arena. Home and family were the only places assigned to women, according to the dictatorial regime.

The defeat of the Republican forces on April 1, 1939 led to 40 years of dictatorship under Franco. The Spanish Republic was crushed. Spain lost constitutional freedoms and basic political rights until the establishment of a democratic constitution in 1978. Brutal repression and the abolition of the Second Republic's democratic legislation characterised the new authoritarian regime. Franco created a state based on a strict hierarchical structure of society with national syndicalism and national Catholicism as the pillars of the new Spain (Borreguero 1986:51; Sánchez López 1990:12).

The Catholic Church played a central role in limiting the position of women to the family. In Spain, National Catholicism during the Franco regime represented the 'politisisation' of the Church's support for natalism, the family unit and female

subordination (Nash 1991:23). As will be discussed below, one of the first requests which the Catholic Church made to the Franco regime was that family, marriage and the educational system laws should be returned to the control of the Church (Cousins 1995:178).

Francoist propaganda attempted to discredit the previous democratic regime, claiming that it was a repository of political and cultural decadence. The Franco regime claimed that feminism and egalitarian demands had fully demonstrated women's growing corruption and denial of their natural biological mandate as mothers (Gallego Mendez 1983:31; Primo de Rivera 1941:8). According to this view, the female model of the Angel of the Hearth, the dedicated, submissive spouse and mother, had been disfigured when women were granted political rights. The Angel of the Hearth was presented as the summit of all virtues, as a model for Spanish women, a symbol of Hispanity, of race, strength, courage, lineage, modesty and the spirit of sacrifice (Gallego Mendez 1983:181). Women's emancipation was, thus, denounced as a sign of the moral decadence of the previous democratic regime.

Under Franco, according to the views of the Catholic Church and the Nationalist Party, women's primary social function was motherhood (Instituto de la Mujer 1985:194). The ideal woman of the Feminine Section - the only Francoist women's organisation - was exemplified in a speech given by Pilar Primo de Rivera, the leader of the Feminine Section, and sister of the Falangist Party leader, José Antonio Primo de Rivera:

We will teach our doctrine to our female comrades, the colossal mission women have in life ... consists of forming families with a base of austerity and happiness where we will foster tradition. What we will not do is to make women rivals of men because women will never

equal men, they would lose all their grace which is indispensable for coexistence with men (Primo de Rivera 1943:12-14).

Hence women's aspirations, related to work, education and self-betterment, social activity and emancipation, were perceived as a threat to their biological destiny as breeders of the nation's future generations. The new state endorsed the view of the Catholic Church that proclaimed women's sacred duty to motherhood and family (Sánchez López 1990:73). A combination of Catholic and Falangist/fascist values permeated the culture of Spanish society, framing and freezing gender roles for women. Traditional turn-of-the-century discourse on gender and religion reinforced role models for women as mothers and housewives (Camps 1994:18).

It has been suggested so far that women were politicised only through the notion of fulfilling a common female destiny based on their reproductive function. Female sexuality, work, and education were regulated in accordance with this gender designation. Motherhood was idealised and considered a duty to the motherland. Francoist ideology marked women off as a separate 'natural species' identifying them exclusively as mothers whose offspring would halt the tendency toward declining birthrates and, thus, prevent the decadence of Spain.

However, it is important to examine the economic grounds for these ideological decisions because the position assigned to women in different periods of Franco's regime was not a coincidence. Between 1940 and 1959 the demographic loss caused by the Civil War contributed to the portrayal, by the regime, of women as reproducers. Women were sent back to their homes after the Civil War. The autarkic regime established in Spain until the late 1950s contributed to limit women's choices in the labour market to protect the family unit, and hence to protect the reproduction of children (Instituto de la Mujer 1985:195). Hence,

Franco's regime was characterised by three features, a pro-birth ideology that viewed all women as potential mothers. Second, it was also characterised by restrictive rules that the regime imposed on married women to access the labour market. Third, the regime was defined by weak technological development, weak demand for consumption goods and, consequently, a poor labour market. Thus, the regime needed to reduce the waged population (Ayala 1994:163; Iglesias de Ussel 1991:278).

As a consequence of a pro-birth rate policy and the limitations of women's access to the labour market and dependency on their husbands, there was a demographic revolution in Spain in the 1950s that increased the population by two and a half millions, from 28,368,642 inhabitants in 1950 to 30,903,137 in 1960 (IEE 1976:51). This increased the potential 'male' active population that Franco's regime expected.

To avoid higher rates of male unemployment, the government created the 'legal' ideological and social conditions that tended, on the one hand, to limit the access of women to waged work and, on the other hand, to direct women to those sectors that were considered 'feminine'. The Falange and the Catholic Church supported this process fully (Esteban and López Guerra 1977:35). Nash identifies the political Francoist policy of this period:

Female sexuality, work and education were regulated in accordance with this social function whilst motherhood was idealised and considered a duty to fatherland (Nash 1991:160).

Married women had to obtain permission from their husbands to work outside the home. Several policies acted as inducements to marriage and to having children. For example, *la dote*, the dowry was an economic compensation which employers

gave to women when they left work to marry. Nuptiality prizes were given to couples (Nash 1991:167).

Family benefits were only available to legitimate marriages and to legitimate children and were conditional on being employed. Religious marriage was made obligatory for baptised Catholics; the Church was given the right to adjudicate in cases of matrimonial separation and annulment (Durán and Gallego 1986:202). The inequality of the sexes on their rights within and outside marriage was established according to the Law of 14th April, 1958:

Marriage requires a power of direction which Nature, Religion and History attribute to the husband (quoted in Iglesias de Ussel 1991:283).

Families were allowed numerous fringe benefits and prizes were given to very large families (usually over fourteen children). These policies rewarded and compensated for paternity at the same time as reinforcing male authority within the family, paying the family allowances for workers to fathers (Instituto de la Mujer 1985:198). If women married, they lost rights which were handed over to their husbands: women needed the consent of their husband for juridical actions. Thus, the consent of a husband was needed to sell her own goods (left to her by her father), to attend court, to accept an inheritance or to open a business (Instituto de la Mujer 1985:201). Women would lose their nationality if they married a foreigner. In Franco's dictatorship a woman was not allowed to have custody of her children and could not be the legal representative of her children unless the father was present (Cámara Villar 1984:51). For over thirty five years women and men were educated and socialised in the gender codes of the ideal woman offered by Francoism.

If the married woman worked, then it was evident to society that the salary of her husband was not enough because marriage and family should be the only woman's job. The editorial of a magazine written by the Teresian nuns in 1952 stated:

It is not possible for mothers to combine activity with motherhood because the working day does not provide any real compensations as it involves abandoning the home (Boletín de la Institución Teresiana 1952:2-3).

Women would only chose paid work because of necessity, not choice. As early as 1938, the *Fuero del trabajo*, the most important legal declaration on paid work, dictated that the new state 'will free married women' from the workplace which was to be exclusive male territory. The *Fuero del trabajo* was new legislation to protect the family. Paid work was defined as a male monopoly. According to the law, women were to obey their husbands and to follow them wherever they chose to reside. The husband was his wife's legal representative. From 1942 in all work places women who got married were prompted to leave their work:

The state will prohibit the night work shift for women. The paid work women do from their home, *el trabajo a domicilio*, will be regulated. Married women will also be freed from the workshop and the factory (Instituto de la Mujer 1985:196).

Women were forbidden to reach the positions of legal representative of the state, *abogado del estado*, diplomat and judge. The career that offered the most opportunities, for women, was primary education teaching, one of the worst paid professions (Instituto de la Mujer 1985:196).

As late as 1961, at the discretion of the employer, women could be fired from their jobs after getting married. This was an attempt by the regime to keep women at

home to raise large families (Bofill 1968:68). The law of labour relations established that the woman once married could 'freely' give up her job in exchange for a dowry. A married woman could be asked for her marital certificate in order to work. A husband could receive his wife's salary (Borreguero 1986:119). These laws were in force until 1975. Carmen Werner, a member of the Falangist Party, summarised women's position in the work place:

Nothing pleases masculine psychology more than the submission of women; and nothing pleases more female psychology than the submissive surrender to masculine authority. Let's decrease our [women's] physical presence at work. Let's be gracious, kind ants, *hormigas*. Men have been working for many centuries. Why should we [women] bother men with our success if we know we offend their mind and tradition of superiority? (Werner 1942:55-57).

In the second period of the dictatorship, 1960-1975, when Spain came out of its autarkic regime an 'era of planning' was initiated. From the Plan of Economic Stabilisation of 1959 until the Plan of Development of 1971 a series of attempts to foster the economic and industrial development of Spain were launched. However, the Stabilisation Plan, which favoured the wealthy social classes, did not guarantee work for everybody. On the contrary, it provoked in the decade of 1960-1970 a flow of emigration. The numerous industrial centres, Madrid, Barcelona and Bilbao, could not absorb the entire male workforce (Esteban and López Guerra 1977:127). Women tended to remain in the countryside. Rioboo indicated in her study of Spanish women and their work that there were 38% of women in the agricultural sector in 1970 and that figure was growing progressively despite an outflow of the workforce from the agricultural sector (Rioboo 1975:67). This figure shows that between the 1960s and mid 1970s - in the regions with a higher index of emigration, Galicia, Andalucía, Extremadura - the agricultural economy was almost exclusively in the hands of women (Instituto de la Mujer 1985:195).

To find a job in the non-agricultural sector was not easy in a society with a very low level of formal qualifications (Ayala 1994:164). Women had even fewer qualifications than men. Therefore, the majority of young women who migrated to cities ended up in domestic service or in jobs which were worse paid than men's jobs. This was one of the reasons women found a means of personal and social promotion in marriage.

Spanish industrial development, the expansion of the tourism industry and the commercial opening to Europe, produced changes in the economy and social institutions. However, political motives combined with religious resistance limited the process of modernisation, permitting only minor innovations that the regime considered necessary.

Pro-birth policies established by Franco remained unchanged until the democratic Constitution of 1978. The transition to democracy in the late seventies removed most of the patriarchal laws. The political, civil, personal and employment rights of women were transformed. Equal rights for men and women were included in the constitution of 1978. The advertisement and sale of contraceptives was made legal. Equal pay was established, a divorce law was created, abortion law reform amongst other laws facilitated the incorporation of women into a system of equal rights (Durán and Gallego 1986:201). However, Spain had the lowest participation rate in paid work of women in the EU countries in 1991: the rates were 31.9 per cent for Spain compared to 51.6 per cent for the UK (Eurostat 1991 quoted in Cousins 1995:186).

In spite of the advances made since the 1980s, there was a very slow growth of female employment, a high unemployment rate for young people, and an increasing

number of very long term unemployed (Ayala 1994:163). Spain had the highest proportion of non-employed women in the OECD in 1991. For those women who did waged work, their employment was precarious through temporary fixed-term contracts or in the informal economy (Cousins 1995:186).

To show the extent Franco's ideology permeated society in the 1970s, Aurora described the difficulties of getting a job as a representative of a firm in Spain. Aurora, who was 52 years of age at the time of the interview and a graduate teacher, came to the UK in 1972:

I think the political framework affected women's choices of work and education. In the 1970s, I wanted to work in Spain as a pharmaceutical representative. I was interviewed for the post but I was not chosen. This was sex discrimination. If I had applied for a job as a secretary I would have been taken but not for a position as a representative. Yet, I had work experience as a representative in the UK. I could not get this type of job in Spain neither in 1972 nor in 1978. The political situation in Spain restricted the jobs available to women. The mentality did not help me to fit with the group. Perhaps I was a minority. Politically, at that time, if you were a woman either you worked as a primary school teacher or as a secretary. It was very difficult for a woman. If you had a degree in piano as I had, you couldn't be anything else but a teacher. In the UK, with the same qualifications, I had a wide horizon of possibilities (Aurora 1997:7).

Nuria corroborated Aurora's description of the differences between what was considered 'masculine' and 'feminine' faculties. Nuria who was born in 1943 with a middle class background, came to London in 1973:

I loved algebra and sciences and also literature. We were four girls and a boy. My brother went to Salamanca to a university for engineers where there were only men. It was a very 'machist'

education. For girls there was nothing, only literature, philology and history. Medicine or even law were only for men. Art and humanities were thought to be the only degrees for women (Nuria 1997:5).

Families considered the professional training and education of males a priority and viewed women's jobs - if they were employed - as something temporary until they got married which was 'the normal thing' to do (Camps 1994:55). Only those women who had access to a higher formal education, generally middle and upper middle class women, could work in a wider range of qualified jobs. However, options were restricted by what was outlined as 'feminine' and 'masculine' jobs. If middle or upper middle class women opted to have waged work, this was considered a shocking decision by the majority of families.

Overall, the argument has been that the creation of discourses about the ideal of femininity personified in the Angel of the Hearth was supported by the alliance of the nationalist party and the Catholic Church. The economic needs of Spain, as perceived by Franco's government, served as a catalyst for the obstruction of women's access to the labour market and the fostering of the family-home as the only space for women's development. Thus, political discourses and economic interests of the dictatorship crystallised in the enforcement of laws that fostered high birth-rates and impeded women's access to the labour market. The regime encouraged the representation of women as reproducers to make up for the deaths in the Spanish Civil War. The regime also portrayed women as the guardians of Catholicism secluded in their homes in order to relieve the high, male, unemployment. The transition to democracy revealed the effects that those policies had had on women: their high unemployment and their low formal qualifications.

The following section will look at what Franco's regime deemed essential values of society embodied in the most important organisation for women, the Feminine Section. An analysis of this organisation is important for this study in order to examine the specific educational indoctrination that the government and the Catholic Church implemented for women.

The Feminine Section, *La Sección Femenina*

This section analyses the educational role of the Feminine Section, and the Social Service, *Servicio Social*, which was a compulsory six months course offered by the Feminine Section.

This section argues that the *Servicio Social* under the Feminine Section provided preparation and indoctrination for young adult women based on the canons of Francoist ideology and gender roles. Although women were permitted to be educated, the system transmitted educational gender models that socialised girls in the virtues of docility, submission, self-sacrifice and modesty. To deal with this argument the aims are first to look at the Feminine Section, and then the course - the Social Service - offered to women through the Feminine Section is analysed.

The original Feminine Section established in the early forties was composed of high ranking military and upper middle class and middle class Falangist families. The Feminine Section concentrated on the formation of women in three different ways: in the home or family, in Catholic religion and in nationalism (Gallego Méndez 1983:103). Pilar Primo de Rivera, the leader of the Feminine Section, agreed with sociologists and psychologists that childhood and adolescence were the most appropriate periods to indoctrinate women on beliefs and moral values (Sánchez López 1990:86).

The first celebration of the Feminine Section was a demonstration in May 13th, 1939 when Pilar Primo de Rivera said:

We [women] are gathered here to celebrate our victory and to honour our soldiers because the only mission women have, for the development of the Motherland, is the Home. For this reason, now, with peace, we will expand the task initiated in our, *escuelas de formación*, training schools, in order to make men's lives more agreeable in our families. We should make them [men] feel that all their needs are catered for in the home and in this way they will not look for anything outdoors: in bars or in casinos (Primo de Rivera 1939:12-14).

This exaltation of marriage and family was motivated by a clear objective formulated in the publications of the Feminine Section as:

...The necessity Spain has to increase the number of inhabitants and, therefore, to avoid deaths of children due to poor education of the mothers (Primo de Rivera 1941:54).

As stressed by Pilar Primo de Rivera, women's inevitable and absolute destiny was maternity. She defined this role as 'a biological, Christian and Spanish function'. The other alternatives were: to become a nun, to remain single and virgin, or to lead the sinful life of a 'fallen' woman: a prostitute (Borreguero 1986:193).

This model of a woman focused on her role as a housewife - cooking, washing, ironing, being a good administrator of her husband's salary and caretaker of his children - a woman, whose interests were to be a good wife and mother. Pilar Primo de Rivera pointed out the weak intellectual capacity of women: "Women never discover anything. They are, of course, lacking in the creative talent reserved by God for masculine intelligence" (Primo de Rivera 1943:12). This model of a woman

was not only promoted in Spain but in Portugal, Italy and Germany under fascist regimes in the 1930s and 1940s (Sánchez López 1990:23).

The Feminine Section was concerned that the students (women) should receive adequate teaching in 'domestic sciences'. This was a subject known as 'Home' which was taught from the age of fourteen to all female students enrolled in formal education and was compulsory from 1941 until 1975. It consisted of a catalogue of norms which taught women how to behave elegantly on social occasions such as parties, dinners and social gatherings. The manual of 'Home' was written by bourgeois women and reflected their own interests. They stated that education and instruction were a decorative 'plus' for women. The subject 'Home' was meant as "an encouragement to 'being a woman' whose reference was always marriage and family" (Alonso Tejada 1977:31).

This organisation was one of the gendered ideological and educational pillars of the regime. This is important for this study because young women were educated to formulate their gender identity and social expectations exclusively in terms of marriage and motherhood. Thus, Chapters 6 and 7 will examine how women interpreted and negotiated these representations in the UK.

It has been argued so far that the dictatorship advocated a gender role for women of submission, docility and unquestioning obedience to canons of domesticity. The following section will look at the practical course - the Social Service - offered by the Feminine Section and the application of its philosophy in the curriculum of the course.

The Social Service: instrument of control

The Social Service - a 6 months course for women only as opposed to the military service for men - was founded on the notion of women's different nature. The aim of the ideology of Falange was to make the Social Service a spiritual task (Gallego Méndez 1983:111). The Social Service was created in 1940 as an instrument for controlling women socially and politically under the discipline of Falange (the national syndicalist party in the early stages of Francoism and later on the adapted ideology of the dictatorship). This submission was to be violent if necessary. However, the National Committee of the Feminine Section did not have to reach that point. Ninety per cent of Spanish women took the Social Service course between 1940-1975 (Gallego Méndez 1983:111; Sánchez López 1990: 43).

Mr Jimeno, chief executive of the Social Service in one of his speeches directed to women in 1940 claimed that:

[Paid] work and effort correspond to men, solely to men. I consider my mission to work with the sweat of my forehead as the Genesis says for the other part of human kind - the females - to be able to live without the need to work (laughs and applause). As you [women] are not supposed to work, nor to sweat that is why I call the second part of the Social Service practical formation, because that will be the time in which you have to demonstrate that the theoretical part you have learned has been of use to you (Jimeno 1940:3).

This decree granted the maximum respect to the officially defined feminine condition and avoided scrupulously all demands that "may perturb the sacred mission of women in a Christian and Spanish home" (Gallego Méndez 1983:87). Mr Jimeno insisted that all women, between the age of 17 and 21 years old, were obliged to do the Social Service. He considered this age most appropriate to

influence young women and explained to the directors of the Feminine Section that:

The Social Service will be the most powerful tool to capture young women. If you know how to use it you will accomplish the most efficient propaganda of Falange (Jimeno 1940:2).

According to Article number 4 of the Decree of May 1940, women's work would contribute to:

The common task of the reconstruction of Spain and its permanent grandeur...It is not possible for working mothers to combine professional activity with maternity because the working day does not provide any real compensations as it involves abandoning the home (Boletín de la Institución Teresiana 1952: 2-3).

Thus, the Social Service was an ideal means, from the perspective of the leaders of the Falange and the Francoist government, to spread ideological principles. The government imposed sanctions to ensure all women did Social Service. Women could not get a job as a civil servant if they had not completed their Social Service. Private companies were obliged to ask for the certificate prior to the employment of women, otherwise companies were fined. In order to check that the regulations were followed, a specific organisation was created to check on employers (Borreguero 1986:53; Camps 1994:31; Sánchez López 1990:117).

A woman could not get her degree certificate or any other qualification unless she had attended the Social Service course. She could not apply for a passport or a driving license unless she had the certificate of achievement. Any woman employee who did not comply with the course would be suspended from her job and salary (Cámara Villar 1984:95). The requirement of Social Service together with the requirements imposed on women by work legislation contributed to the many

obstacles women encountered in finding a job. This enforced women's dedication to the house and the children.

The Social Service course lasted for six months. Three months were dedicated to the theoretical part of the course which will be explained below. The other three months were devoted to the practical part. From 1940 until 1946 under the obligations of Social Service women had to work for six hours per day without pay in a hospital or an office or a school. This meant women had to work six hours extra apart from their work at home and their job, if they had one. In 1946 a new law established that women had to work 2 hours per day in a hospital, an office or a school during the six months of the course. Women attended classes for 2 hours a day. These classes were taught in Training Schools, *Escuelas de Formación*, or Household Schools or in factories where teachers from the Feminine Section went (Gallego Méndez 1983:108). The requirements of the Social Service were enforced until Franco's death.

There were different modalities of Social Service¹. The first one called the 'ordinary modality', consisted of three months of training and three months working for free for six hours daily without pay. The second modality was called the 'boarding school'. In this modality, the time was reduced to three months and women stayed in a boarding school paying fees. The third modality, the 'university', was two months training in a boarding residence and two months working as a teacher for illiterate people. The fourth modality, the 'workers' which was established from

¹ The subjects taught were: religion, political formation, domestic economy, cooking, dressmaking, home first aid medicine and home hygiene, craft works, ironing and washing clothes, history, family and social formation, post natal care and gymnastics.

1946, consisted of six months training, two hours daily. The fifth modality was free for residents in places that did not have appropriate institutions to allocate women for this course. In this case women were sent the text and the exam. In the sixth modality, called 'Abroad and the African colonies', the course could be followed by making small palm baskets if there were no appropriate institutions to teach the women (Gallego Méndez 1983:107).

Asun who came to the UK in 1969, described her experience as a university student doing the Social Service in the early 1960s in Spain. In her account she indicated there was a clear division amongst women of different socio-economic backgrounds. University female students attended the course for a shorter period at a boarding college for a fee:

I didn't have to do the standard Social Service. At that time, the Feminine Section was very generous with university students. When I was at the university we could get rid of it easily, if we only did a small part of the Service. For example, I had to memorise the songs, *quintos*, of José Antonio [the Falange leader] because I had to take an exam in politics amongst other subjects such as cooking and embroidery. However, most of us were Basques and Catalans and we rebelled against the teachers. We [the students] told the teachers we didn't want to embroider or cook. Instead, we went to the countryside. At the beginning, they wanted to dominate us but they realised they were wasting their time and they gave us the certificate at the end of the course.

[Was there a different Social Service depending on education and socio-economic background?]

Yes. Well, we [university students] were in a kind of boarding college and we had to pay a sum of money. Working class women couldn't pay the boarding school. Instead of doing only one month as it took in the case of university students, it would take them much longer (Asun 1997:12).

To belong to a privileged social class and to a dominated region, like Cataluña, worked in favour of turning a blind eye to Asun's rebelliousness. This was a confirmation of the government's tendency to favour the middle and upper middle class from which the majority of university students came.

A different perspective on this course is provided by Rafa, 60 years of age when interviewed, a middle class housewife married to a British lawyer, who came to London in 1963:

I went to a religious girls' school. I was educated in a very traditional way. Children in my school were always going to convents, to everything that had to do with religion...Of course, I did the Social Service immediately after I left secondary school. The Social Service course was compulsory. I think it was 6 months. This course reflected the times we were living in. I did the Social Service next to my house. Some other women went to castles to do the course like the Mota castle. Women were going to that castle and they had a great time. They were taught everything. We were indoctrinated in politics in the Falange doctrine and then typical Spanish things like cooking, sewing, singing, dancing, everything. It was a very complete course and very well done. We were taught many things that came very handy later on. In my opinion, women who did the course came out with an extraordinary education (Rafa 1997:13).

Rafa is enthusiastic when telling this. It reminds her of her youth and, at the same time, of a 'common' endeavour: the formation of Spanish women. Rafa insists on the enjoyment of learning the universe of things that composed women's knowledge: cooking, singing and dancing. These comprised everything there was to know in Rafa's account. In fact, from this extract one can infer that, in her view, the appropriation of those abilities was also the acquisition of Spanishness. The more a woman knew about sewing and cooking and folklore dancing, the more Spanish a woman became.

Thus, official discourses on femininity were entangled with discourses on nationalism. The learning of tasks related to the house and the family became the Spanish-only emblems of women's knowledge. The imagery evoked by the representations of 'femininity' and 'Spanish nation' varied according to each woman.

However, that does not detract from the overall force of the significance of gender. Rather, it appears that representations of gender were central to an understanding of representations of Spanish nation, whether we are concerned with the political, economic or cultural processes. In fact, gender seems to bridge these different spheres of society as a nexus around which various experiences can be represented. This theme will be expanded in Chapters 6 and 7.

Married women with children and widows were exempted from attending the Social Service. A woman was also exempted if she was the eldest of eight single siblings or a single daughter of a widower. The course was not compulsory for nuns: the state did not want to turn them away from what was seen as their high spiritual religious aim (Cámara Villar 1984:34).

Thus, it has been suggested that the Social Service for women was a privileged means of indoctrinating women in the hands of the Feminine Section. The Feminine Section never objected to the submissiveness of women. There was no space for questions in its conception of the world. If it had been challenged it would have meant a break with the ideological scheme in which hierarchy had an axiomatic value. The negation of equality was essential to the authoritarian and totalitarian principles of Francoism. Representations of unequal gender relationships were not only reflected in the division of labour and at different levels of political

organisation but also underpinned religious representations. The next section will look at how the Church's perceptions of gender inequalities (between men and women) served as points of representation of gender and national identities for the political rhetoric.

Education and the Catholic Church

There was no distinction between the state and the Catholic Church until the end of Francoism. The purpose of this section is to examine the extent of influence of the Catholic Church on the education system.

Religious discourses were particularly powerful since they were rooted in Catholic beliefs and practices in a context where the Catholic Church was the most important producer and transmitter of gender ideology, not only through the Church itself but also through other institutions of civil society like the Feminine Section. This implied that gender representations and practices promulgated by the Church at the level of personal interaction in schools (where Catholic religion was compulsory) reflected and found support in a wider ordering of notions of femininity and masculinity.

The Francoist state and the Church controlled the school curriculum directly. Once the 'dangerous discourses' from the second Republic were removed by the state technocrats and the Catholic Church, children were to learn the content of the new education system (Miret Magdalena 1980:81). Representations of Spanish historical past were reconstructed in order to provide political legitimation for the regime. During the Franco dictatorship, as Díaz Andreu illustrates, the Celts were presented in history school texts as the only genuine Spanish 'racial' group whose antiquity

sanctioned a united Spain and connections with Aryan, Germanic forefathers (Díaz Andreu 1996:55).

The ideology of Franco's regime was reflected in the cinema industry. To counter the public preference for the less censored foreign films, a designation of films of national interest was created in 1944. This gave recognition and distribution privileges to "films whose artistic and technical quality are essentially Spanish...the film must contain unequivocal examples advancing racial values or teachings of our moral and political principles" (Gubern and Font 1975:341 quoted in Higginbotham 1988:9). The use of religious rhetoric and vocabulary to describe the Civil War was a natural extension of Franco's designation of the conflict as a 'crusade' in *Raza* ('Race'), a film deploying the mythology of military patriotism during the Civil War. In Spain, where church and state were never entirely separate, it was almost inevitable that films with religious themes constituted one of the major genres of post-Civil War cinema (Higginbotham 1988:21).

The state and the Catholic Church exercised a "jealous and constant intervention into the political and moral education of Spaniards" (Ministerial Order of July 15, 1939). The official text book for all schools from 1939 was a patriotic Spanish Catechism written by a Dominican monk. This Catechism was an attempt to marry the Spanish totalitarian regime with the Evangelical text. According to that text the enemies of Spain were 'liberalism, democracy and Judaism', and all its followers should be annihilated like 'disgusting worms', *sabandijas ponzoñasas*. This patriotic catechism was taught to children in the schools between 1939-1975 (Miret Magdalena 1980:75). The religious coalition exerted on the Spanish schools was illustrated in the following Ministerial Order, in 1937:

This Commission of Culture and Education has agreed: first, in all schools there should be an image of the Virgin Mary preferably the very Spanish advocacy of Immaculate Conception, *Inmaculada Concepcion*. Second, during the month of May [the month of Mary, according to Catholicism] following the traditional Spanish customs, teachers will pray with their pupils before the image of the Virgin Mary. Third, every day of the year, at the beginning of the class and at the end, children will salute the teacher saying: Pure Virgin Mary, *Ave María Purísima*, and the teachers will reply: conceived without a sin, *sin pecado concebida* (Boletín Oficial del Estado 10 April 1937, quoted in Miret Magdalena 1980:87).

In the Law of Primary Education of August 1939 all teachers were obliged to teach Catholic religion, to pray at the beginning of the class, and to take the children to mass regardless of their parents' faith. National-Catholicism, taught in the schools by Spanish Jesuits and other Catholic orders during Francoism, used pedagogical methods such as fear, emulation, competitiveness and stimuli addressed to the powerful and strongest. A system of marks, a method of prizes and punishments and the encouragement of a leadership of the 'selected' were the basis of schools (Alonso Tejada 1977:31; Miret Magdalena 1980:91). An example of the effects of this type of education on children was recounted by Aurora. Aurora, one of the respondents and 52 years of age when interviewed, came to the UK in 1972. She was from a middle class background and described the shocking experience of her religious school:

I left school when I was 10, then I continued my tuition with a private tutor at home. I didn't want to go back to school after what I saw. A nun hit my friend's head against the blackboard because she didn't understand a mathematical problem. The nun told her she was a donkey 'you are a donkey, you don't understand anything!' That traumatised me. It happened when we were 9 years old (Aurora 1997:5).

The element most fostered in schools was fear. There were two types of fear inculcated systematically as a learning mechanism from childhood: “from a religious standpoint: the fear of the almighty, *ultratumba*; and from a political perspective, the fear of the influence the rest of the world could have on Spain” (Miret Magdalena 1980:86). Thus, in the political arena according to Francoism, there seemed to be a conspiracy by Judeo-Masonry and international communism eager to destroy Spain. Almodovar, a Spanish film director, described his fear in Francoist Spain:

My first memory of Francoism is one of fear; fear in a Kafkaesque sense. It is a fear that lodges in your head, a fear of everything. This fear in the atmosphere is no longer there, and that gives me security (Almodovar, *The Guardian*, 8 May 1998:11).

From a religious perspective, there was a fear of temptations, fear of hell, fear to sin, fear of God, fear of communism (Alonso Tejada 1977:32; Esteban and López Guerra 1977:78). There was an ethos of catastrophism: a tyrannic and a punishing God, and a threatening hell.

Feli, 62 years of age when interviewed, who was from a working class background, described the effects of education on her adult life:

I think people of my time sacrificed themselves much more than young women today. I was a virgin when I got married. We didn't know about the pill. At the time, I had that kind of mentality... I was afraid of letting myself go into a sexual relationship. I thought that if I did, I wouldn't be good enough for another man. I had to accept the way I had been taught. I think we were brainwashed. We were deprived of freedom to challenge the official way of thinking. If I had dared to talk freely about sex, for example, the school and everybody would have told me I was a lost woman, *una perdida*. Why should somebody

be a lost soul for what one thinks, for one's opinion? (Feli 1997:6).

Almodovar and Feli reflect what schools, the Catholic Church and the media tried to instill in the Spanish population. Schools taught that “sexual sins were to blame for 99% of those condemned to hell” (Miret Magdalena 1980:76). The bishops ruled in their Instruction of 1957 that it was sinful for men and women to bathe in the sea or in swimming pools together. Those engaged to be married, *prometidos*, could not hold hands, and each bishop in his diocese, established specific measures for the length of women's clothes. The Catholic Church recommended that people avoid restaurants and social places so as not to mingle with persons of the opposite sex or different social classes. The mixture of sexes and social classes was not convenient (Alonso Tejada 1977:33; Esteban and López Guerra 1977:81-85). All these rules originated from the catechisms of political and moral teachings at the time. In schools for the wealthy children were taught that the working class should ‘resign to live in their own social class’ or that any kind of socialism was ‘absurd and overall unjust’ (Miret Magdalena 1980:77).

Susana, 49 when interviewed and from a middle class background who came to Britain in 1977, talks about the effects that education under Franco and her family's internal migration had on her own identity:

You cannot realise how much Francoism was embedded in everyday life. It was horrible. I was living in Barcelona which was a different world from Astorga [a village in Castilla] where I spent the summers with my mother's family. On the coast of Barcelona women were going to the beach in bikinis and in Astorga people were throwing stones on women dressed with trousers instead of skirts. There was a big difference. Although, my parents were not working class, *obreros*, they emigrated to Barcelona to work. We couldn't speak Catalan in the street because the police would put you in jail. My father was one

of the 'winners' in the Civil War with the National side. He was saying things like 'these Catalans should keep quiet because we came here to save them from the red danger', communism. My mother never said anything. My father was very Francoist. He went to Barcelona thinking he had saved the Catalans from the communists. He never thought that Franco went into Cataluña destroying their educational system which was the most advanced in Europe, that Catalans did not want them there. But, of course, my parents socialised with the upper middle class, this class was in favour of Franco. I went to a German nuns' school. These nuns were very cold, very German. This was another alienation. First of all my family and I were in an atmosphere which was not ours: Cataluña. On the other hand, the songs I had learned in my house were Castilian, from Astorga. There were like two layers: the Catalan world and the German nuns in school, both were alien to us. I always felt uprooted, *desarraigada* (Susana 1997:7).

Susana underlines the confusion which different regional worlds, Castilla and Cataluña, provoked in her and how these two places were located within two different ideological frames, conservative and progressive, that reflected the two sides in the Civil War. Susana's complex history of geographical and political locations is embedded in a personal resistance towards the superimposition of meanings attached to those worlds: the conservative and religious Astorga, and the liberal but dominated Barcelona. All this is clearly identifiable in her story. Yet the clash of loyalties between those worlds made it difficult for her to feel she belonged somewhere.

In the last ten years of Francoism there was an openness in Spanish society, but there were neither democratic policies nor a welfare state to provide the services women needed in order to be able to leave their homes and go out to work. Activities like learning languages, music or secretarial training were thought to be more appropriate for them. The democratic political system introduced co-

educational and secular education in 1979. Only a few schools belonging to religious orders maintained separate buildings for boys and girls (Camps 1994:56-57). Andrea, who was born in 1957 in a working class family, was 18 when Franco died in 1975. She graduated from a Spanish university and married a British lawyer. In her interview, she explored the changes which schools were undergoing and the way they affected her. She experienced her primary and secondary school years during the Franco regime:

My education in the times of Franco was totally pro-Francoist because it was a religious school subsidised by my father's company. When I was 11 years old in the secondary school the teachers were of a right wing ideology, even from the *Opus Dei* [the most Catholic and conservative part of the government]. Until the 5th year of secondary school we had an education with a lot of Catholic ideas and right wing politics. Although, teachers of religion and the right wing teachers were inculcating students the idea of continuing with a university degree...I guess that this was part of the Feminine Section philosophy in its latest phase: that the man should have an educated woman next to him. In addition, people realised that the Francoist system needed more educated people. However, teachers were not from the area where I lived, they were of middle class origin who lived in residential areas. They thought they had the mission of educating the working class in the area I was from. Teachers encouraged good students to continue university studies. From the 5th year of my secondary school the teachers of social sciences were more liberal. There were confrontations between the students and the teachers of religion. A student couldn't say that he was an atheist because he risked the marks needed to pass to the next course. Students who didn't agree had to shut up. If I compare my primary school and my secondary school, the curriculum started to change. There was a change of attitude because people started to change at the end of Francoism (Andrea 1997:6).

Andrea not only describes a change of attitude in her teachers, as time passed by, and as the Francoist regime crumbled; but also the deployment of resistance

amongst some of the students and teachers against the dictatorial regime. There is an emancipatory element in Andrea's story: her interpretation of some of the middle class teachers' motivations in encouraging university education for working class students. This change of attitude was accompanied by a reactionary philosophy of the Feminine Section towards the education of women. Yet, both agendas, that of the middle class teachers and that of the Feminine Section, supported women's higher education in the final years of Francoism.

Isabel, who was born in 1965 and belongs to the last generation educated in primary school under Francoism remembered her school days when she was 9 years old, in the 1970s:

I was in a religious school. I remember going every morning to the gymnasium. The teacher would set us in a line and tell us to sing the national anthem with our right hand up. After the song, we prayed. I didn't know why we had to put our hands up. I was not aware, then, of all the political and religious paraphernalia. I was very happy when, all of a sudden one morning, I went to school and it was closed. There was a note saying that it was going to be closed for three days due to the General Franco's death (Isabel 1997:5).

This extract illustrates that the strong marriage between the state and the Catholic Church was still displayed in the norms followed by a school, in the mid 1970s before the death of Franco. Cruz, another young respondent, 32 years of age at the time of the interview, arrived in London in 1990. Now a social worker she angrily described her childhood in a school run by nuns:

Schooling taught me about human hypocrisy, especially with the nuns. Schooling taught me to hate institutions, to be suspicious of them, that's why I could never send my child to a religious school,

I distrust them totally, I distrust the gregariousness and the manipulation (Cruz 1997:32).

Today there is still a religious discourse on the family and education professed by part of the Catholic Church. One Catholic Spanish priest, at a mass given in London in June 1995, reproduced Francoist principles to transmit his ideas on the institution of the family and its educational role:

It is a very bad thing not to have children because in order to create a home we need to have children. You should pass on this message to your children 'Children learn through suffering, determination'. You [addressing the immigrant parents] have learned this lesson of suffering and determination coming to London and having to master another language. In order to keep a marriage you have to suffer, to bear, to keep silent. You should keep the value of the family with all your effort: love, unity, work, integrity, suffering in the home. The home cannot be sold or given away cheaply. The family is being threatened by modernity. It seems that society wants more freedom...But what for? We should be cementing the family unit. Children! take the torch from your parents: life is integrity, work, unity and determination! That is what your parents can offer you. Children! your parents have not changed in order to give you that! Our children should be brought up in this Christian atmosphere and they should pass on the message to their children.

Values such as family, honour, work and unity (national and moral) were symbols the priest brought to the present through the metaphor of migration. The priest equated the experience of migration with the process of solidifying the family through effort, suffering and work. Migration was represented by three characteristics for the so called economic migrants. From the priest's point of view, migrants had to be strong, learn another language and face migration with determination. Thus, the notion of the family existed in two distinct but interrelated

forms from the priest's point of view: as 'familiarism', a wide spread and deeply embedded ideology about how people ought to live, in families; and as economic and social groups which should organise domestic and personal life according to Catholic beliefs.

Procreation itself, the recommendation from the priest to have children to make a home, has been seen as a political activity. At the most basic level, it was through the bearing of children that the Catholic religion and Spanish society was kept alive. The rearing of children was equally important. It is not a surprise, then, that the priest had an interest in this most gendered of the activities. Nationalism and Catholic religion worked through a reproductive mode. However, the priest transmitted those values in a historical vacuum as if Spain were still under a dictatorship in 1995. Symbols of suffering and integrity embodied a Spanish historic past - Francoism - and not today's democracy. The symbols the priest used for his Mass served to revitalise the most conservative ideology representative of Francoism. These were the symbols that Franco's government and the Catholic Church disseminated, in the Spain which migrants left to come to the UK. Yet these symbols are still carried forward in the present as reminiscences of who people were, as a legitimisation of people's past which has shaped the present and it is still identifiable in people's minds.

Conclusion

It has been shown that religious schools were used for the continuity of Franco's regime. A system of political rules intermeshed with religious imagery forged the national catechism-curriculum which clearly differentiated social classes and genders. The main social agents of Franco's dictatorship - family, religious

education and state - acted as educators of Spanish society. Family in Francoism was the kingdom of the patriarchal hierarchy, since authority was 'passed to the father by God' and the education of his children was reckoned as his principal mission. In this fashion children were political subjects. Women were presented as subjects of their husbands by virtue of a 'natural law'. Children's indoctrination in this natural law was fundamental, since the influence of the mother on her children was of great socio-political importance.

The main aim of the Feminine Section was to reinforce the ideal of a hierarchical family, authoritarian and with clear roles: the working father, responsible and solemn; the sweet and understanding mother; and the children obedient and respectful of their older relatives. It is precisely the emphasis on hierarchy that was most significant in the Francoist conception of family. In the view of Francoism and the Catholic Church, the submissiveness of women and the women's submissive acceptance was their destiny. The submission of the offspring to the figure of the father was a reflection of the hierarchy that constituted the principle of social structure proposed by Francoism, which culminated logically in the figure of Franco: supreme head. Franco was to motherland what the father was to family: the unquestionable authority.

In order to subordinate mothers and children to the patriarchal authority, the father - the educator and tutor of his wife and children - was immediately responsible for their conduct to the State. The home became for Francoism the most important space to inculcate future generations with the necessary moral values for the perpetuation of the regime.

Family, religion and the Feminine Section were some of the vehicles used to

transmit Francoist ideology. Women were seen as providers of moral values and social rules to their children through love. Women were perceived as instrumental in their function of disseminating the legitimising principles of Francoism and Catholicism.

Representations of femininity and masculinity within the geographical, historical and moral parameters of Francoism and Catholicism drew from the representation of an ideal family where the husband was the head of his family, as God was the Head of the Church. Hence, representations of masculinity such as authority, independence and protection as opposed to 'feminine' qualities attributed to the ideal wife-mother (dedication to the family, care and sacrifice for her children and husband) were some of the qualities associated with the Virgin Mary. Furthermore, according to the Church and Francoism, the perceived gender differences were to a large extent biologically determined and part of the celestial order.

The next chapter will look at the interplay between a set of dominant ideologies and interview data reflecting women's experiences of notions of gender in their formal and family education, and in their local communities in Spain. Women's accounts will reveal the shaping of their gender and cultural identities in different social classes and generations.

CHAPTER 4

THE MAKING OF WOMEN IN SPAIN

Introduction

This chapter looks at modes of self-representation located in Spain of the women studied. The ways in which both culture and social structure interact to produce and modify notions of femininity is examined.

The argument of this chapter is that Francoist notions of femininity contributed to the shaping of women's gender and cultural identities. Most families, the school and the Catholic Church oriented women towards particular goals and acted consensually as agents of social control. However, these influences were constantly mediated by structural constraints in the form of access to material resources and women's perceptions of structural constraints. As girls and then young women, most respondents were exposed to gendered stereotypes in their families. When they went through school and the labour market they experienced imposed notions of femininity and expectations which shaped their gender identity in Spain.

This chapter will emphasise two processes: the process involved in the construction of social practice by social agents (the family, the religious schools) and the process of women's agency in the production of meanings. The construction of gender as a process and a product of socio-cultural interaction and power relations will be analysed. The next section will examine the layers of meanings arising from the interview material in order to understand how structure, culture and psychological factors interacted in shaping women's identities.

Working class family attitudes to the education of daughters

Constructions of femininity by working class respondents occurred in three sites: through parental attitudes to the education of daughters, through household work carried out by girls and girls paid work in Spain. These constructions will be examined in three different periods according to the year of participants' arrival in the UK: 1940-1959, 1960-1975 and 1976-1992.

This section argues that family moral education, parental attitudes towards girls' education and schooling influenced women's definitions of femininity. In turn, their gender identifications and material resources influenced their occupational goals and the choice of partners.

The findings of this study indicate that working class parents placed a lower value on education for girls than for boys. The data show that material circumstances affected the length of stay in education. Since working class parents had less opportunity to improve their position and less income to invest, they were concerned with immediate economic benefit from the work of their children. Some girls went to a dressmaker to learn sewing and, while learning, they made clothes for their siblings. Therefore, their families could save on buying clothes. Discriminatory parental attitudes towards the girl were important in deciding who went to school - if parents had enough money - , they also affected who was assigned the role of caretaker of the home and of siblings. These attitudes and orientations were an established part of parents' perspectives, particularly, towards their daughters' education. In turn this assigned role had a crucial effect on women's choice of job in the labour market. Working class women in adult life tended to work in domestic service or the catering industry due to their low formal qualifications.

Out of thirteen respondents from working class backgrounds, six claimed their families' income did not permit either them or their brothers to pursue formal education. Five women affirmed that their families had some money to spare. However, more resources were devoted to the education of their brothers.

Working class women across the three periods had attended a single sex school where the teachers were nuns. The percentage of women who attained a basic formal education in the sample is as follows: working class women who arrived in the UK between 1940-1959 had attended primary school for four years on average. None of them completed primary school. Respondents who arrived in the UK between 1960-1975 had attended primary school an average of four to eight years. Three respondents out of six did not complete their primary school. Respondents who came to the UK between 1976-1992 completed on average 15 years schooling and, thus in this period, there was an increase in the number of years that women attended school. Some of the reasons for this increase were the political stabilisation of Spain after the Civil War, better economic and social conditions, a limited opening to foreign influence from the 1960s and the scholarships given to children of low-income families by the democratic government.

A large proportion of respondents who emigrated to the UK between 1940-1975 did not complete primary school. Women who lived through this period had clear memories of the Civil War in Spain and how their schooling was affected by the persecutions of their families following the war.

Lara exemplifies this. Lara's father died when she was four and her mother became a tailor for the army. Both her parents had basic literacy skills. Lara, aged 74 at the time of the interview, was from a city in Andalucía and came to London in 1942.

She described her childhood years:

I left school when the Civil War started, I was 13 years old. A bomb fell on the school. At the time, in July 1936, I fell ill because of how scared I was from the shootings of the war. I had to go to hospital, the wounded men from the War started to arrive in the hospital at that time...When my father died my aunt said to my mother 'send me your youngest daughter and, at least, you'll have to feed one mouth less'. That was the custom at the time (Lara 1997:5-7).

Lara's schooling was interrupted by the Civil War. The loss of her father and the poorly paid job of her mother made it difficult to feed all the siblings. Consequently, one of the daughters was sent to an aunt in another city. The war was the end of her formal education, as was also the case for Toñi. Toñi's father was an electrician and her mother was a housewife, who had been in a convent until she married her father. Toñi was 68 years old at the time of the interview and came to London in 1989:

My family was starving to death during the Civil War. My father was sent to jail as a political prisoner by the Republicans because he was a Francoist. We were so hungry! This was in 1937. In my class almost all the children's fathers had been shot. I was the only one who didn't wear the black bracelet on my arm [a symbol of mourning]. I was so embarrassed because all the rest of the children were orphans but me...When the war finished my father continued in his profession as an electrician. At the time, I was in a religious school for girls. I wanted to become a nun (Toñi 1997:5).

These women's schooling was interrupted by the Civil War in material and emotional ways. Hence, an articulation of socio-economic background and political ideology jeopardised their formal education. Lara stopped going to school at the age of 13 and started working in the hospital in which she was being treated.

Helping wounded men from the war became her job until she married and emigrated to the UK. In the case of Toñi she strongly embraced the Catholic faith to help other people overcome physical illnesses caused by poor living conditions. Thus, the experience of the Civil War uprooted these women from familiar patterns of everyday life. These experiences often involved multiple loss, the death of family members or moving out due to destruction of their houses. In their struggle to recover control and continuity they worked helping other people.

Amongst the group of working class respondents who came to the UK between 1960-1975 three out of six women did not complete primary education in Spain. All the respondents in this group attended school for a relatively short time (although for longer than the first group). They were generally in school until they were ten or twelve years old. Then, they stopped education in order to help their families on the land and to look after siblings. Their fathers were satisfied if their daughters could manage to read and write. The family considered investing more time and money in education as not contributing to common household needs. Girls were expected to 'make do' with the teachings of unpaid kin and friends since, unlike their brothers, their education was not expected to yield any economic return.

In the following cases it can be seen that the pattern of being the eldest daughter and the eldest child was a significant factor. These girls were responsible for looking after younger siblings. Marta's parents, from a village in Galicia, worked on the land. Her mother also did the housework. She had no formal education and her father had attended school for a few years. Marta was the eldest of two sisters, five children in total. Marta was born in 1945 and in 1970 came to England and worked in domestic service. In her interview she described her father's attitudes:

My father used to worry about my brothers, he thought my sister and I were responsible and mature from an early age. He used to say to my mother about me 'Oh, she is extremely clever, she only needs to know how to read, write and sign documents, nothing else'. My father was focused on my brothers (Marta 1997:10).

Clara's parents had similar attitudes to the parents of Marta. Clara's mother died during childbirth. Clara was the eldest of two daughters. There were seven children in total. Her father worked on the land in a village of Galicia. Clara emigrated to Cuba in 1953 and worked there until Fidel Castro came to power. She arrived in England in 1962. Clara was 67 years old at the time of the interview, and talked angrily about her father's attitude to education:

I didn't have any skill when I went to Cuba. My father was not in favour of giving us (children) any education, so I worked as a domestic worker in Spain, in Cuba, and also in London (Clara 1997: 5).

These women went to school until they were old enough to help their parents. That is, until their parents saw they could benefit from the daughter's labour either as a caretaker of younger siblings or as a worker in the house and/or in the farm. This work would continue until the daughter was old enough to marry. The majority of girls were supposed to learn sewing and dressmaking. The parents would send the daughters to a dressmaker in the neighbourhood to learn this skill. Girls made a salary sewing from home and they also made the clothes for their siblings. Miriam, 43 years of age when interviewed, was the only daughter of four children. Her parents - from a village in Galicia - worked on the land. Her mother also did the house work. Both her parents were illiterate. Miriam came to England in 1973, and worked as a cleaner. She talked about her school days in her interview:

I went to school when I was 8 and left when I was 14. I missed many days at school because I had to help my parents on the land. My mother and I were also doing the house chores. I didn't work outside my house and my family's farm...I left school at the age of 14 because nobody continued. None of my group of friends, only daddy's children [this is a pejorative term to denote children of wealthy parents]. My three brothers had private tuition. I didn't have it because I was a girl (Miriam 1997:5-6).

The burden of looking after younger siblings or having to work to supplement the family income were two strong deterrents from continuing formal education. There is a clear socio-economic and gender demarcation in what Miriam says. Her parents could not finance her secondary school education and it seems that other parents in that girls' school could not afford that either. This means that none of the working class girls continued school, only 'daddy's children'. Thus, only those children whose parents had adequate economic capital sent their daughters to a nearby secondary school in a larger village or a town. However, Miriam's brothers had private tuition but she did not make a sarcastic comment about this. It may be inferred that she saw this gender division as natural, as taken for granted. This is in contrast to the challenge she made to the socio-economic division she saw in her school.

Chon corroborated Miriam's story. Chon's mother was a housewife and her father worked as a carpenter in a village in Galicia. Both of them had basic schooling. Chon was the youngest daughter of three children. She was 46 at the time of the interview, and came to England in 1969. Chon's family kept her at home to do the house chores while her brother and elder sister were sent to a larger city to work:

I left school at the age of 14 because my parents needed me to work in the house, I was helping my mother because my eldest sister and my

eldest brother left home to work in Bilbao to earn money to send back home (Chon 1997:8).

The brother and eldest sister were expected to earn a salary to help the common household. If the salary was not available locally because of unemployment then emigration to a nearby city was the only solution to cover the basic needs. The women interviewed underlined the importance of formal education: to read, write and sign documents. However, they complained about the conditions of schools in the small villages they attended. Classrooms were too big with pupils mixed by ability and age. In addition, the teacher would not come to the school if the weather conditions were harsh. Miriam described the conditions of her school:

I went to school when I was eight in my village. All students of that village were in the same class, fifty or sixty pupils from the age of eight to the age of fourteen. After returning from school I would help my parents on the land (Miriam 1997:8).

This example underlines the social class difference and the dichotomy between town and village. In the village there was only one teacher, whose presence was not guaranteed. In a town this did not happen. However, working class girls living in a small village could not attend a 'better' school because their families lacked the economic means. Moreover, these girls had to help their families on the land after attending school and had to help their mothers with the housework. Thus, working class girls struggled to survive in an economic and political climate that had little concern for the well-being of less educated persons. Thus, these women's representations of themselves in their childhood years is one of struggle, of being in a less advantageous position than other children ('daddy's children'). These women also felt there were expectations from their families that underlined their

roles as carers and providers for their families' needs.

However, many of the working class women interviewed stressed how useful the education in their families was for them. They considered it the principal base of a person. Moral values inculcated through the family were portrayed by these respondents as the most important legacy. Women considered the values of family, respect, sincerity and honesty to be the pillars of their education. Their families' legacy of moral education had life-long effects upon them as Teresa pointed out:

My family taught me good moral principles: to love the family, to live on one's salary, not to owe money to anybody, to be a decent and an honest human being. I have lived all my life by those principles and they have helped me to come out of difficult situations. Nothing that I learned at school helped me in my life as what my family taught me (Teresa 1997:29).

The importance these women placed on their families' educational and moral legacy may relate to the limited schooling of this group of respondents. When they think of education, it is moral education that has most strongly stayed in their memories and influenced the decisions they took in life. However, formal education was only a short period in their lives, about 4 to 8 years. The role of schooling was limited to writing and reading, to basic knowledge of some subjects. This did not help them resolve personal situations, such as looking for a job. Most working class women worked in embroidery or domestic service, therefore they did not need to read and write. Respondents considered that formal tuition in Spain was of little use. However, knowing how to read and write helped them to learn basic English once they emigrated.

In the group of women who arrived in the UK between 1976-1992 the pattern of

respondents leaving school for economic reasons or parental attitudes towards girls' schooling was challenged in three cases. Three out of four respondents had continued their studies: two of them finished a diploma and one a university degree. Isabel who arrived in London in 1987 and Cruz in 1989 both single and 32 years old at the time of the interview, both from a working class background, enjoyed a university education.

The late 1960s was the beginning of a limited political openness in Franco's government. One of the most important facts of recent years in Spain has been the massive incorporation of women into education. Educational levels for both sexes are now the same. Only 0.4 per cent of women aged more than 60 years old have higher education; the percentage rises to 5.1 per cent among women aged between 30 and 44, which is two points less than for men. From 1984 the number of women going to university has grown by 35 per cent, and in the technical schools by 64 per cent (Camps 1994:31). It was the relative political openness of late Francoism, a slow change of social attitudes towards girls' education and the change to democracy in 1975 that helped Isabel and Cruz to take up a university education.

The data have shown so far that it was the conflation of two factors, economic capital and patriarchal family attitudes, that obstructed formal education for nearly all working class women. Girls had been exposed to a set of priorities which were unlikely to encourage them to attach great importance to education. They were taught to be concerned about marriage and family. The skills learned in their own families such as cleaning and cooking helped them to find jobs easily within domestic service. Girls tended to see their future largely as caretakers of their family and as workers in domestic service or as seamstresses. They did not have the qualifications to chose paid work for self-fulfilment.

The next section will look at the work which families expected their daughters to do and how women negotiated these expectations according to their resources at different times in their lives.

Obligations of daughters: housework and paid work

In all cases, before women started school, gender stereotyping had already begun. From the types of obligations parents expected from girls and boys, different sets of attitudes and aptitudes developed. Some girls were taken out of school to look after their siblings, whereas boys were not expected to undertake child care. Whenever boys and girls were in the house, girls were expected to help their mothers with the household chores whereas fathers and sons devoted their time to other activities. For example, Miriam described her parents' different attitudes towards her and her three brothers.

My brothers went to private classes with few more children and my parents didn't send me because I was a girl...My mother and I were doing the house chores. The men of the house wouldn't do anything (Miriam 1997:9).

The fact that some of the boys had private tuition and were not told to do the house chores was viewed by some of the women as unfair. Marta criticised her father's attitude retrospectively:

I remember my father saying he never lost his sleep for us, the girls, but for my brothers, yes. I think he worried more for my brothers because they were men and maybe they could get into trouble. And I have that in my mind that he was more concerned about my brothers than about my sister and me. I have talked with him about this. I have asked him, 'have you ever worried about us? And he answered me:

‘to worry about what? You were mature since you were very young’ but I keep thinking that was not a good enough reason. Do you understand? That he viewed us as two young women since we were children, is not enough. My father was focused on my brothers. Sometimes, I think he did his best but other times I think he didn’t because he could have done differently. However, at that time, nobody was doing more for their children. I knew other families and many of them didn’t have a bite to take to their mouth (Marta 1997:14).

Marta questioned why they, the girls, were the ones looking after their brothers or doing the house chores, or the ones who were not chosen to go to private classes or university. Miriam learned her brothers were chosen for private tuition, she was not because she was a girl. Therefore, gender stereotyping had already begun before going to school. Parents expected different types of obligations and attitudes from their sons and daughters. Girls had been exposed to a set of priorities: looking after the household and siblings, that were unlikely to encourage them to confer importance to formal education. None of the women described above resisted or refused to comply with their families’ wishes. Parental expectations set limits upon women’s aptitudes and attitudes.

Working class women could not challenge the roles of caretaker and paid worker in childhood. Their families needed their work to survive. On the other hand, they were too young to be able to exert their own power as agents: they were dependent on their parents and were not adults under the law. Working class women, whose parents had means to favour their sons’ education but sent their daughters to work, could not contest that decision. They did not have means nor the legal approval; women were considered under-age until they were twenty one years old.

Nonetheless, these women negotiated their positions in individual ways. What

appears to be a smooth process of the production of meaning is, in fact, one in which the contradictions, the struggles and the experiences of agents are suppressed. Change and negotiation are contained by the limits imposed by the principle of regularity.

Toñi exemplified this principle of regularity and 'normality' regarding the different expectations for girls and boys. She, is from a city in Castilla. Her father - a carpenter - emigrated to Brazil and worked there for 12 years, while her mother - a housewife - and one brother stayed in Castilla. Toñi was sent to a vocational school in the 1950s:

We didn't have much money, even if I wanted to go to university I could have not done it because my parents didn't have enough money to send us both: my brother and I to university.

[Nevertheless, your parents chose your brother, not you, to go to university]

Well yes, that is normal, isn't it? To facilitate everything for the boy! Women got married. This was the philosophy of the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, isn't it? Normal (Toñi 1997:22).

Toñi refers to the 'normality' of facilitating everything for the man. Nevertheless, 'normal' becomes 'natural'. It is what she expects and does not oppose, as she could not change family and societal attitudes. Therefore, expectations from girls regarding future employment and the realisation of these expectations for the vast majority of girls did not go beyond what was regarded as 'suitable' feminine jobs: embroidery, dressmaking and domestic service. To this extent the curriculum that girls pursued was appropriate both to their occupational roles in the labour market and their roles as wives and mothers.

This in turn has direct implications for women's resistance to routinised social practices. Franklin points out that:

It is about the strategies for change and transformation which are at the core of feminist politics. How one defines the constraints of social institutions depends in large part on how one understands much more general processes involved in the cultural construction of meanings (Franklin 1992:102).

However, to understand general processes women required a major ideological shift which was not provoked by the socio-cultural context these women inhabited during their childhood and adolescence. In fact, democracy did not provoke a revolutionary change in societal attitudes nor in structures, but a slow process that to some extent continues today. This was the case for Isabel, a young woman who grew up in a democratic Spain. Isabel's parents are from a village in Galicia. Her mother was a seamstress until she married her father - a miner - and became a housewife. In the 1960s her parents emigrated to Switzerland and she was born and lived there until the age of 8. In Switzerland both her parents worked in a clock factory until they returned to Spain in 1972. She described her obligations as a daughter:

I went to school at the age of 5 and continued in education until I finished my diploma as a social worker. My parents had a different attitude towards my brothers and me concerning everything. Work was divided into men's jobs and women's jobs in the house and on the land my family had. Men cultivated the land: the job that required more physical strength and women would collect leaves, a more boring but lighter and longer job: seven hours a day. My mother and I did all the house chores. My brothers helped my mother doing the dishes until I *was* [emphatically] seven years old when I was told to take over (Isabel 1997: 3,4).

Isabel still talks about a gender differentiation in the 1970s and the 1980s. Later on in the interview she commented that she will go back to Spain when her parents are too old to look after themselves. Then she will take care of her parents as their only daughter. In Spain it is established that daughters - not sons - are the ones who look after the parents. In fact, Isabel was born in 1965 and was only 10 years old when Franco died. Her adolescence and young adult years were spent in a democratic Spain. However, she thinks it is her duty to return to Galicia when her parents call for her.

The idea of femininity and masculinity relates well to the concept of routinisation of production of meanings, habitus. These respondents were accustomed to the meanings produced by social forces. Agents are born within a system of social meanings and endorse and produce meanings within that same framework. Men and women became the embodiment of a particular gender classification by internalising and realising the principle which underlined it. The principle of continuity and regularity those 'procedures to follow and paths to take' that Bourdieu was referring to with the concept of habitus (Bourdieu 1977:72).

It is through this process of realisation and routinisation that the dialectics of social forces and social practice were created. In the process of producing classed and gendered agents who realise and recognise the principles of social organisation, the reproduction of such power relations is highly probable. However as Bourdieu (1977) and Arnot (1982) claim: "The potential for rejecting such definitions is inherent within the process of the recognition of principles of classification, it does not determine the realisation; it only sets limits upon it" (Arnot 1982:85).

The values of the family regulated women's actions and decisions. There was no

distinction between family and work. Work was an extension of family activities: both notions were blurred. Women extended their domestic skills to earn an income and used their employment for the benefit of their domestic commitments, rather than for themselves. Therefore there was an embodiment of social practices whereby respondents had to comply with their families' needs as a matter of survival. This continuation of practices was helped by respondents' lack of economic (financial means) and cultural capital (formal qualifications).

All the working class interviewed women worked from an early age: taking care of the family and working outside the home until they got married. In this manner, they were contributing economically to the household, where money was needed, and doing all the house chores, since their families could not afford external help. Families viewed their daughters' (paid) work as a necessity.

Catalina from Castilla, aged 68 at the time of the interview, whose father was a manual worker and her mother a housewife, came to London in 1952. She described her work history in Spain:

My family sent me to a dressmaker when I was 13 to learn sewing. I was going to become a dressmaker in my village. When I was 20 my father told me I had to go out and work. I started as a live-in domestic in my town. Then I went to Barcelona with the family I was working for. After 4 years working for that family, my friends and I saw an advert in the newspaper about an agency that asked for live-in domestics in London and we came. I had to support my family and I wanted to see the world. (Catalina 1997:2).

Teresa was another respondent who expressed the importance of work for her family:

We were 3 sisters. I was the eldest...I went to school for a few years until I knew how to read and write, then I had to start working in Spain to help paying the medicines for my mother who was ill. I was working in a factory: embroidering. Then I started working as a live-in domestic in Barcelona. I and other girls like me were poor girls in the domestic service. We came to England to do the same job for more money (Teresa 1997:3-8).

These respondents' contact with school only provided them with basic skills and their work histories in Spain and in England are a chain of domestic, cleaning and linen-handing jobs. While the family and the religious school attempted to influence these women's shaping of their identities, respondents transformed those messages into their own construct of femininity. However, constructs of femininity were made within the limits of socio-economic background and male hegemony.

The data have suggested so far that working class parents placed a low value on achieving high occupational status. In evaluating jobs, working class parents limited their daughters' job horizons to a 'good trade' such as dressmaking or working in domestic service. They emphasised immediate economic benefits: the economic contribution the daughter made to the household with her un/paid work. Notions of femininity were limited to the roles of caring and paid worker as an extension of women's domestic skills to support the household income.

The next section will look at constructions of femininity by middle class respondents in three sites: in family attitudes to education of daughters, the obligations of girls: to do housework and in paid work undertaken in Spain. These constructions of femininity will be examined in three different periods according to the year of women's arrival in the UK: 1940-1959, 1960-1975 and 1976-1992.

Middle class family attitudes to the education of daughters

The purpose of this section is to look at middle and upper middle class family attitudes to the schooling of daughters to examine the effects of family attitudes on women's constructions of cultural and gender identities. The following Table shows the number of respondents who attended formal education and the highest level:

Table 1 Formal education of middle class respondents

Period	1940-1959	1960-1975	1976-1992	Total
Degree		3	5	8
Diploma			2	2
Vocational T	1	1		2
Secondary E.		2		2
Primary E.	2	1		3
Total	3	7	7	17

The lowest attendance at school and the weakest educational qualifications were in the first historical period, 1940-1959, in the aftermath of the Civil War and the economic shortages Spain suffered. Respondents' age was between 62-66 at the time of the interview. In the second period 1960-1975 women attained a higher level of education and their age was between 52-66 at the time of the interview. In the third period 1976-1992, 71% of respondents completed their university degree in Spain. One of them studied for a second bachelor degree and another one studied on a postgraduate course, both in London. Their age when interviewed was between 32 and 46 years old.

The larger number of women in university in the period of the transition to democracy (1976-1992) reflects a change in attitudes amongst women. This number also reflects social and family attitudes towards women's education and political changes. Women and their parents no longer attached primary importance to marriage and motherhood. Instead they endorsed the importance of having a job or career and, in this respect, emphasised being able to support themselves. They, therefore, attached much more importance to formal education than their counterparts in previous periods.

Most of the middle class respondents indicated that their families hired domestic workers to help the mother with the house chores, although girls were expected to give a hand from time to time. The education of middle-class girls was carefully segregated from the schooling of working class girls and seen as 'superior' and 'prestigious' in comparison with the options available to the 'lower classes' of society. Middle class girls were not expected, unlike their working class counterparts, to engage in paid work of any kind. It was assumed they would one day become economically dependent wives and mothers. Consequently, for most of the period under study, the content of education for middle class girls tended to stress ornamental knowledge such as how to dress, and behave in social gatherings to attract and impress a suitor.

Gender differentiation in the education for middle class girls and boys was justified in terms of the different futures expected of women and men. While middle class boys were to be prepared for the professional and public world, women were to be educated for a home life. Above all else, the aim of education for the middle class girl was to make her into that genteel being a 'lady', who would not work for her living, but would one day in the future become a ladylike wife and mother.

Susana described her middle class upbringing. She is from Castilla. Her mother studied up to secondary school and worked as a housewife. Her father was a university graduate and they had a business. Susana was 49 years of age at the time of the interview. She came to London in 1977 and was working as a school teacher and a part time writer:

My brother was sent to a non-religious Swiss school. The school of my sister and I was religious...Although we did very little at home, however if there was something to do, it was always my sister and I who were asked to do it, like laying the table, or cooking, and also all the paraphernalia about dressing up. My brother was doing a degree and we [the girls] were to be married. This was very clear. My sister was pretty, shy, well, she was perfect for the idea there was in Spain at the time of a marriable woman. I could not match that expectation because I was ugly, fatty and was interested in reading and sculpture. My mother was always saying that I would never get married, that I was a boy-like girl. I felt this pressure of doing everything to become 'marriable' not only from my parents but from my aunts too. One of my aunts used to call me 'the poor niece' because in the village after 3.00 p.m you had to dress up and my aunts used to ask me all the time 'when are you going to dress up?' I refused to dress up. I was always going with jeans, so I didn't match anywhere (Susana 1997:26).

Standards of sexual decency and middle class concerns about social gossip made parents exert surveillance in oppressive ways over their daughters; such as insisting that they come home early, insisting on a dressing code and keeping a close eye on male friends. Parents were also directive towards women's education choices. This direction was given out as a suggestion or sometimes enforced. Some women were told to enrol in a vocational course instead of continuing secondary school. Some were to study shorthand to become a secretary, or to study for a teaching career to get a position in a state school.

Cristina, Kati and Rafa corroborated Susana's views and described the pressure to comply with standards of femininity. Cristina was 49 years old when interviewed from a village in the Basque Country. Her father had a small business and her mother was a housewife. She came to England in 1969 and worked as a part-time shop assistant. Cristina commented on her family:

I was overprotected. I felt pressurised by my family to stay at home, not to work for pay, not to go abroad (Cristina 1997:31).

Kati and Rafa also illustrated the coercive parental pressure they experienced from their fathers. Kati's father had a business and her mother was a housewife. She arrived in the UK in 1990 and worked as a manageress in a bank in London:

I enrolled in the university but my father enrolled me in a vocational course and he enrolled my brother in the university. He didn't ask me at all (Kati 1997:13).

Rafa worked as a shop assistant and a teacher on a part time basis in Spain before she married a British lawyer in the 1960s. Rafa said about her mother that "she did not have almost any education because her father considered that the best education was at home. She did everything at home". Rafa's father was an architect. She was a housewife, 60 years old at the time of the interview. She came to England in 1963:

I felt the family atmosphere claustrophobic...I didn't complete my secondary school and my mother suggested I should study a secretarial course. All the girls I knew worked in this kind of job: secretarial, decoration, shops. I think girls, at the time, didn't go to university, very few...The girls I was going out with, none of them attended university. The majority was much more superficial than that, living with the family, depending on their parents, that kind of life (Rafa

1997:26).

Rafa condemned women as superficial for not going to university. However, she did not reflect on the fact that factors such as parental economic support to men to continue higher education and differentiation of gender tasks in Spain may have discouraged women to confer a positive meaning to university education, since parents, educational institutions and the labour market tended to favour men. The jobs 'suitable' for middle class women in the 1960s in Spain were thought to be a group of occupations which included primary school teachers, nurses, bank clerks and shop assistants, all traditional areas with high levels of employment for single women (Camps 1994:17). Other jobs such as business representatives, university lecturers or studying subjects such as law, medicine and physics were not considered. Women felt that employers and university faculties defined such jobs and such subjects as men's territory.

The examples below support the notions of femininity which families held for women of a middle class background. Aurora, 52 years of age at the time of the interview, was born in a village in Castilla. Her father was a pharmacist and her mother a housewife. She came to England in 1972 and worked as a school teacher:

I chose primary school teaching because my father was telling me to become a music teacher so I could take the exam to get a job in a state school for life (Aurora 1997:17).

There were very different aspirations for boys, as Cristina commented:

The idea of my parents was that my brother was the one who was to study for a degree and the girls... I don't know... I never pretended the same education. I never thought of going to university but I am of the opinion that... well, my parents thought that my brother was to have a

degree in industrial engineering in Barcelona and not us, the girls (Cristina 1997:12).

Cristina excused herself by saying she never thought of university. Nevertheless, even if she had not thought of the possibility, she was not asked. She was not given the choice of considering university as an option unlike her brother. In what she says there is no protest but a calm resignation, and even a feeling of guilt for pointing out that her brother was the favoured one.

All the middle class women in the sample were sent to single sex religious schools and all of them mentioned that their brothers were favoured compared with them, except for two: Paz and Asun. Paz's father was a doctor of medicine and her mother was a housewife. Paz emigrated to England in 1989 and she worked as a part-time teacher. Asun's father was an industrial engineer and her mother was "a typical housewife with certain knowledge of English and piano. ...in those times women were educated only up to secondary school". Asun came to England in 1969 and worked in a high position at a university. The rest of the middle class women migrants - the majority - experienced different treatment from their brothers. However, unlike girls from a working class background, middle class girls were expected to continue studying a vocational course or secondary education until marriage.

Asun, who was supported by her parents to attend university, described her education as being sharply differentiated between men and women. Only four women from her single sex class of thirty students went to university in 1960s:

The majority of girls didn't continue university because there was no personal interest, parental or family interest for the woman to continue

her studies. The attitude was: what for? Women were supposed to rear children and look after them and their husbands (Asun 1997:15).

Aurora confirmed Asun's statements:

We were four girls and one boy. My brother went to university to become an engineer. For women there was nothing, only philology, history, primary school teaching, not even law or medicine, that was only for men (Aurora 1997:8).

There was also another kind of psychological 'resistance' to parental control, a pattern mainly shown by middle class respondents who came to the UK between 1976-1992: the expression of anger and resentment against their parents, particularly their mothers, for embodying and transmitting a model of subservience and courtesy to them, their daughters.

The expression of anger at parental control

According to middle class women who arrived in the UK between 1976-1992 girls were more protected than boys. Girls had to return home earlier, they had to dress and behave decently, parents scrutinised friendships, and boyfriends were not allowed unless there was marriage in prospect. Women feared losing their virginity and being ostracised as an 'easy girl'. They feared social judgement and gossip for the bad reputation it would bring to their family. To sin in thought or/and in action was condemned by the Catholic Church, by schools, families and media. But most of all, it was paramount to keep the appearance of behaving decently for the sake of the family, relatives and acquaintances.

In the accounts of middle class women overprotection and control were factors that

triggered off the decision to come to London, to escape from a claustrophobic family which did not let them experience their potential fully. They wanted to be in control of their own lives and rebelled against expectations and pressures from the close Spanish environment that offered them roles they did not want to replicate. The roles of their mothers, in many cases, were seen as subdued and subservient. That is, mothers who wished to please others before themselves, who had an opinion but concealed it for fear of social judgement and gossip. This attitude, which women learned from their mothers, did not help them in a professional environment where they had to take control and fight to get a position and to keep it.

The society these women were brought up in rejected women who were assertive. Elena epitomised this. She came from a village in Extremadura. Her father was a designer and owner of lands. Her mother was a housewife who had studied music and painting. Elena, 48 years old when interviewed, works as a teacher and is married to a British engineer. She came to England in 1980 and described the controlling environment of Spain:

I am more secure of myself now. In Spain there was a lot of controlling, this control was exercised by the church, by society, by the family and by the school. The controls were accumulative. You have to be strong enough to break free from all that. Not only breaking free spatially [from Spain to the UK] but mentally...My mother was a very intelligent person but she always loved to please others. She didn't have a rebellious position. In Spain that is very common, it's a kind of courtesy. But that position in a professional environment is not good, it creates insecurities. How are you going to agree with your boss all the time? But you say yes for courtesy. I have seen that in my family environment....In the society I was brought up in to be upfront, was to be rude, of ordinary people (Elena 1997:26).

Thus, being assertive was considered bad taste and vulgar. The constraints of the Catholic Church and family controls over women built inner fears and feelings of pressure. These women portrayed a fear that is particular to many women, fear of indecency, fear of failing to comply with what a good woman was supposed to be. The dictatorship espoused a gender role of submission, docility and unquestioning obedience to the traditional canons of domesticity. Susana, Cristina and Felisa corroborated Elena's story, when they spoke about their own fears:

I was tired of having arguments day in and day out. When I passed my driving test my father wouldn't let me drive. They wanted me to come [home] early and dress 'decently'. My mother has one of the things that is the worst you can have: being empty and very intelligent at the same time. She was frivolous. She only was interested in clothes. Deep down she was very ignorant, she was saying that all decent people were in favour of Franco (Susana 1997:30).

This extract shows that Susana classified her mother as being very intelligent but not doing anything with that intelligence, simply continuing the flow of customs of her times and recycling old patterns learned from her own mother and relatives. The middle class women in the study felt they had to break free from their oppressive environments to be able to see, from a different perspective, their own lives and to look into their fears and insecurities. Respondents experienced themselves, which comprehended their family and environment background in a new country, away from their families and away from constructions of femininity that did not suit them. They had to face life in London with a self who was constructed under a particular history of Francoism. They had to distance themselves from particular expectations rooted in a recalcitrant Catholic education. This involved religious schools, visits to the church on Sundays, Social Service for women and the close community ethos

which demanded decency, subservience and acceptance to authority. That was the father, priest and head of state, as general rules.

Cristina also expressed anger towards her mother:

My mother was more in favour of the boys. They [her parents] supported my brothers to study degrees of five years, me and my sister were supposed to get married. The housework was the responsibility of my mother and myself. This was due to the attitudes of my mother about the men not having to do the housework, men wouldn't do anything at home. Women had to do it (Cristina 1997: 23).

There is resentment towards 'having to do' the house chores. Her resentment is even more acute because it is her mother who is obliging the daughter to serve the men of the house. The attitude of her mother created feelings of confusion and rebelliousness towards the female members of the family.

These, are examples of women that show the clash between their mothers' submissive attitudes and the rebelliousness they feel as daughters by trying to be independent. In the adoption of alternative social practices that are discordant with those they embodied in their childhood and adolescence, these respondents radically transform their schema of perceptions, their habitus.

Mari supported other respondents' views on subservience versus rebelliousness. Mari was 43 when interviewed, from Madrid. Her father had a small business. Her mother was a housewife. Mari is a psychotherapist and came to London in 1985. She described her mother's attitude:

I had always been very looked after and protected girl by my

parents...My mother was used to submit herself all her life ...There was no rebellion. She used to be the servant of my aunt, the sister of my father. The attitude of gratitude and courtesy towards others was there in my childhood and my teenage years. I think that fact created a lot of confusion in me (Mari 1997:27).

The subservient attitudes of the respondents' mothers were an obstacle in their expressing their personal rights and needs in their personal life and their work place. They reflected on their experiences, finding the cause of their uneasiness and feelings of inadequacy at work and in personal relationships in that they were not taught to take assertive control over their lives. Migration was, thus, an open door to help transform part of the respondents' schema of perceptions and assumptions (*habitus*) embodied in their mothers. Migration helped to create social practices that did not fit with respondents' social reality in Spain. In fact through feelings of inadequacy, uneasiness, self-devaluation that were created by migration at first, women could experiment with those experiences, turning them into a learning process. In this process, women had to take control over their own experiencing and become more assertive, speaking by themselves and leave aside what they were taught by their mothers and other women's behaviour: the nuns, their female relatives and peer group. Many had to resolve anger and, in some cases, turn psychological depression into a positive step towards managing their own lives and creating representations for themselves different to the ones they had learned from their mothers and relatives. Hence they had to act in different ways. They had to reinvent themselves.

Migration was an escape from an oppressive family environment for many middle class young women. A question that remains unanswered is why these women blamed their mothers and not their fathers for their education. The next section will attempt a critical analysis of these women's pattern of blaming their mothers and

female relatives.

Unequal power relationships between parents

Many middle class women did not seem to feel they had the right to blame their fathers. To blame the father for not contributing equally to parenthood would necessitate a major ideological shift. For this reason, they cast around for other explanations which did not call fatherhood into question. What is important to the women is that the father and mother role was equivalent, not equal. Therefore, the issue became not the inequality between parents in the division of labour, but how well the father fulfilled the role that was expected of him, which was to provide a salary to the household. It, therefore, becomes illegitimate to have expected the father to increase his participation in child care, since to do this would have been to expect him to exceed male gender norms.

Thus, most middle class women, in this study, omitted their fathers altogether when talking of parenthood. They would blame mothers as the only bearers of values of parenthood. When fathers were mentioned they were described as too busy working. Parenthood was a mother's task. The women in the sample talked about how busy their fathers were, how it was important financially that they worked as hard as they did. Child care and education was not 'real' work like paid work. The division of labour within the family was seen as a constant, fixed by an external order and dictated by economic necessity.

The women were trying to locate the explanation for their fathers' failure to educate them in external factors, not within the power structure of the father-mother relationship itself. Thus, women opted for explanations which stressed socio-

structural factors like the need for an income, or lack of time on their father's part, rather than active choice and responsibility. The trouble was that if the father's contribution as income provider was fulfilled, the daughter's anger became illegitimate. Women felt they could not raise questions about the responsibilities of their fathers or blame their fathers, thanks to the powerful ideological apparatus surrounding the roles of fatherhood and motherhood. In Spain women could not negotiate from their position of weakness, at a time when their social and economic autonomy was depleted.

The most important reason for the anger the women felt against their mothers is that none of the women really expected their fathers to play a major role in child care as long as their mothers were able to cope themselves. They simply accepted the socio-cultural prescription that the mother should take primary responsibility for their children and, in their cases, their mothers were to blame for the mistakes in their education.

Therefore, the data based on middle class women's accounts tends to support the view that their parents emphasised education for girls as an ornament. They learned social manners and fashion, rather than knowledge as a personal achievement to fulfil women's professional careers. Parents wanted their daughters to study vocational training (a secretarial course) or secondary education, where the girl could spend her time while looking for a good suitor to marry. Middle class girls enjoyed more advantages than the working class girls before attending school and during their school careers. They enjoyed complementary classes in languages, for example, encouragement to attend a vocational or a secondary school and economic support to travel abroad if they wished.

Notions of femininity in the middle class group differed from those in the working class in that these women were not supposed to work for pay. Most middle class parents saw their daughters' paid work as a degradation, as an impediment to become a wife and a mother satisfying societal and family expectations. If a girl worked, the father or husband would be viewed socially as incapable to maintain the family with his own salary and this would bring shame to the family. Notions of femininity such as being a good wife and mother are shared in the parental attitudes of both social classes. Some of the middle class women pointed out that if they had seen their future in terms of paid work rather than marriage, then they might have achieved more academically.

Respondents resisted their families' notions of femininity and expectations in various ways. Migration constituted an escape from their families and an 'open window' to define themselves with other sets of attributes than those demanded by their families, school and constraining socio-cultural values of 'decency'.

The next section will look briefly at families of upper middle class women. They share most of the notions of femininity of the families of middle class participants.

Upper middle class family attitudes to the education of daughters

Upper middle class women's constructions of femininity followed the same pattern as did women from the middle class who did not continue their studies at the university. Three women out of five completed their secondary school. One of them did not finish her university degree and one obtained a university degree in the USA.

The formal education of four out of five upper middle class women took place outside Spain in countries where their fathers were posted. The respondent who lived in Spain during her childhood was looked after by foreign nannies to practice foreign languages. She was sent abroad during the academic year. Education was seen as an ornamental part of these women's lives and as social networking with other girls of the same social class. Young women were expected to marry a diplomat or a high rank professional who was following in their fathers' professional steps.

Parents supported their daughters formal education, unless it interfered with their future as wives. These respondents were sent to private Catholic schools, mostly abroad as their fathers were diplomats who travelled regularly. In other cases, daughters were sent to Catholic boarding schools. Tania typified an upper middle class respondent. Tania was 80 years old at the time of the interview, born in Madrid. She married a British diplomat in Spain and came to the UK in 1944 because of her husband's job. Her father was a renowned professor in medicine. Her mother was his secretary. Tania described the attitudes of her parents towards their children's education. She stated at the beginning of the interview that there were no differences between the way her parents treated their sons and daughters:

My mum organised the things at home, we had a cook, two domestic workers and an assistant for my father... There was no difference between how my parents treated my 3 brothers and us [2 daughters] (Tania 1997:3).

However, Tania later described the role her mother assigned to her: to take care of her father while giving conferences abroad:

Once I remember that some universities in South America

invited my father to give conferences. I was very happy that my mother chose me to go with him. My father wasn't practical, my mother gave me a list of instructions of what to do with my father: how to put his handkerchief in the pocket of his jacket, for example. He was a bit like Einstein, a bit messy. Thanks to my mother he looked well-dressed. He always had his mind on other things, his work. I was the one taking care of him in the trip (Tania 1997:9).

The pleasure she got from organising things for her father, as her mother did, and the pride she took from being the one chosen, to look after her father, displays the acquisition of a highly valued knowledge: organisation and the skills to take care of others. This knowledge becomes a marker, a central site for creatively producing a sense of herself and her family, in this case represented by her father. Her mother delegated to Tania her power: that of looking after the well being of her husband. In this way Tania, a girl representative of her mother on this trip, reproduced the hierarchies entailed in this relationship. The legitimation of this asymmetrical power relationship: husband and professor-wife and secretary, father and professor-daughter and secretary regulated social practices in Tania's family and the immediate socio-cultural environment.

Therefore, these norms and social practices naturalised for Tania her parents' relationship and the different treatment of their children, although she affirms emphatically they were treated equally. She continued her account describing her education:

I went to a religious school for girls in France. I remember when I was a child playing with Ortega y Gasset's children [a major figure in Spanish philosophy] at the many gatherings my father had with intellectuals. At the age of 15 I was sent to Switzerland to a German school to learn

German. Later I went to *La Sorbonne* to start a university degree. The Germans occupied Paris at the time so I went to Cambridge and started my degree again. However, I came back to Madrid because I had a terrible depression there. In Madrid I met my husband and I couldn't finish my degree because my husband was assigned to London (Tania 1997:5).

It is evident from this extract the rich cultural, economic, social and symbolic capital that Tania enjoyed thanks to the position of her family. Access to a multilingual and multinational education and to carry her father's social and symbolic influences helped Tania to attend some of the best schools and universities in Europe. She also could finance herself for a short time by teaching at a university in England, through one of her father's contacts. Family and social advantages intermeshed with financial power, were just part of the baggage of 'distinction' and respectability inherited from her family.

However, following social norms, Tania dropped her degree when she married her husband. Both actions - to interrupt an education and to marry a diplomat (and not a teacher) - may indicate to what extent Tania embodied social constraints and the reproduction of customs. Although Tania's economic, cultural, symbolic and social capital are characteristic of her privileged social origins, the norms and expectations surrounding marriage - what it implies about her schooling and financial independence - produced an accumulative disadvantage with regard to her studies and any future waged work.

One may argue that Tania was 80 years old when interviewed and, perhaps, a younger generation would be different. Nevertheless, none of the other younger upper middle class respondents deviated from the patterns of this story. All these

women emigrated following their husbands' jobs. They were already married to British nationals when they came to England. Their notions of femininity coincided, in general, with those of working and middle class women who did not have a university education.

The next section will consider the differences in families' constructions of femininity in the three social classes.

Views on femininity in different social classes

Docility and domesticity were understood differently in the working class. Women were expected to work if the salary of the husband was not enough to survive on. Work was viewed as a necessity. However, middle class and upper class women were supposed to devote themselves entirely to their husbands and children. They were not supposed to work for pay. Young middle class and upper class women doing paid work was viewed by the families and society as a degradation. The difference between working class women and middle class women was that the first had to work for pay to make ends meet, and the latter did not need to work because their husbands or fathers were supposed to earn enough to support their wives and children. If they did not, the family would be regarded as working class.

Aurora talked about how paid work was viewed differently for different social classes:

At home nobody taught me how to look for a job. In my home town, there were many factories. Women could find jobs as weavers, *tejedoras*, for the factory but it depended on the social class. If you came from a wealthy family like me and played the

piano as a career, the two choices were to keep practising piano or being a weaver in a factory. For example, there was a college of engineers but there were all male teachers and male students. Perhaps, I didn't work in the factory only because of what people in the village would say. If they saw the daughter of Mr Garrido, the pharmacist, working in a factory, how terrible! There was a strong social segregation. However, my father taught us that everybody was the same, poor or rich. All were human beings. He never made a bad face to a rich or to a poor person (Aurora 1997:32).

Her father did not permit her to work in a factory for fear of public opinion, fear of being judged for letting his daughter work in a factory, where only working class women worked for necessity. To get some pocket money Aurora started teaching in her home. In this way work was done privately, within the realm of her home where middle class women 'belonged'. Work for pay at home was almost not seen as work. It was considered an extension of home activities. The tone of domesticity and docility that were part of her father's desire for her not to work in a factory is implicit in Aurora's story.

Another example of how paid work was viewed by parents of middle class girls was summarised by Paca, who described how her dream of becoming a stewardess was taken away by her father. Paca's father was a captain in the Spanish army and her mother a pre-school teacher in Peru, who gave up her job when she married. Paca, a retired accountant for an air company, was 66 when interviewed and emigrated to England in 1960:

I went to a vocational school of dressmaking. I also studied languages. I wanted so much to become a stewardess...but my father said that when he died I could decide to do whatever I wanted but while he lived I shouldn't even think about it. My mother told me not to upset my father. She said I didn't need to

work, that work was for a girl who needed the money but I didn't need it. At the time, it was not accepted for a woman to work out of the house (Paca 1997:23).

Both the stories of Paca and Aurora show the power of fathers and the emotional significance daughters gave to their dictates. Both respondents saw the figure of the father as a patriarch whose wishes are commands. The wife/mother is represented as a mediator between the children and the fathers' temperament. In fact, wives and daughters are portrayed as the holders of honour and decency in the public eye, and as such they have to restrain their desire to work to avoid gossip. In this way women will not be judged as belonging to the working class. Women's paid work continued to be seen by many middle class respondents as something one does for sheer economic need. If work is not done out of economic need, it is regarded as suspicious, suspicious because people gossip and question and challenge the position of the father in the local community. In fact, his position is interrelated with the fact that his wife and daughters do not work for pay. Consequently, the social rules of honour and 'distinction' are adequately transmitted in symbolic capital to the local community.

Parents from the three social classes prescribed gender stereotypes for their children, which included different activities in the house and outside. Parents from all three social classes sent their daughters to single sex religious schools. All favoured their sons over their daughters in formal education. Working class parents did send their children to work in different gendered occupations, for example dressmaking and domestic service for their daughters. If working class parents had the economic means to send some of their children to school they chose their sons.

Middle class and upper middle class parents invested in their daughter's education while the daughters were adolescents. Once the daughter was of a marriageable age, parents considered it was time to stop her education for her to marry. In the case of middle class women, parents expected their daughters to marry a man who would support their daughter. Parents were concerned with the financial contribution of the potential husband. Upper middle class, parents were concerned with the high status of the suitor as well as the financial aspect of the potential husband.

All three social classes socialised girls in terms of low academic expectations. One possible consequence of early gender stereotyping was that twenty seven out of thirty five women interviewed (77%) attached less value to their own formal education than to their domestic responsibilities. The proportion is as follows: 100% of working class women; 69% of middle class women and 80% of upper middle class women conferred less value on their own education. Nevertheless, in the 1990s, these women considered formal education paramount for their own children. Cumulative disencouragement may account, at least, in part for their lack of confidence in their ability to carry out intellectual tasks successfully. The respondents acknowledged they had little incentive to try to achieve high educational standards. Twenty per cent of women in the sample - three working class, two middle class and two upper class women - underestimated constantly and clearly their intellectual ability during the interviews. They blamed failure on their own intellectual inadequacies while explaining success in terms of luck. Marta described her work choices:

[Would you have been interested in doing a different job?]
[No, because] I realise I am a brute, an ignorant, I'm not capable of doing a different job. I couldn't take a secretarial job if I am not

able to do it! I am not equipped for doing something different than cleaning. I did what I thought I was capable of doing best: cleaning. I was well liked by all the people I worked for because I was doing a very good job (Marta 1997:22).

In continually negating their capabilities, these women failed to convince themselves they were capable of succeeding academically and avoided thinking about improving their skills for fear they would fail. Although, in the case of Marta she needed to work in order to live, the time needed to improve her skills was not available because she was also looking after her children. The point is that she negated her capacity to improve her skills.

Another example, Rafa from a middle class background said:

I didn't finish secondary school. I was lazy. My mother said I should do a secretarial course. But I was not capable of doing *estenotipia* either. I wanted to travel, so my excuse was to study abroad. I was so ill prepared... not because of my parents but because of myself, because I had decided not to study. I thought it was a shame. I could have done something else. Perhaps nothing would have changed. Perhaps I have fallen in the only thing I am useful for [she laughs]. Perhaps the only thing I was capable of doing was to make a home, to be a daughter, a mother and a grandmother. And there is no doubt that the education can be useful to educate your children better, and I have missed in that (Rafa 1997:7).

Defining herself as a daughter, a mother and a grandmother confers status on Rafa which the lack of qualifications have not given her. Nevertheless, Rafa only blamed herself for her lack of interest in formal education. When Rafa talked about the difference in her parents' attitudes towards her education and her sisters' and the education of her brothers, this is what she said:

We were 6 boys and 4 girls. My parents' attitudes regarding the education of the boys and the girls was very defined. My parents always said that the boys should study and if they didn't there was a big fuss. Regarding the girls, well...studies wouldn't be very useful to the girls because they would marry, have children and become housewives. Therefore, what the girls needed was to get married. It was that kind of attitude (Rafa 1997:4).

Possibly, the expectations parents had of their daughters influenced the expectations girls held for themselves, because as Rafa commented later, all of her brothers finished their university degree and none of the girls did. Consequently, low-expectations from daughters may have reinforced gender stereotypes that contributed to low self-esteem regarding their intellectual capacity.

It has been argued so far that different classes transmitted gender expectations 'appropriate' to each class according to the dominant Francoist ideology. What was accepted by one social class in terms of women's need to work for pay was not necessarily accepted by another. Working class girls were expected to work in the house and outdoors to contribute to household expenses. Middle class and upper middle class girls were expected not to work and to study until early adulthood while looking for a suitor to marry. However, all three classes expected girls to be devoted wives and mothers, and all stressed the values of docility and domesticity. All respondents from the three classes had to negotiate their way through social class and gender expectations which, in turn, came to be reflected in the understanding of themselves and others.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown some of the 'direct' disadvantages in the gross difference in outcomes amongst members of different social groups. For example, one of the observed differences is that women of working class background fell behind women of the middle class and upper middle class in pursuing formal education. Such direct disadvantages were the result of poverty and the need of girls to work on the land and/or in the household. It also reflected the cumulative effect of numerous smaller incidents of discrimination and discouragement such as working class families investing in boys' education instead of in girls' when they were short of money.

Members of the working class were more likely to have experiences that 'discouraged' occupational and educational achievements. For example, they were less likely to attend school for the legal minimum period of time. Again both structural and cultural factors produced those outcomes. Therefore low economic and cultural capital resulted in a process by which members of the working class group were less likely to aspire to what women of the middle class group considered 'good' jobs as a secretary or a nurse.

The data showed that girls received different messages compared to their brothers about their educational success and their job prospects in the world. Some attributed success to effort or luck, and failure to their lack of ability. They were less likely to receive praise for their abilities. With such attitudes engrained in their habitus it might well be expected that women would be less likely than their male counterparts to develop high status professional goals, or to persist in the struggle to turn ambitious occupational dreams into reality.

From this perspective it could also be inferred that the disadvantages that accrue from social origin are not necessarily the same. The amount and forms of cultural capital were conditioned by gender, by socio-economic origin, and once in the host country, by cultural and linguistic difference. Thus, since the group of women included individuals from middle and upper middle class it would be expected that middle class respondents outperformed educationally women from a working class background.

However, family and school were critical institutions in the shaping of respondents' identities and the effects of the two were examined here. This chapter showed that family and school had a strong impact on the occupational and educational attainment of young women and that this impact often operated in a manner of disadvantage.

The process of disadvantage operated differently by social class and gender. Middle and upper middle class women suffered setbacks, mainly through their experiences with parental and societal attitudes towards their education, while women from a working class background found additional barriers with regard to parents financing daughters' education.

The next part of the thesis will deal with women's experiences after migration to the UK. Chapter 5 will examine the role which the Spanish and British governments had in the movement of Spanish migrants to the UK and the ways these policies were gendered in different periods. Immigration laws were shaped by the assumptions both countries shared regarding the gendered character of migration. The conceptualisations of women held by Spanish and British institutions corresponded to distinct political discourses and economic interests

that governed both countries during the period studied. These political conceptualisations of Spanish migrant women complete the initial mapping of the construction of gender and national identity. This theme will be developed further in Chapters 6 and 7 on 'Narratives of Spanishness, Englishness and foreignness'.

PART III

CHAPTER 5

APPROACHES OF GOVERNMENTS, CHURCH AND FAMILIES ON SPANISH MIGRATION TO THE UK

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the role of Spanish and British governments in the movement of Spanish emigrants to the UK and the ways in which their policies were gendered in different periods. The chapter also explores the existence of an alternative Spanish social network which facilitated emigration. This sometimes worked in concert with the official channels, offered by the governments, and sometimes subverted these. This chapter suggests that migration policies in both countries were not only shaped by economic and political interests but also by the assumptions of Spanish and British governments about the gendered character of migration.

Official statistical data from Spain and the UK is used to outline the gendered aspects of migration from Spain in different historical periods. It also discusses the economic sectors in which Spanish migrant women were employed. The chapter raises questions about why Spanish working class immigrant women worked mainly in domestic service, hotels, the catering industry and hospitals in the UK. The use of fieldwork data with Spanish organisations and the Catholic Church will illustrate how these facilitated gendered migration.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first part has two themes: a comparative overview of Spanish migration to Europe, in particular, the UK and the

confusing criteria used by official bodies to classify migrants. The second part is concerned with why British and Spanish economic and foreign policy came together to facilitate labour migration from Spain. It explores the shared assumptions both countries had about the gendered character of migration and looks at the different conceptualisations held by both countries of migrant women in particular periods. The third part deals with how the networks of relatives and the Spanish Catholic Church constructed women migrants in the process of facilitating their migration to Britain.

Overview of Spanish immigration to Britain

The analysis here is of the main trends of immigration into Britain. The aim is to see what nationalities were the main immigrant groups to Britain since the Second World War. Britain has taken in a large number of workers from overseas, from the countries of the Commonwealth, and from various foreign countries, particularly those of Southern Europe. The arrival of Commonwealth immigrants had been a matter of public controversy and concern. However the presence of Southern European immigrants has tended to be ignored at the level of public political debate (Miles 1993:130). This immigration has not been studied in the same depth as Commonwealth immigration in Britain.

Nearly half the non-Commonwealth workers who came to Britain on work permits between 1962 and 1972 were women, as were nearly 20 percent of Commonwealth workers (MacDonald 1972:17). "During most of the years between 1871 and 1971 the movement of population into Britain was composed mainly by Europeans" (Holmes 1988:277). Until the 1970s most women coming to work in Britain were from Southern European countries. There were consistently more women than men

coming from Portugal to work, and until 1965 the same was true for Spain (MacDonald 1972:19). The majority of men were married and the majority of women were single or widowed. The jobs that they came to do were mainly service jobs: domestic work in homes and hospitals, work in the hotel and in the catering industry. The 1961 census shows that 75% of Spanish women were employed in domestic service (British Census 1961:208). Southern European immigrants have not always been marked out by 'race' or colour. However the degree of prejudice and discrimination they have encountered has been remarkably similar to the experience of 'black' and other racialised immigrants in Britain (MacDonald 1972:7; Ministerio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social 1986:111).

The administrative tendency between 1940-1975 in Britain and Spain was automatically to classify migrant women as 'dependants' rather than 'principal' migrants. The formulation of migration laws and regulation was influenced by prevailing conceptions of the family, and the roles that different family members ought to play. As will be shown, women were viewed as spouses or daughters and assumed to have dependent roles, with their husbands or fathers deemed responsible for them. This policy ignored women who came to Britain as workers independent of husbands and fathers. This policy also overlooked the many women who, although not entering on work permits, took employment once in Britain, i.e. were independent wage earners.

Durán Villa claims - in his study on Spanish Galician immigrants in Britain between 1960-1980, which used official statistics from Spain and Britain - that there was a higher proportion of emigrant women, (54.35%) who emigrated to Britain compared with 45.65% of men in the period 1962-1980 (Durán Villa 1985:111), contrary to the Spanish Institute of Emigration figures. This phenomenon did not take place with

any other European receiving country despite the fact that there was no labour treaty between Spain and the UK (IEE¹ 1964:5). The proportion of Spanish emigrant men to France, Germany and Switzerland was much higher than those going to the UK. García Fernández points out the singularity of Spanish women migration to the UK in his study of Spanish international migration:

The predominance of Spanish male emigration has been a constant since 1946 for virtually all the countries. The only case in which there has been a higher number of Spanish female emigration is to the United Kingdom where Spanish migration has been canalised to the domestic service...Thus, this year [1962] of a total of 732 [official] emigrants, 480 were women and 252 were men (Ministry of Labour 1962:30 quoted in García Fernández 1965:77).

Nowadays there is 25,000 Spanish immigrants in Britain, most of them women' (Fomento Social 1962:331 quoted in García Fernández 1965:77).

In analysing the nature of migration from Spain to the UK, a range of influences needs to be taken into account. To see changes in migration policies in both countries and how these affected women's experiences of migration and influenced representations of themselves, the following aspects will be taken into account:

- a) Socio-economic and political factors in Spain and its regional diversity.
- b) The legislative framework in the United Kingdom and the extent to which it encouraged migration from Spain to the UK.
- c) Socio-economic factors in the UK such as labour market demand.
- d) The historical relationship between the UK and Spain.
- e) The mechanism by which most of the migration was achieved: official channels

¹ IEE refers to documentation from the Spanish Institute of Emigration (Instituto Español de Emigración).

and unofficial social networks. While official data does not show the existence of kin ties and informal social networks between the migrants and the UK, field work has revealed that extended family and Spanish religious organisations performed important functions in Spain and the UK in facilitating migration.

It has been suggested so far that European migration to the UK has received little academic attention in comparison to colonial immigration. Spanish migration to the UK is distinctive due to the higher number of Spanish women who emigrated to the UK, compared to the number of men. This trend is contrary to a high rate of emigration of Spanish men to Northwest Europe.

The next section will investigate Spanish migration trends to the UK. It will examine the official documentation on Spanish migration to the UK based on documentation from official bodies in both countries. It will also look at the limitations of this type of data.

Official statistical trends on Spanish migration to the UK and its flaws

This section will examine official documentation from Spain and the UK. The material draws on statistical information based on British and Spanish sources. The analysis of this material includes a comment on the difficulties of trying to make sense of the British and Spanish statistical data. The fact that serious deficiencies remain in British and Spanish migration statistics is underlined in the confusion of categories. It is argued that the inadequate and confusing statistical data on women's migration has contributed to their invisibility.

For the purposes of this thesis there have been three main problems in making use

of official statistical data. First, it is patchy and inadequate; second, the existing data is inadequately processed; third, the conflicting requirements between categories that could bring out invisible immigrant groups such as Italians, Portuguese, Spaniards, are non-existent at some points in time. In the late 1940s categories such as 'other' or 'alien' in the British census were used to classify people from Spain, it was grouped with USSR or Turkey and other countries that were not considered European at the time (Home Office 1950:Session 1948-1949).

Spanish and British official statistics refer only to long-term (one year or more) emigrants. Discrepancies between legal time and real time in the host country are particularly common, especially because Spanish immigrants were regulated through the issuance of renewable work or residence permits (IEE 1988:231). Diverse groups were specified in the reports of 'foreigners' entering and leaving the UK. For example, under the heading 'Persons [other than workers or diplomats] admitted for twelve months' were included:

Girls coming to learn English on an 'au-pair' basis; students coming for full time courses of study; persons who come to join religious houses or perform pastoral duties; female servants allowed to accompany their employers from abroad because they had been in the service for some time; wives and minor children coming to join foreigners already residing in Britain; foreign husbands or wives coming to join their British spouses (Home Office 1972:Session 1970-1971).

Thus, this categorisation assumes that 'au pairs' 'female servants' and 'wives' who joined their husbands were not workers. A further complication in analysing the migration of Spanish women to the UK was the administrative tendency to automatically classify women as 'dependants' rather than as 'principal' migrants.

This tendency ignored the women who, although not entering on work permits, took employment in Britain.

The British censuses included different tables using different classificatory criteria every ten years. For example, the census of 1951 had an Occupation table by country of birth and sex which showed the total of the Spanish population in the UK by occupation, but not by marital status. The census of 1961 included an Occupation table by country of birth, sex and marital status. However, the census of 1971 did not contain an Occupation table but a Country of Birth table by sex and marital status. Therefore, it has been difficult to draw a complete picture of Spanish immigration in the UK, trying to compare trends across the time period studied.

The major difficulty in Spanish statistics has been the non-existence of data regarding continental emigration (emigration to Europe) from 1931 to 1959. This information was collected by the IEE in Madrid and my talks with the department of international migration librarian led me to the conclusion that many of the statistical archives and documents on emigration prior to 1962 had been utilised to feed the heating and warm up the library. When these documents amounted to a number that the librarian, at the time, considered excessive they were thrown away.

Official Spanish documentation refers only to those emigrants who were assisted by the Institute of Emigration. This excluded the large quantity of emigrants that left Spain to work abroad unsupervised by official agencies. These documents do not distinguish between men and women emigrants to Europe until 1962 (IEE 1976:41). Spanish statistics did not take into consideration Spanish women who married British nationals because they automatically became British. Under the Spanish nationality law a woman's nationality was determined by that of her husband. If a

Spanish woman married an alien, that is a man without a Spanish subject status, she was defined 'out' of the Spanish nation and she was expected to take on the nationality of her husband (IEE 1976:46). Therefore, most of the middle class and all the upper class women in this study were classified as British subjects after they married British nationals.

The British censuses and the Spanish figures displayed inconsistency and confusing numerical data. The following example in Table 2 illustrates this.

Table 2 Number of Spanish migrants in Great Britain

Document	Year	Number of migrants	Males	Females
British census	1971	49,470	22,135	27,335
British census	1981	40,047	17,497	22,550

(Source: Tables on Spanish residents in Great Britain, Country of birth tables, British Census 1971:26;1981:164)

British police	1971	22,527		
British police	1981	7,305		

(Source: Ministerio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social 1985:41)

This information can be contrasted with the following statement:

There was officially a population of 58,120 Spanish immigrants residing in Britain at the end of 1977. However, it is estimated that the

real figure was approximately 72,000 (IEE 1980:24).

Figures published in the British censuses that refer to the same years 1971 and 1981 do not correspond with the figures of a report published by the Spanish Embassy in London based on reports from the British Police on Spanish migrants registered with the British police on the same years . The third amount refers to a report on Spanish immigration in Britain from the Spanish Institute of Emigration in Madrid.

In 1971 the Spanish population in Britain is represented by two different figures based on two different criteria: Spanish residents according to the British Censuses and the registry used by the British police based of Spaniards who had arrived in Britain within the last four years and who were obliged to register with the police on an annual basis indicated the number of Spaniards who were residents in Britain for more than four years, children under the age of 16 and diplomats were excluded from the police records (Ministerio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social 1985:41). Other groups that were excluded from the official accounts were Spanish women married to British men. Spanish women married to men from Gibraltar were also considered British.

British and Spanish official accounts of the number of Spanish women migrants drew on migration policies that assumed women were dependents. The tendency was to group women with children. Women, who were married to British nationals, were not categorised as migrants. These assumptions contribute to a confusing and inadequate account of the immigrant population in the UK. The different criteria used by British and Spanish official bodies to account for Spanish immigrants in the UK fail to provide an accurate picture of this migration. With these weaknesses noted, the next section will show the main trends of Spanish migration to Britain

based on statistical documentation from both countries.

Gender trends in Spanish migration to the UK in official documentation

This section will look at the statistical picture of official Spanish migration to Britain throughout the period studied. The purpose of this section is to explore two different aspects that have influenced women's migration: the changes in historical contexts and migration policies in Spain and the UK, and the changes in the economic needs of both countries. The analysis of these changes will help to show how women's representations of themselves have been affected by the experiences of migration.

What the statistics show

Figure 1 gives the rounded percentage of employment applications to the UK by Southern European workers in the 1960s. Before 1961 the Ministry of Labour Gazette was written in the form of a journal of events related to national and foreign work recruitment. There was not a consistent classification of workers until 1961. From 1973 Greece and Italy do not appear on the annual analysis of work permits issued by country of origin of foreign workers (non EEC). Thus, this section can only analyse the comparative data of Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain in the years 1961, 1965 and 1970.

Figure 1 suggests that the Spanish migrant population in the UK was as large as the Italian population between the years 1961-1970.

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(*Source:* Author's compilation and calculations using data from The Ministry of Labour Gazette² 1962:177;1966:229;1971:262).

However, there was no bilateral intergovernmental schemes for recruitment between Spain and the UK, nor between Portugal and the UK (IEE 1981:2). The intergovernmental scheme between the UK and Italy was a factor in bringing over Italians in the 1950s (MacDonald 1972:45). The Spanish migrant presence in Britain may have been neglected by the literature on European immigration to Britain due to the absence of labour treaties and official documentation on this migration. In contrast, the British government made an explicit demand for Italian labour via job advertisements and representatives sent to Italy to attract labour to Britain:

In the 1950s private firms placed advertisements in Italian newspapers

² The Ministry of Employment Gazette changed its name to 'The Department of Employment Gazette' in 1970.

and sent representatives to Italy, as a result of which *young women whose horizons had been quite limited* were transported to a strange land (Holmes 1988:215) (italics added).

Articles were inserted in The Ministry of Labour Gazette for recruitment of Italian Labour for Iron Foundries in an agreement between the Engineering and Allied Employers' National Federation and the National Light Castings Iron Founders' Federation Gazette (The Ministry of Labour Gazette 1946:281). Two decades later, in 1964, Italians were free to circulate within the Common Market. For Spaniards free movement within the EC was only possible from 1992. However, despite the lack of labour treaties between the UK and Spain, Spanish migrants to the UK showed a steady increase from 1961 to 1970, whereas the pace of Italian labour demand slowed down rapidly from 1965 (MacDonald 1972:45).

The map below is based on material collected by Sánchez, in his study on the development of Spanish emigration in Europe. It shows that the migrant population of Spaniards in the UK was small compared with the number of Spanish migrants in France, Germany and Switzerland (Sánchez 1965:10). This can be explained by the different bilateral treaties that were signed between the Spanish Institute of Emigration and Belgium in 1956, the Federal Republic of Germany in 1960, France in 1961, Switzerland in 1961, the Netherlands in 1961 and with Austria in 1962, in order to guarantee the security of workers abroad (IEE 1988:497). These agreements did not include the UK.

Number of Spanish workers who reside in Europe, 1960

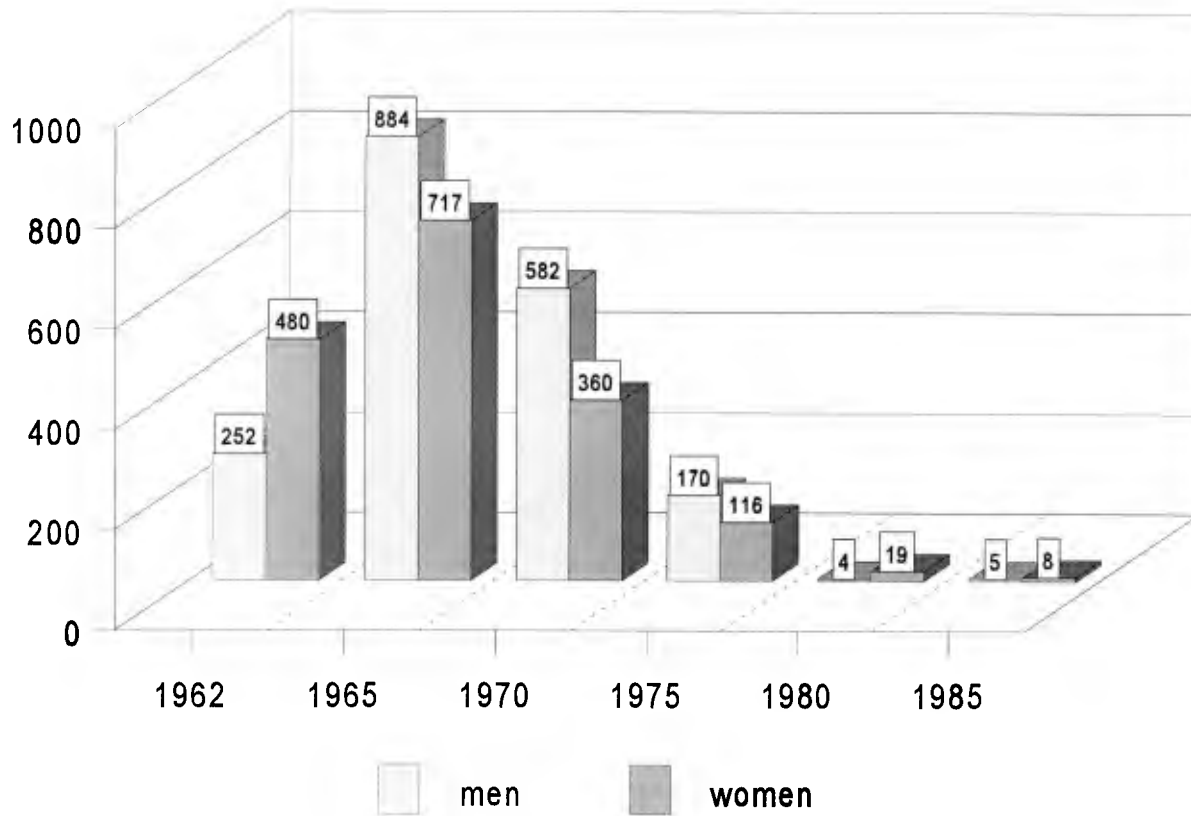
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France	300,000	Belgium	26,000
Germany	185,000	Netherlands	16,000
Switzerland	60,000	Austria	2,000
United Kingdom	30,000		

(Source: Sánchez 1965:10)

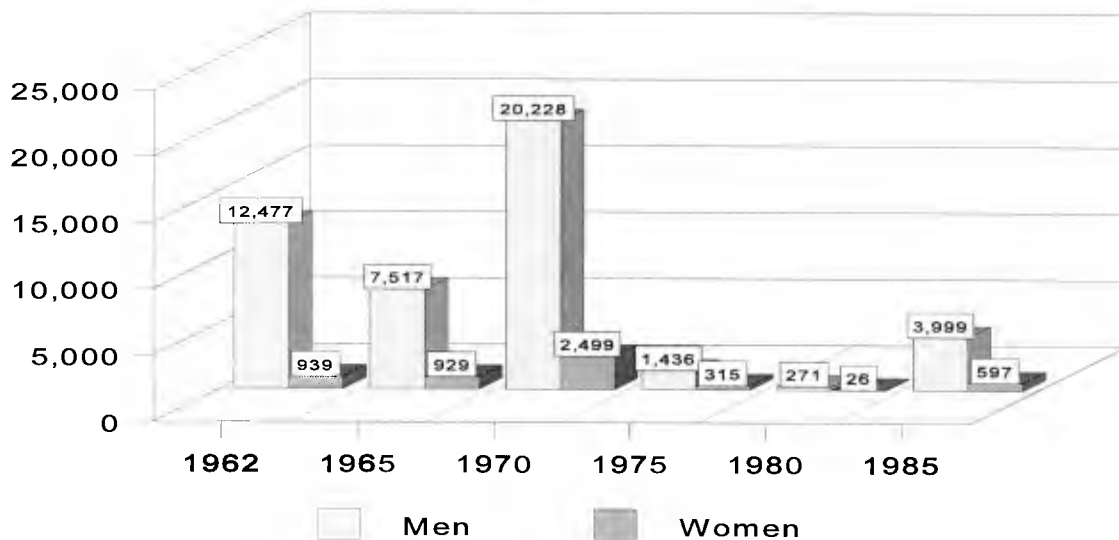
Figures 2-5 present an account of Spanish migration to the UK by sex from 1962 to 1985 according to the Spanish Institute of Emigration (IEE) figures.

Figure 2 Spanish emigration to the UK by sex, 1962-1985



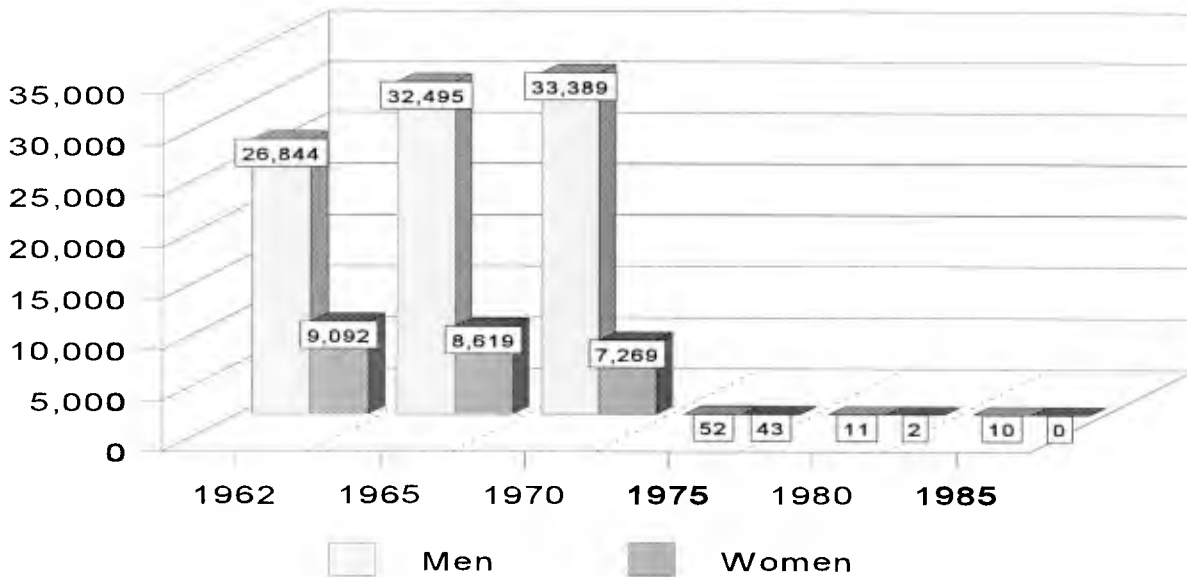
(Source: Author's own compilation and calculations based on data from the IEE, 1988:286).

Figure 3 Spanish emigration to France by sex, 1962-1985



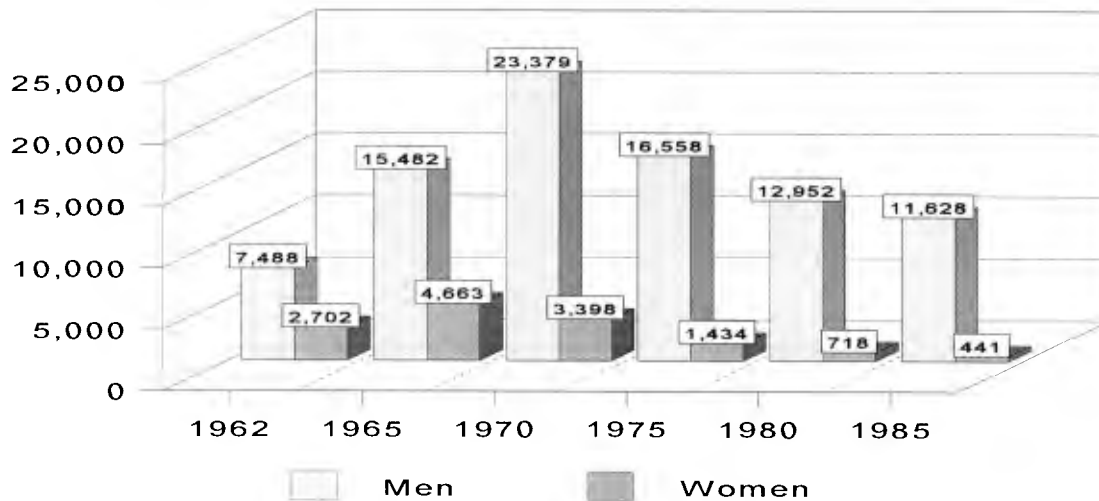
(Source: Author's compilations and calculations based on data from IEE 1988:188)

Figure 4 Spanish emigration to F.R. of Germany by sex



(Source: Author's compilation and calculations based on data from IEE 1988:201)

Figure 5 Spanish emigration to Switzerland by sex, 1962-1985

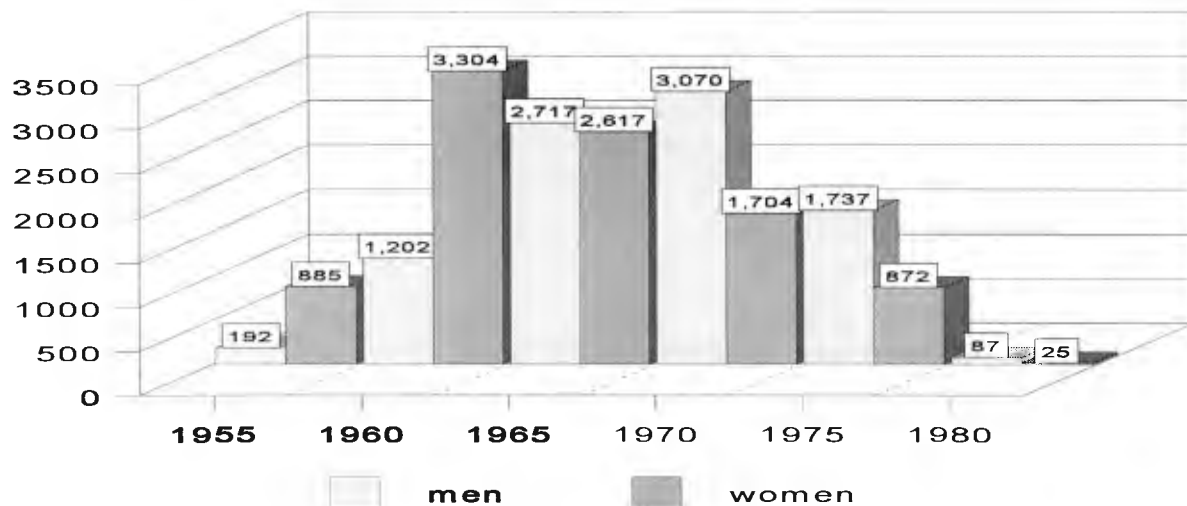


(Source: Author's compilation and calculations based on data from IEE 1988:195)

Figures before 1962 are not available as there was not a consistent and coherent account of Spanish emigration to Europe until the Spanish Institute of Emigration was set up in 1956 (Cabezas 1979:30; Durán Villa 1985:23; García Fernández 1965:16; IEE 1976:41; Tamames 1962:106). According to these figures the number of Spanish emigrant women who came to the UK was much larger than the number of Spanish emigrant women who left for other destinations in Northwest Europe.

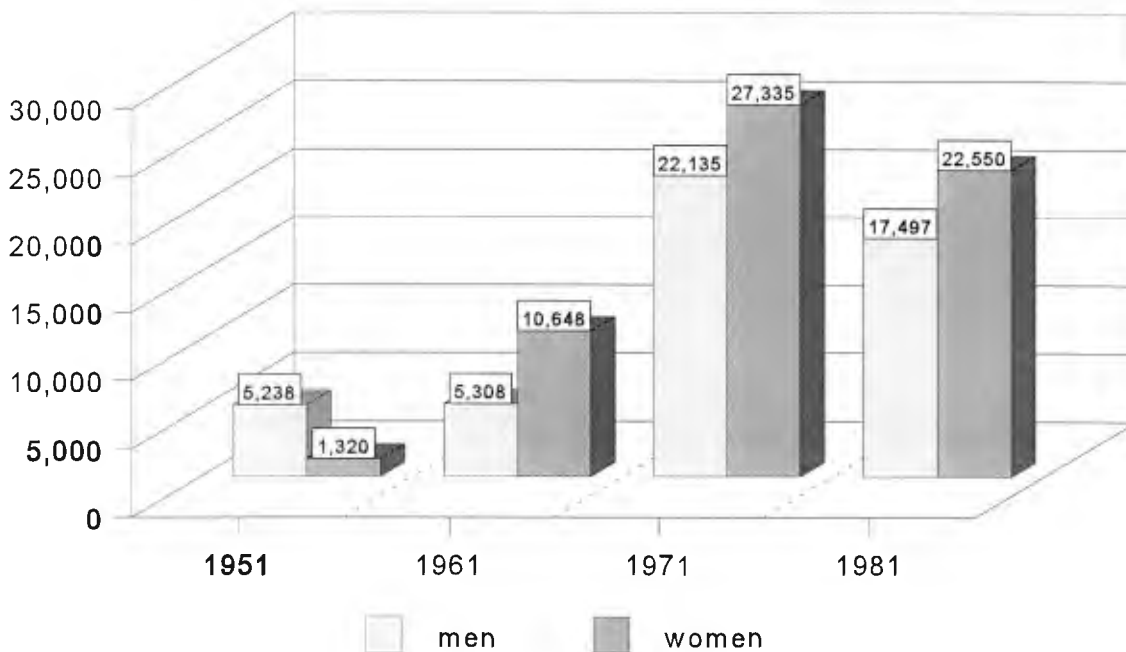
Figures 6 and 7 show the difference between two official accounts: Figure 6 indicates Spanish workers by sex admitted for twelve months or more to the UK from 1955 to 1980. Figure 7 shows Spanish nationals in the UK from 1951 to 1981 according to British censuses. The importance of migrant women is even more evident than in Spanish and British statistics on migrant workers. There is generally a larger population of Spanish migrant women than men resident in the UK except in 1951.

Figure 6 Home Office statistics, Spanish workers by sex, 1955-1980



(Source: Author's compilation and calculations based on data from the Home Office statistics of foreigners entering and leaving the UK 1955:Cmd.34; 1960:Cmd.1342; 1965:Cmd.2975; 1970:Cmd.4655; 1975:Cmd.6405; 1980:Cmd.8533).

Figure 7 British Census statistics on Spanish nationals in the UK, 1951-1981



(Source: Author's compilation and calculations based on data from the British Censuses 1951; 1961; 1971; 1981)

As can be seen there are discrepancies between the amount of immigration from Spain according to British statistics (Figures 6, 7) and the amount of emigration to the United Kingdom as reported by the official Spanish statistics (Figure 2). These can be explained first of all by the discrepancies in definition and terminology used by both countries. Spanish statistics are in respect of supervised migrants only. These are migrants who arranged their departures under official auspices - the Spanish Institute of Emigration - and who remained liable for legal obligations in Spain such as terms specified in the work contract. It is clear from Figure 6, however, that a substantial number of Spanish migrants entering the United Kingdom made their arrangements with employers in the UK, outside the Spanish government channels. Different sources writing about the period 1960-1975 point out the proportion of clandestine emigration from Spain as ranging from 35 to 57 per

cent (Durán Villa 1985:29; García Fernández 1965:16).

A high proportion of applicants for work between 1955-1980 were from women , this is shown by both Spanish and British official accounts. The field work of this thesis suggests that Spanish migrant women did not declare themselves as migrants, but as tourists, when crossing British borders. Once in England they would look for a job and become 'immigrant workers' after arrival. For example, Isabel who arrived in the UK in 1987 and was 32 years of age when interviewed said:

I came to England as a tourist I told the officers at the borders that I was visiting a friend for a while and then I started working illegally as a waitress in a pub (Isabel 1997:13).

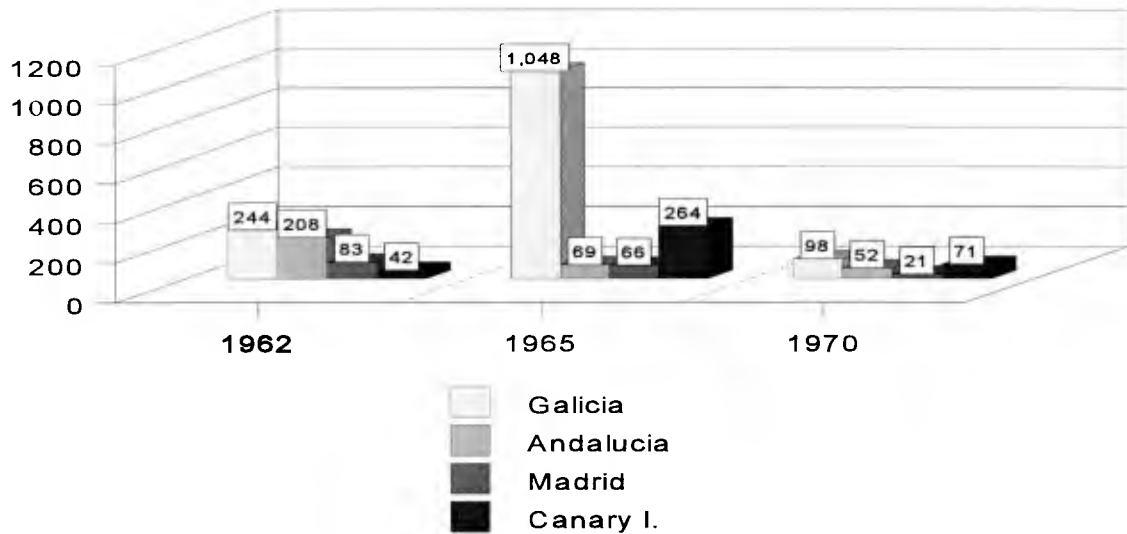
Another case is Veronica, who arrived in the UK in 1971. She came with her husband and was categorised as dependent of her husband at the British border:

I came with my husband. My brother in law had looked for a job for my husband. He had a letter from an employer but I didn't have any, so the day after we arrived in London I went with my sister in law to a house where they needed a domestic worker and I started to work the same day (Veronica 1997:8).

Women migrants were, probably, categorised as dependents and were not accounted for in the statistics of the British Labour Gazette, nor in the statistics of certain years of the British Home Office. Migrant women would not appear in the occupation figures in the British censuses if their work had not been officially declared. In this study, 10 working class women out of 13, and 2 middle class respondents out of 17, did not declare their waged work at some point in their lives in the UK.

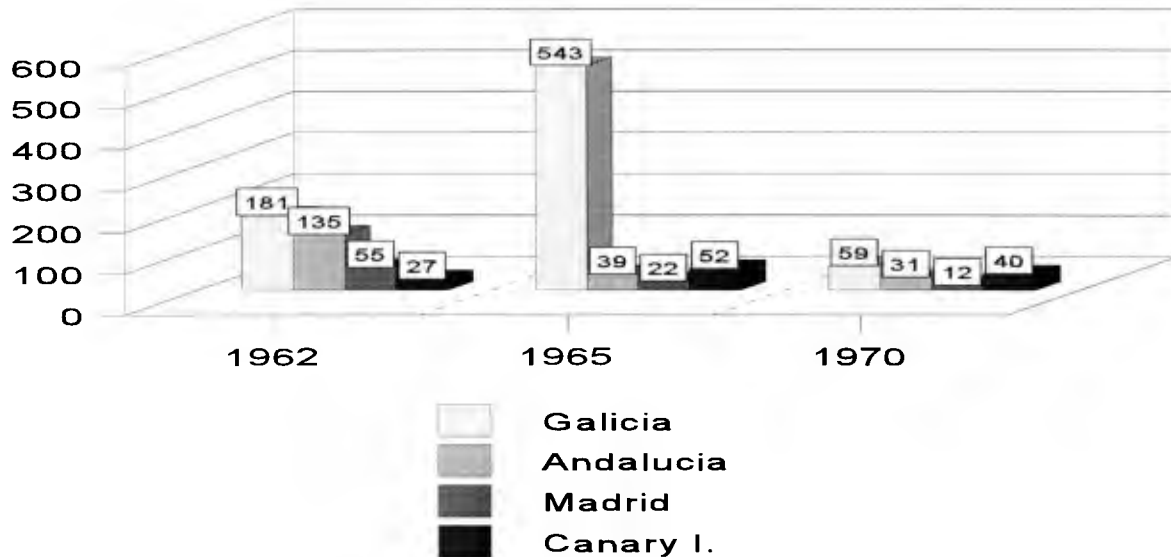
Figures 8 and 9 show that the main regions of origin were Galicia followed by Andalucía and the Canary Islands.

Figure 8 Spanish emigrants to the UK by region & year 1960-1970



(Source: Author's compilation and calculations based on data from IEE 1972:10-18).

Figure 9 Spanish emigrant women to the UK by region & year, 1960-1970



(Source: Author's compilation and calculations based on data from IEE 1972:10-18).

Migration from Galicia in the 1950s and 1960s was caused by the scarcity of land products and little investment on that region from Franco's government. In Galicia small farms provided most of a family's food and some extra cash. They were seen as insurance against male unemployment. Women's paid work often did not produce equivalent returns. Women were disadvantaged in the labour market by lack of skills, the oversupply of 'male' jobs and sex discrimination in many jobs (Buechler 1975:210). In comparison to other areas of Spain the agricultural burden on Galician women was much higher. In Galicia there was a preference for men to plow, for instance, if they were present; but work with tractors was and is considered a male task (Buechler 1981:57).

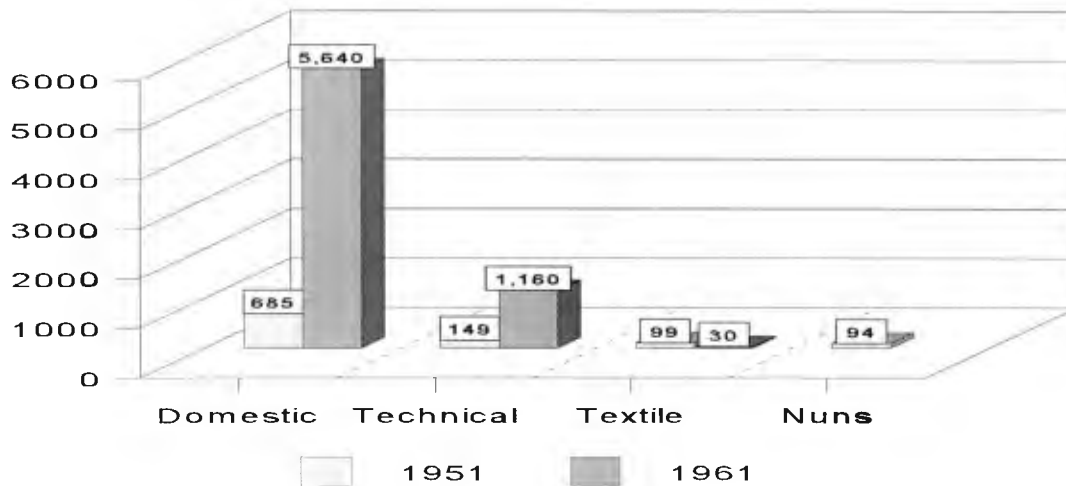
One of the respondents, Isabel 32 years old at the time of the interview, came to the UK in 1987. She described the gender characteristics of the work that her family did on Galician land. In 1960s her parents emigrated to Switzerland and returned to Spain in 1972.

Work was divided into men's jobs and women's jobs in the house and in the land my family had. Men cultivated the land: the job that required more physical strength. Women would collect leaves, a more boring but lighter and longer job: seven hours a day (Isabel 1997: 3,4).

In Andalucía the postwar years created a situation in which there was a struggle to use as much valuable land as possible. The growth of the population, as well as its immobility, demanded more from the land. In 1958 with the opening up of migration opportunities, a new phenomenon developed. With the outflow of labour, the cultivation of marginal land slowly began to be abandoned (García Fernández 1965:209; Gregory and Cazorla 1987:183).

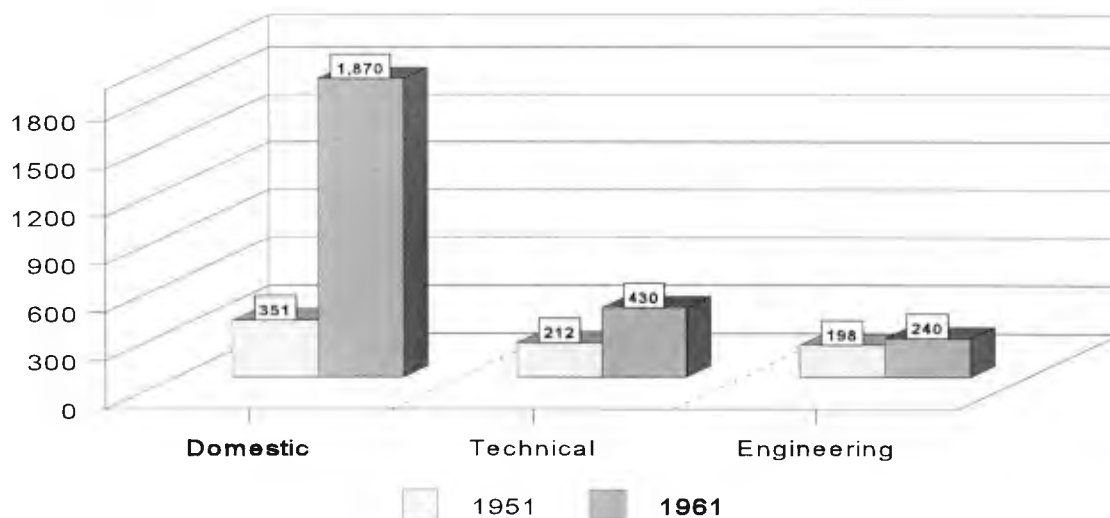
Figures 10-11 indicate that Spanish migrants, men and women who migrated to the UK between 1951-1961, worked mainly in the service sector: that is, personal services, principally as domestic workers in hotels and private homes, followed by waiters or waitresses and office keepers.

Figure 10 Occupations of Spanish immigrant women in the UK, 1950-1960



(Source: Author's compilations and calculations based on data from the British Census, Occupation Tables, 1951;1961)

Figure 11 Occupations of Spanish immigrant men in the UK, 1950-1960



(Source: Author's compilations and calculations based on data from the British Census, Occupation Tables 1951,1961)

Technical work was the second most frequent occupation of Spanish women workers in Britain. The lack of itemization makes it difficult to place Spanish workers precisely within the group. Apart from these groupings very few permits were issued by employers in other industries and enterprises.

The work permit system, under which most immigrant labour from Spain was admitted, no doubt reinforced the tendency for immigrants to remain in distinct occupations. Spanish migrant women were obliged by the British authorities to remain in the job position stated in the work permit for a period of four years, after which they were free to choose other jobs, if they had been good citizens (Holmes 1988:314). As one of the respondents interviewed asserted: "...after four years of working in the same domestic or catering job, I was free to work in whatever I wanted. But before that, I had to be officially with the employer I came to work with" (Veronica 1997:6).

Social networks operated, to the extent that employers often tended to recruit new foreign workers with the recommendation of established workers of the same nationality. Workers were more likely to propose kin members or acquaintances and neighbours from Spain. This method proved faster than dealing with the IEE. These new immigrants often settled in the same districts as their established acquaintances (Durán Villa 1985:47).

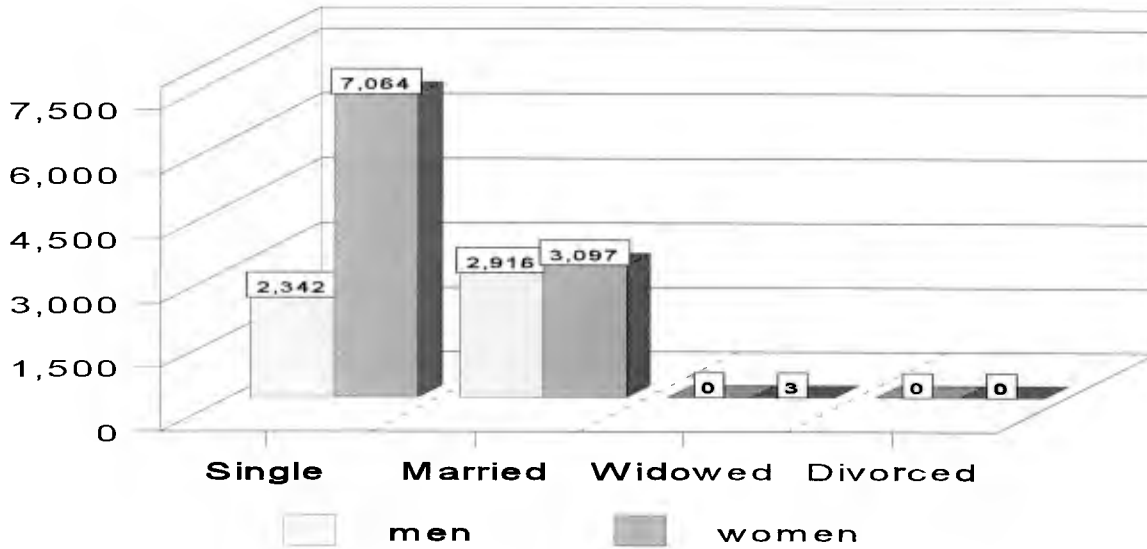
Respondents corroborated this. For example, Marta arrived in the UK in 1970 and was 52 years old when interviewed. She was from a village in Galicia. Marta described how she and her husband obtained work permits from Spain to come to London:

My husband had already a work contract before we came to the UK. It was through a relative of my father who had a bar. There, he knew a man who gave us the work contracts. There were two brothers who had a work agency and they were from Madrid. They looked for jobs for you and prepared contracts with the person in the UK who required an employee. They prepared all the necessary papers. They sent you the contract to your home and then you could come to London. We both had contracts. I came here earning £6 as a waitress and my husband £9 as a cook. The work contract stipulated £15 per couple per week. These types of contracts were given to married couples (Marta 1997:12).

The large proportion of emigrant women from the regions of Galicia and the Canary Islands suggests chain migration through informal social networks. Furthermore, impersonal recruitment, specially through domestic service agents, certainly played a conspicuous role in getting Spanish women to Britain (Durán Villa 1985:29). Prospective immigrants generally had to rely on informal social networks to find work or unofficial recruitment agencies. Since the Spanish authorities did not license any agencies for recruiting for Britain, the agencies had to operate in the areas where they had contacts through immigrants already in Britain. The agencies recruited to a great extent through the established chains, and thus supported the existing streams (Buechler and Buechler 1981:78; García Fernández 1965:241, MacDonald 1972:27).

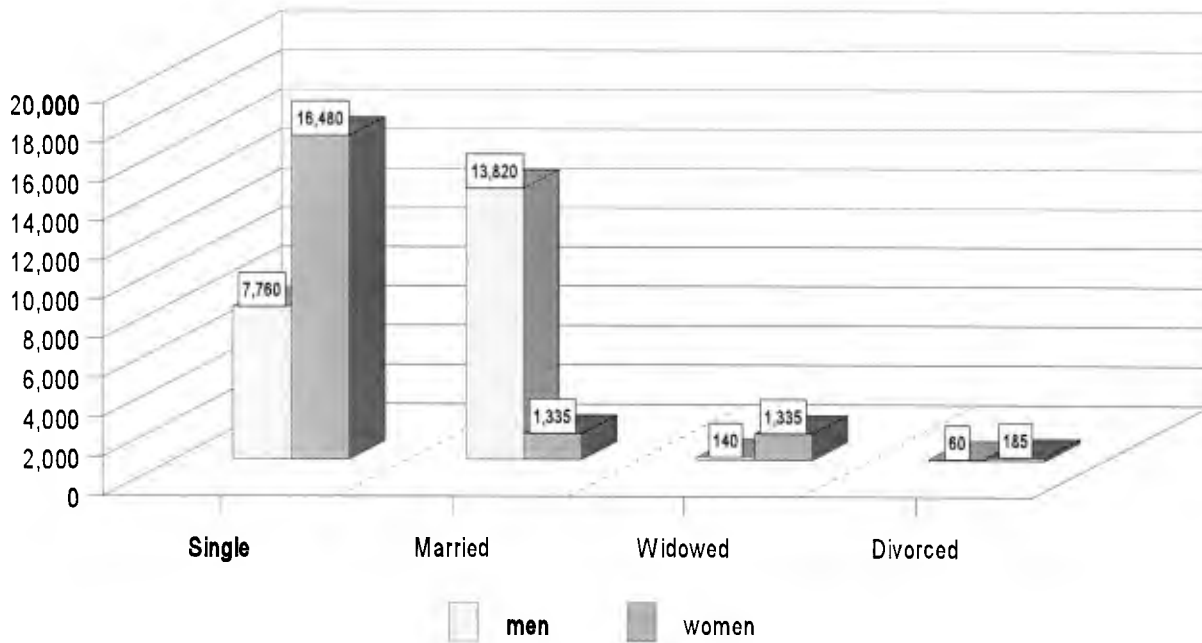
Figures 12-13 show that most Spanish emigrant women to the UK declared they were single when they arrived. This was because women workers, and couples entering domestic service were not permitted, by Home Office rules, to bring children into the UK. From the interviews I have conducted it is clear that some working class women pretended to be childless to gain entry to the UK.

Figure 12 Marital status of the Spanish immigrant population in the UK



(Source: Author's compilations and calculations based on data from the British Census, Marital status Tables, 1961)

Figure 13 Marital status of the Spanish immigrant population in the UK by sex



(Source: Author's compilations and calculations based on data from the British Census, Marital status Table, 1971)

They would leave their children at home to be looked after by relatives. Similarly, many working class immigrant women declared they were single, as the Home Office stipulated that only single women (between the ages of 18 to 45) could work in the service and catering sector (The Ministry of Labour Gazette 1950:15).

Tania's account confirms the official description of women migrants as domestic workers. Tania, the founder of a religious organisation to help Spanish women migrants in London, described their work conditions:

Spanish women came here to do jobs purely in domestic service, they were needed in hospitals, in public schools to do the cleaning. Most of the service in the boarding schools was Spanish.... in the restaurants, in the hotels. The natives didn't want to work in that type of job. Women's employers were responsible for them. The British government knew perfectly well where these girls were. This kind of job was precisely addressed to the woman, not to her husband or her family. The bad thing is that married women had to lie about their marital status. They said they were single to be accepted in Britain. They were not allowed to bring their children and their families with them. Some of these women left their children with their mothers. After some years they would bring their husbands and children to Britain (Tania 1997:26).

The next section will look at legislation and the extent to which migration from Spain to Britain was encouraged. This underlines the representations of women migrants held by the Spanish and British governments. These representations were based on economic and political criteria of different governments. They contributed to the shaping of women's lives in Spain, at the British borders and in the UK. In turn, migration policies influenced women's national and gender self-representations.

British and Spanish economic and foreign policies: facilitators of Spanish migration

The mechanisms by which Spanish migrants entered Britain were shaped by the political ideology that marked Spain and Britain between 1940-1992. For the purposes of this thesis, this period will be divided into three smaller periods: 1940-1959, 1960-1975, and 1976-1992. During these years there were political and socio-economic changes in Spain and in the UK. There was a demand for foreign workers in the UK from the mid forties until 1971, when the Immigration Act reduced the numbers through a quota system.

Contrasts in Spanish foreign policy on migration

This section analyses how the Spanish state viewed international emigration, especially during Franco's dictatorship, and will examine the major historical events that shaped Spanish emigration between 1940-1992.

In the 18th century Spanish laws punished emigrants by taking away their possessions. The emigrant was viewed as a traitor to the motherland. During the 19th century the government represented emigration as a disease for the nation. Emigrants were seen as victims of speculators driven by economic interest (Cozar Valero 1984:27). "Emigrants are crowded in narrow spaces and with no hygienic conditions. Moral and ethical principles should not allow this to happen" (Royal Order of the Ministry of the Government, *Real Orden del Ministerio de Gobernación* 16/Sept/1853 quoted in Cozar Valero 1984:25). When this ideology changed in the first decade of the 20th century, due to the large numbers of emigrants to South America, all Spaniards were free to emigrate. However, women

under the age of 21 were considered minors under the law and had to ask for permission from their father, husband or male guardian to emigrate. This law was enforced until 1975 when Franco died (Cozar Valero 1984:30).

Autarchy, international isolation and economic decline, 1940-1959

The Franco regime viewed migration differently at different times. There was one policy in 1939-1959 and another in 1960-1975. These shifts coincided with two different policy orientations to political and economic development. During the first period of Franco's dictatorship 1939-1959 international emigration was seen as an act of cowardice to the regime and a threat to Catholic morale, since the emigrant was believed to be exposing himself or herself to liberal and perverted societies (IEE 1973:15).

In the 1950s, it was rural poverty that drove field labourers and farmers to seek a better life in the cities. Later when changes in agricultural techniques and management helped to release rural labour for industry, it was underdeveloped areas where the proportion of the active population in agriculture was still high - around half of Extremadura and Andalucía - that supplied the flood of migrants within Spain and Northwest Europe. It was the south and central regions of Spain that became the reservoirs of labour and migrants went to Barcelona, Madrid or the farms of southern France (Saez 1976:304; Martín Hernández 1974:24; Serrano Carvajal and Montoya Melgar 1965:11). Franco's government was reluctant to facilitate emigration due to the political difficulties that Spain was going through after the Civil War (1936-1939). In fact, Franco fostered a policy of increasing the birthrate after the Civil War to 'rebuild' Spain. At the same time, there was international

hostility to the Spanish regime.

This period, between 1940-1959, was characterised by a pro-birth policy proposed by Franco's government which viewed women as mothers or potential mothers. This was accompanied by ideological propaganda in favour of a high birth rate, the aim being to achieve a total population of forty million inhabitants (Cousins 1995:184; Iglesias de Ussel 1991:285). As a consequence of this pro-birth policy there was a demographic revolution in Spain in the decade of the 1950s that increased the population by two and a half millions: from 28,368,642 in 1950 to 30,903,137 in 1960. This increased the potential 'male' active population as viewed by the regime (IEE 1976:51). The regime was successful in this period in discouraging emigration to Northwest Europe. However, the main cities of Spain could not provide enough jobs for the number of internal migrants. Therefore, the regime changed its policy with the creation of the Spanish Institute of Emigration in 1956. It facilitated, and aimed to regulate, international migration.

Openness to foreign capital, economic growth and rapid industrialisation, 1959-1975

The second period of the Francoist regime (1959-1975) is characterised by the creation of the Spanish Institute of Emigration (IEE) in 1956 and the Stabilisation Plan in 1959. The necessity of emigration - both internal and abroad - led to a sharp shift in the practices and ultimately in the ideology of the regime. It tacitly dropped the idea of the peasant as the 'moral reserve' of the nation, to be kept on the land by ambitious programmes of internal migration. It abandoned its struggle to keep the rural poor out of the great cities. By the end of the 1950s the government admitted the necessity of emigration. This was a dramatic change in the official vision of the

ideal Spanish society (Cozar Valero 1984:34).

Emigration was seen as a safety valve when the Stabilisation Plan - an economic policy planned by the most conservative part of the government - produced a recession (Cabezas 1979:8; Navarro López 1981:22). This plan was aimed at integrating Spain into the European market. The Stabilisation Plan opened the country to foreign investment, froze wages and limited credit (Abella 1994:12; Ródenas Calatayud 1994:63). The immediate result was recession and unemployment. Mr Ullastres, the author of the Stabilisation Plan, claimed that emigration was less a necessity than a great national project:

Europe and the world are calling us and if we go to them it is not to escape a possible deficit in the balance of payments [a reference to emigrants' remittances] but because it is our universal mission (FO 371/153287:1960).

This was typical of the defensive rhetoric of the regime which was also portrayed in films: 'the film must contain unequivocal examples advancing racial values or teachings of our moral and political principles' (Caparrós Lera 1976:38 cited in Higginbotham 1988:9).

The nationalistic tone was reflected in the Spanish folk songs of the late 1950s which presented the emigrant as a kind of hero, an adventurer seeking his living abroad but keeping alive in 'his' heart the Spain 'he' had left. Yet male migration in the 1950s, for working class Spaniards, was not a choice but a harsh necessity (Martín Hernández 1974:24).

In this period the active population of whole villages in Andalucía (the southern

region of Spain) for example, left after the harvest to work in the vineyards and sugar-beet fields of France. The conditions were hard and the contracts uncertain. Others left to work as waiters and chambermaids in the seaside hotels of the Spanish Mediterranean coast. Seasonal earnings helped poor peasants to balance their budgets. Such work produced as much as 70 per cent of their cash income (García Fernández 1965:240).

Veronica, originally from Galicia, described her experience as an internal migrant going to the coast in Barcelona during the summer. Veronica came to the UK in 1971. She was 46 years of age at the time of the interview and worked as a cleaner in London.

We [her husband and her] came to the UK because the job we had in Spain was not enough for the two of us. We were doing seasonal work in La Costa Brava (Catalan coast) during the summer in the catering industry. In the winter we didn't have work and it was like that all the time (Veronica 1997:2).

The patterns and motives of the emigrants of the 1950s saw themselves as pushed by intolerable poverty. Those of the 1960s were younger and saw emigration in terms of increased opportunities, as an escape from villages and 'agrotowns' where casual labour gave precarious rewards (Castells 1986:72). There was a massive migration from the rural to urban parts of Spain, a rapid industrialisation, and a slow increase in women's participation in paid work (Instituto de la Mujer 1985:198; Cousins 1994:55).

The exodus had begun in the 1950s and by 1960 Andalucía had lost over half a million workers; by 1970 1,600,000 Andaluces were living outside their native provinces - 712,000 in Barcelona alone (García Fernández 1965:140; Gregory and

Cazorla 1987:183). Cousins explains the situation for women in Spain:

Large scale migration from rural to urban areas in Spain and to other countries affected both men and women, although the latter have remained invisible in most studies of migration. For example, one study suggests that in 1968 emigration displaced 12% of the active male population outside the country but 35% of the female workforce (Durán 1972). Single women were recruited in greater numbers than married women in the early years of recruitment to the northern cities. Especially important was the large numbers of Spanish women who went to work as domestic servants in France although this declined after 1975 (Cousins 1994:52).

The Spanish Institute of Emigration took steps to encourage officially the emigration of Spanish workers to reduce unemployment. The Institute provided a clearing house for foreign employers, now eager to contract Spanish workers. Work contracts were offered directly in Spain, signed before departure and included paid transportation to place of employment (Serrano Carvajal and Montoya Melgar 1965:12).

The creation of the Institute of Emigration guaranteed the security of workers abroad. Thus, Spain entered into agreements with several labour-importing countries of the Economic European Community (IEE 1988:492). Migration to France was facilitated by three agreements: an agreement regarding permanent workers, an agreement over temporary workers and an agreement with regard to frontier workers (FO 371/153287:1960). All the agreements were meant to normalize labour relations and to assure job protection of the workers in the host countries. One of the activities of the Spanish Institute of Emigration, *Instituto Espa`ol de Emigración*, was to set up and coordinate delegate bodies, *Agregadurías Laborales*, abroad which were supposed to protect 'legal' Spanish migrants abroad.

The Law of 21st of July, 1971 (Law33/1971) was passed to encourage the establishment of associations and centres with the purpose of maintaining Spanish identity abroad and allowing emigrants to maintain strong ties with their home country. After 1969 other governmental agencies, for instance, those under the Ministry of Education and Science, fostered cultural and educational activities amongst Spanish nationals abroad. The establishment of the General Headquarters for the Furtherance of Education and Culture within the framework of the Spanish Institute of Emigration (by Royal Decree dated July the 3rd, 1981) provided for the centralisation in one executive body of educational programs. These programmes included vocational training and the furtherance of cultural activities for Spanish migrants and their children abroad (IEE 1981:17). Houses of Spain, *Casas de España*, abroad were associated with the development of a cultural policy, whose aim was to preserve Spaniards' national identity.

However, the creation of the IEE contributed to two different categorizations of emigrants: assisted and 'illegal'. In the first case a receiving country, like the UK, would demand a specific labour force from the IEE in Spain. The jobs that Spaniards had access to through the IEE were in the hotel business, as waiters, cooks, assistants, and cleaners; in domestic service, working in private households, hospitals, offices, schools; and in agriculture (IEE 1980:26). Statistics indicate that this kind of emigration, represented only a small percentage in the migratory current to UK. Thus, according to the IEE in 1977 there was a population of 58,120 Spanish immigrants resident in Britain, but the IEE estimated that the real figure was approximately 72,000 (IEE 1980:24).

The time-consuming bureaucratic procedures of the Spanish Institute of Emigration in dealing with employers abroad and potential emigrants reduced the chances of

immediate emigration. Potential emigrants had to fill in questionnaires and establish a work contract through the consulate with the target company in the UK. Potential emigrants had to specify conditions of work, fulfil medical and age conditions and wait for the official papers in order to leave Spain (IEE 1988:22).

In the 1960s emigration was represented by Franco's regime as both the embodiment of modernisation and economic progress, as the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs stated in a letter to the Home Office, dated 23rd December, 1960:

In this preparatory phase journeys must be organised with the highest guarantees for the moral and material interests of the emigrants. The control which has been given to the Spanish Institute of Emigration has yielded immediate beneficial results, which affect also our balance of foreign exchange since this control has enable the transport of the majority of emigrants to be directed to national lines of communication...The work of vigilance and protection which thanks to the renowned Corps of Emigration and labour inspectors...calls for no comment from me other than that of expressing to those concerned the gratitude of the government for what they are doing, and the hope in what they will continue to offer for the benefit of our emigrant compatriots (FO 371/153287:1960).

The Minister went on to speak of the commercial and cultural interchanges which ordered emigration would bring in its wake, and of the benefits which would accrue to Spanish shipping and airlines. He also spoke of the social security measures which would protect the emigrants, and of the necessity of putting an end to their scandalous exploitation by 'unscrupulous individuals', who had been increasingly active in the field of emigration to other European countries. In a patriotic peroration the Minister referred to Spain's traditional role of a carrier of civilization (FO 371/153287:1960).

It is clear that the Minister, at the time, did not refer to Spanish emigration to the

UK, since there was no labour treaty between both countries, and the 'security' of these migrants was left to themselves. Non-regulated migrants, that is migrants that had not been assisted by the Spanish Institute of Emigration, were not the responsibility of the Spanish Consulate in London. They had to look to other sources for assistance.

'Unregulated' emigrants were those entering the UK, either through an agency for domestic work, or clandestinely. The level of clandestine migration to the UK was impossible to measure accurately, partly because of the method of entry. This emigration was not assisted by the IEE. Research by Durán Villa, based on a survey conducted in London in 1985 among a hundred Galicians revealed that only 9% of those emigrants were assisted by the IEE, as opposed to 91% who obtained work permits from relatives and friends or agencies. Three agencies were operating in London, Tras Channel, Metropolitan, Continental; and one in Galicia: Sánchez (Durán Villa 1985:29). Durán Villa's study estimated that clandestine emigration amounted to about 41% of the Spanish emigrant population in the UK in 1985. This type of migration was canalised through relatives and friends already residing in the UK.

Anecdotal evidence collected for this study from a Spanish organisation in London points to a Consul in Galicia who was the mediator between wealthy families in London in need of a cleaner/au-pair and women looking for a job abroad. He gave letters of acceptance for work to these women. Most working class women interviewed for this study officially entered the UK as dependents, if they were married. Once in the UK they were introduced to a relative's employer and got a job 'in situ'. Marta, 52 years old at the time of the interview, arrived in the UK in 1970:

My husband and I were working as seasonal workers in Spain, we are from Galicia but we would go to hotels in the coast of Catalu`a to work as chambermaid and chauffeur. These jobs did not give enough money. Then, we came to London with a letter of recommendation for my husband from his brother's employer. I knew I could get a job through my friend. She was working for several English ladies, cleaning, and she had told me that there was a lot of work here. After our arrival in London I went with friend to a lady who was a friend of her employer. My friend acted as an interpreter. I had no idea of English, but to clean you don't need to speak. I started work that same day (Marta 1997:8).

Some of the single women interviewed for this study, saw an advertisement in the newspaper in Spain, answered it and came to the UK with a letter for a potential employer. Other single women came through religious organisations. They came with a letter from a priest or a Mother Superior in Spain. Teresa, aged 67 at the time of the interview, was from Barcelona and worked as a live-in domestic until she came to the UK in 1960. She was single and described how she got a job in London:

A friend of mine was working in a village near London. I wanted to leave Spain. I was tired of working in Barcelona, so my friend told me to get a passport and to visit her. Her employer had asked her whether she knew another girl who wanted to work with her. My friend wanted to leave that family because she had found another one who paid her better. When I got my passport I went there as a tourist and started working for the family. I was lucky because the lady knew some Spanish and French. I worked for that family for 17 years (Teresa 1997:13).

None of the working class or middle class respondents in this study came to the UK assisted by the IEE. None of them received any help from the IEE or its aggregate body, *Agregaduría Laboral*. Indeed there is a common criticism amongst the respondents of both social classes who pointed out the failure of the IEE to help them in any way. Cruz, 32 years old at the time of the interview, arrived in the UK

in 1990 and was outraged by the attitude of one officer in the IEE:

I called the IEE when I came to London in January 1990. I had come here as an au-pair and after one week I realised that the family wanted me to work all day. I didn't have any time to attend English classes. When I attempted to negotiate my time with the family I was told I had to leave the house by 12 midday the following morning. When I called the IEE to see what I could do about this situation they told me that I had come here as a servant, *chacha*, [a pejorative term to denote domestic workers] and I should have expected this. This family should have given me, at least, one week notice. I had to look for a roof to sleep under the following day! (Cruz 1990:24).

The rest of the respondents emphasised the dismissive attitude of the IEE, which treated them as mendicants. It did not act as a protecting and helping official body for Spaniards abroad.

Respondents indicated that direct recruitment by employers of relatives of Spaniards residing already in the UK proved an effective mechanism of labour recruitment. However, this mechanism ridiculed a state-controlled immigration policy. Immigrants who had entered the country outside the jurisdiction of the IEE could legalise their position merely by proof of an offer of work. This procedure was to become the major mode of immigration into UK in the 1960s. However, the British Immigration Act of 1971 and the quota system that accompanied it in 1973 reduced Spanish immigration drastically (Durán Villa 1985:72; Holmes 1988:309).

This section has argued that the movement of workers had two consequences for the Spanish national economy as a whole.

First, the main purpose of Spanish politics of fostering emigration had been to eliminate the available excess of labour, sending workers abroad. Unemployment

and underemployment were avoided while, at the same time, employment at higher wages outside Spain was obtained by thousands of rural as well as urban workers (García Fernández 1965:212; IEE 1976:72; 1981:14). High flows of remittances from those abroad stabilised the balance of payments providing foreign exchange which allowed Spain to consume more imports as well as import capital goods which contributed further to growth. (Cazorla 1989:147-149).

Second, the Spanish official plan for emigration to Northwest Europe stressed its temporary nature. An enactment of 25th January, 1975 by the Ministry of Labour was specifically directed to emigrants who contemplated returning home. The regulations foresaw the payment of documentation expenses and travel. It was about temporary emigrants. At the end of - what the Spanish government thought would be - a short period of time the economic position of emigrants would have improved, and migrants would return to Spain. In the meantime, the remittances sent to the relatives in Spain by the emigrants working abroad would help pay off the Spanish commercial deficit. Indeed, with the help of foreign tourism, this happened (Navarro López 1981:31; Ródenas Calatayud 1994:92).

The next section will examine British immigration policies and the socio-economic framework in which these developed. The economic factors were the most important reason why the UK allowed Spanish immigration.

British regulation of Spanish migration

Britain had an economic demand for cheap labour in the 1950s and the 1960s, and this facilitated the entry of unskilled and semi-skilled workers from Spain with little regard for the work and economic conditions of the immigrants. Holmes states that

work was the “most fundamental if not the most important relationship into which newcomers entered Britain” (Holmes 1988:281).

In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, the British government confronted a labour shortage which was regarded as a major obstacle to the reconstruction of British economy. At one point, the government calculated that more than a million additional workers would need to be found from outside the UK in order to resolve the labour shortage (Miles 1991:530). There was a need for cheap labour in Northwest Europe caused by human losses in World War II, and a declining birth rate in the UK, in particular. These impeded economic progress.

The transfer of workers from their home countries to the UK involved their concentration into types of employment where labour was ‘difficult to recruit’. As a result, they were to be found initially in unskilled and semi-skilled sectors of the economy rather than in administrative, clerical or supervisory work. (Holmes 1988:231, McDonald 1972:27). The gendered dimension of Spanish migration to Britain originated in the statements made by the Minister of Labour and National Service in the recruitment of foreigners. On the 11th of April 1946 the Ministry of Labour and National Service made a statement in the House of Commons on the admission of foreign women for domestic employment in hospitals and private households:

There is still a great need for domestic workers in hospitals and similar institutions...It is, therefore, proposed to approach the Governments of a number of European countries the possibility of enlisting their assistance in the recruitment of suitable women for private households. It is clear, however, that an immediate measure of relief is due, and it has accordingly been decided to reintroduce forthwith the system under which permits may be granted for the admission of individual

foreign women for service in private households...Under this scheme a permit may be granted to an employer who has not already a domestic staff, which is reasonably adequate having regard to the circumstances of the household, provided that my Department is satisfied that there is no suitable British women available (The Ministry of Labour Gazette 1946:94).

The poor payment in these jobs may have deterred British women from taking them and attracted foreign labour. Placings were always subject to the condition that European workers could be employed only when no suitable British labour was available and there was usually a clause in the contracts which stipulated that in cases of redundancy the foreign worker would be the first to be dismissed (MacDonald 1972:52). The upgrading of wages and promotion were amongst a number of sensitive matters that featured in the contracts. In order to satisfy the Home Office, the European workers were allowed an extension of their stay only if they had abided by the relevant employment conditions and behaved as worthy members of the British community. These workers were tightly controlled by British immigration policies. The official requirements of Spanish entry in the UK were a work permit issued by the IEE for a maximum period of twelve months. Once the worker arrived in the UK s/he had to register with the British police.

The worker had to report any change of job or address to the British police and renew his/her permit annually. The worker could apply for permanent residence to the Home Office after four years of living in the UK with a temporary work permit, so that s/he would be excused from notifying the police about such things as a change of job or address (IEE 1988:189). The basic condition which had to be satisfied before permission was given to an employer to engage a foreign worker was that the employment was reasonable and necessary and that no suitable British or long resident foreign labour was available (The Ministry of Labour Gazette

1950:15).

In 1960 there was a very large exodus of workers coming from Mediterranean countries towards a 'more developed' Northwest Europe (Beyer 1976:13; Bohning 1976:572).

Over half the applications for a job in the UK granted by the Home Office, in 1961 and 1963, were for work in domestic employment in private households, hospitals, nursing homes, schools and in the hotel and catering industry. The rest of the applications were mainly granted to student employees in industry and commerce, hotels and restaurants (The Ministry of Labour Gazette 1962:123; 1964:89). This continued to be the case in the following years until 1972 when a quota system for foreign labour for the hotel and catering industry was created by which 5,500 work-permits were introduced in 1972. This was reduced further in 1973 to 3,500 (Statement by the Secretary of State for Employment, House of Commons 11 November 1971 quoted in MacDonald 1972:62).

In 1970, 67,654 applications for employment of foreign workers were granted in the UK. The two largest occupational groups to whom permits were given were: 21,633 to workers in hotels and restaurants, and 9,723 to resident domestic employment in private households, hospitals, nursing homes, schools and other institutions. In 1971, 9,809 Spanish nationals were granted work permits. The figures do not specify the number of nationals in each occupational group (The Ministry of Labour Gazette 1971:262).

Britain never thought of immigrants as permanent residents, as is illustrated by the work permits which were issued. The process entailed reapplying annually for work

and residence permits (Ródenas Calatayud 1994:92). In the case of Britain, immigration helped balance the nation's budget. Unprotected by the state (in the case of clandestine immigrants) and, absent from the unions, immigrants were not on the political and economic agenda other than as an economic benefit (Miles 1991:530).

Britain in 1971 and other European countries such as France in 1974 and Switzerland in 1976 enacted laws to obstruct the entry of immigrants coming from the Commonwealth. New policies to stop emigration practically succeeded. In the UK the Secretary of State for Employment in his statement at the House of Commons on 11th November 1971 said:

In view of the present employment situation, the government have decided to cease as from the 1st of January 1972, issuing work permits in industry and commerce for un-skilled and semi-skilled alien men for all countries other than the European Economic Community, Norway and Denmark. The only exception to this will be the hotel and catering industry where a reduction will be brought about in stages by means of a quota system for permits... The quota is intended to give the industry time to recruit and train additional indigenous labour to met its needs (quoted in MacDonald 1972:62).

The restrictions on immigrant workers together with new requirements needed to obtain a work permit reduced Spanish emigration. In 1980 new norms to contract foreign workers were implemented: to employ only workers in possession of recognised professional qualifications, administrative and managerial personnel. The restrictions imposed by the British immigration laws forced working class women, who declared themselves to be paid workers when entering Britain, to produce false papers when asked about their marital status or whether they had children. Spanish single and married women who came to Britain as workers had

to claim to be childless to be admitted at the British borders. The applications were considered for women that were single or widows without children, between the ages of 18 and 45 inclusive (The Ministry of Labour Gazette 1950:15).

Marta who came to the UK in 1970 talked about how British immigration policies affected her:

When we came here we left my two sons in Spain, my parents looked after them. We came with a work contract and a paper that said we didn't have any children. At that time, the couples who had children couldn't come to work in this country. It was thanks to a cousin of my father who worked for the Council in my village. He gave us that paper saying we didn't have children. After one year of residence here I had another child, then I brought my other two children. We had to fill in those papers every year to renew our residence permit. Our English employer filled in the papers that year. Since that time the Home Office did not ask for any more papers. I don't know why. Perhaps because our employer filled them in or because I had a child in this country. I don't know why (Marta 1997:13).

Marta's account shows the consequences of the immigration policies. At the same time, her story shows the lack of information she had as to why they were not asked to fill in the 'papers' after only one year of residency in the UK. Probably the fact that she gave birth to a child on British soil helped her case. She acknowledged that "we were very lucky because I know of other many families that had to renew their papers for four years, after which they could work in anything they wanted". It can be seen that migrant women had to bring a letter of acceptance for employment in the UK, specifying their job. The type of waged work was restricted to the labour needs of the British labour market. The majority of Spanish migrants were accepted in domestic service or the catering industry.

The period of four years contributed to women's sense of temporary residence in England. They only wanted to gather enough money to survive and to send to their families in Spain. Immigration laws were already decisive in the jobs women could have and in the kind of education women had access to. Due to working hours and conditions women could not attend English classes to better their chances to get a different job from the one they had to do for four years. Due to their family situation they had to invest their salaries to support their families in Spain and/or bring over their own families. Even if women planned for a different future than being a domestic, their economic capital was scarce.

Cruz, 32 years old at the time of the interview, arrived in 1990 and worked as a part time teacher. She was from a working class background and commented on her work conditions:

I was working as a waitress washing plates, illegally, then I got a different job when Spain joined officially the Economic Union. Well, I was also working in a travel agency as an illegal worker. They were paying me directly every week. In these jobs they were treating me as if I was a nobody, because they knew they could sack me any time they wanted. For example I was working in Pizza Hut 8 hours non-stop with a break of fifteen minutes for lunch. I thought, oh, well, it doesn't matter because I am going to be in London for some months and that is it (Cruz 1997:7).

The ultimate intention of many Spaniards to return to Spain resulted in some preparedness to tolerate unskilled work even under adverse conditions. The barrier of literacy, in some cases, and poor knowledge of English, in general, helped to confine some workers to their jobs. Another respondent, Reme, who arrived in England in 1944, came to work as a live-in domestic. She described the implications of her type of work contract:

I came to London as a domestic worker. I had to write in the official application at the British borders that I was coming to work with a family. That paper stated that I could not change the occupation I had written for four years. I had to go to register in the Police and go there to inform them about changes in my work conditions. The family I was working with could report me to the police. In fact, I was not happy with the first family I worked for and I wanted to change to another one. They didn't want me to leave and told me that if I left they would tell the police I had stolen things from them and I would be extradited. I had to stay with that family for more time that I would have wanted. It was the worst time of my life. They didn't pay me. They said they were given me enough: a roof, a bed and food: their leftovers (Reme 1997:10).

British immigration law saw migrant women under two different criteria: on the one hand, as dependent if they came with their husbands and had no work permit. In this light the classification of migrant would translate into male heads of households and dependent women and children, stereotyped as economically unproductive. On the other hand, women as paid workers, who worked in domestic service, hospitals and restaurants were to fulfil underpaid positions that British women did not need to take. Women migrants were viewed as young unskilled workers and childless women who would be mobile and had no particular skills or qualifications. They could, if necessary, easily be made redundant.

The next part will look at the political relations between the UK and Spain as a component in the configuration of influences that facilitated Spanish migration to the UK.

Political relations between the UK and Spain

The political links between the UK and Spain and the role that the UK played in

supporting Franco's dictatorship was another helping factor - besides the economic demand for cheap labour - in allowing Spanish selective immigration to the UK without difficulty, despite the absence of a labour treaty between both countries.

From the 1950s Franco's government consolidated its regime internationally. There was a friendly relationship between the UK and Spain. In order to improve their links, visits from Spanish politicians and academics to the UK were facilitated by both countries. A letter sent in March 31st, 1958 by The Right Honorable Sewyn Lloyd from the British Embassy in Madrid to Her Majesty's Government explained:

The improvement of relations between Britain and Spain must be a gradual process...Notably the support that Britain had given to Spain's entry into various international bodies such as the United Nations and the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation, by encouraging visits between the two countries and by fostering a mutual trade instead of taking reprisals against the Gibraltar restrictions...Her Majesty's Government now wished to take a further step by renewing Ministerial visits which had not taken place for many years (FO 371/136658:1958).

Spain was categorised as part of the 'free' world and as an active part in defending the 'free world' against communism. Britain defended the Spanish dictatorship so long as it was non-communist. The British Prime Minister epitomised the defence of Franco's dictatorship in the House of Commons in response to a Parliamentary question on the 19th June 1958:

[Mr. Stonehouse:] Is the Prime Minister aware that in his broadcast over Madrid Radio the President of the Board of Trade implied that Spain was part of the free world? Does the Prime Minister believe that Spain is part of the free world and does he want to follow the example of the United States in establishing more direct defence arrangements with Spain?

[The Prime Minister]: The second part of that question does not arise. Spain is, at any rate, part of the non-Communist world.

[Mr Gaitskell]: Is the Prime Minister aware that in his radio speech the President of The Trade Board of Trade went much further than that and according to The Times report described Spain and Britain as follows: "Both shared Europe's history and the present dangers that threatened the free world. Wherever two countries in the free world could expand their trade, they were helping to raise standards of life in all countries" Is either wise or sensible to describe a Fascist state as part of the free world? Does not the Prime Minister appreciate that if the phrase "the free world" which is commonly used by different members of NATO is taken to include Fascist countries it enormously weakens any political significance of NATO? (FO 371/153238:1960).

These extracts illustrate the support Britain offered Spain and the increasing 'friendship' between the countries supported by British officials in Madrid and the British government. Spain's contacts with European countries such as France, Switzerland, West Germany, both official and unofficial, were noticeably on the increase in the decade of the 1950s (FO 371/153287:1960; FO 371/130340:1957). The process intensified in 1959 (FO 371/136650:1958). Spain's admission in international and European organisations was accompanied by the frequent exchange of Ministerial visits, and also by contacts between the management side of the Spanish syndical organisation and the corresponding industrial or employers' organisations in Western Europe.

In his dispatch No. 105 of June 14, 1960 from the British Embassy in Madrid, Sir I. Mallet, the Ambassador, urged the Home Office to undertake:

...Fresh initiatives on our part to improve Anglo-Spanish relations, ranging from sponsoring Spanish membership of NATO to conferment of honorary degrees on distinguished Spaniards. It is put forward the argument for a fresh British initiative due to the Spanish growing

importance in the international scene. In particular, for historical and geographical reasons, she must continue to have close relations with, and considerable influence on, North Africa. She might prove a useful ally in helping to steer Tunisia and Morocco away from Communist or Egyptian influence (FO 371/153287:1960).

Spain was a convenient confluence of economic, political and military assets the British government wanted to nurture. Spain was a provider of disposable workers, a non-communist country supported financially and politically by the USA which, in turn, was a major ally of the UK. Spain was also situated in a especially strategic location next to North Africa, and NATO forces were based in Spain.

A good tacit relationship between Spain and the UK for political reasons strengthens the argument used in favour of letting Spanish migrants enter the UK. Migrants were a part of expansion of trade and economic benefit for both countries, despite the fact that there was no labour treaty between the countries. To expand this analysis further and to investigate how these 'good' political relationships affected women migrants, the next section will look at how far the political wishes of 'improving the relationships of both countries' crystallised at an individual level. The next section will analyse migration routes to the UK that most working class women used: informal social networks.

Women's subversion of official channels of migration

This section looks at the roles of the Spanish Catholic Church, a Spanish organisation for women migrants, and networks of relatives as facilitators of women's migration from Spain to Britain. It will be argued that the Catholic Church, the Spanish organisation for women and informal women's social networks acted

as recruitment agencies for Spanish emigrant women coming to Britain, thus bypassing official regulations. Women were regarded differently according to the spiritual or economic interests of the facilitator of emigration. That is, the Catholic Church and a religious Spanish organisation for migrant women, viewed single women migrants as 'decent' and loyal hard workers. However, single mother migrants were viewed as 'deviant' and sinners. Nevertheless, the families of women migrants viewed them as breadwinners and caretakers.

There were two major 'unofficial' channels of recruitment of Spanish migrant women in Britain. The Catholic Church and its extensions such as Spanish religious organisations for women in London, served as mediators between employers in London and Spanish women migrants. In addition, there were social networks such as relatives and acquaintances already residents in Britain, that helped Spanish women to find jobs. They interpreted for them and helped them to find accommodation.

The Catholic Church was represented by many nuns' residences scattered all over Spain. Women thinking about migration contacted these residences in Spain if they wanted to work abroad and were given the address of a residence in London together with a letter of recommendation which enable them to enter Britain. The women who came with a letter of recommendation from Spain were already in the church 'circle'. Nuns from the residences in Spain knew these women before writing a letter for them. Nuns had to 'approve' of them and have some knowledge of the kind of family they were coming from. The invigilating role of the church originated from Spain and continued in the religious residences in London. It was through personal sponsorship that single women could enter one of these residences. Women and their families were scrutinised in Spain and also in Britain. It was

migrant women's vulnerability - either their poor economic background or their 'illegitimate' pregnancy - what gave the right of policing them to the church.

Many single migrant women relied on the church. Nuns acted as mediators between potential British employers and Spanish women who were required to work as live-in domestics, cleaners in English boarding schools, in offices and in hospitals.

A Spanish religious organisation also facilitated labour recruitment. It worked in close relation with a Catholic nuns' residence. This organisation was founded in 1964 by a group of upper middle class Spanish women. It aimed to help Spanish women in London. Spanish migrant women, mostly single mothers, who attended the mass in the 1960s, told the priests at Westminster Cathedral their concerns about the poor conditions they were living in, their lack of English skills and/or their unwanted pregnancies. This cathedral was very near Victoria Station where almost all the working class Spanish emigrants arrived via Paris. This station was the door to London.

The organisation helped Spanish emigrant women who needed financial aid, interpreters, translators and information about work. This organisation was in charge of finding charity to help the women in need. It held activities such as bazaars and afternoon tea in the homes of upper middle class women as a way of fundraising. At the beginning, this organisation of women worked in conjunction with the priests who were in the House of Spain, *Casa de España*. The House of Spain was attached to the Spanish Institute of Emigration abroad, its aim was to preserve Spaniards' national identity. Later on the organisation worked as a charity. Its members acted as representatives of the women in difficulties.

It is important to underline that representatives of the organisation (the trustees and

the presidents in successive periods) were all married to upper middle class British men. The representatives became British when they married their husbands and did not have any difficulty in crossing Spanish and British borders nor in choosing employment if they wished. Some of them used their husbands' positions to attract attention to the Spanish migrant population in England. They took advantage of their social position and travelled between London and Spain making contacts for their 'charity' cause. These contacts included Franco, and different British politicians.

When Franco had a meeting with a president of this organisation (who was interviewed for this study) and heard about the situation of Spanish migrant women in England he asked "How are my Galician women behaving?" His question was related to his origins. He had been born in the region of Galicia. However, it also entailed a moral aspect. The question could translate into: are they 'good girls'? That is, women were regarded as models and reproducers of traditions, required to behave according to certain moral rules. The organisation that this group of upper middle class women founded, was anchored in a religious ethos. This was confirmed by a president of this organisation:

Generally they were working as domestic workers and we subsidised them until they were able to go back to their home in Spain. The women who didn't want the children, gave them for adoption. There has been an emphasis on ... I mean all of us who have been running this organisation are openly religious, practitioners and believers. Many women here were profoundly religious. They were serious Christians that followed Christ's precepts.

The organisation organised baptisms, for the children of single mothers. These women were regarded as 'sinners' in need of redemption. It was believed that the sin of having become pregnant out of wedlock was redeemed by giving the child

away to childless families. According to some respondents, single pregnant women who migrated to London due to family pressures, did so with the idea of terminating the pregnancy. The termination of a pregnancy was not permitted by the organisation nor by the nuns' residences. Women were given addresses of English families where they worked as domestics until the baby was born. Women could then return to Spain. However, the baby was given to an English family for adoption. An extract from my conversation with one of the founders of the organisation made this explicit:

[Sandra:] There were women who came with unwanted pregnancies. The organisation would resolve the problem.

[Vicky:] The organisation was also dedicated to young women that came in the 1970s and 1980s from Spain because there was no Abortion Law. We also helped the au-pairs who had a lot of problems with their work for English families in London.

[Sandra:] We would ask these women do you want to have an abortion? These women were doubtful. They were not sure whether they wanted it or not. A section in the convent in X was created together with the nuns. The top floor had eight beds for these girls who wanted to have an abortion. We were taking care of them and the children were given for adoption (Sandra and Vicky 1997:2).

This extract highlights a difference between women who came to England between the 1940s and the late 1960s and women who emigrated in the 1970s up to the present. This division was also confirmed by a Mother Superior who expressed her view on the profile of these women:

Women who came to England in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s were really poor but decent. They came here due to the lack of jobs in Spain. Later on in the 1970s and 1980s, there was an economic boom in Spain and women would still come here but with more money and helped by their parents (M.S 1997:3).

This nun portrayed emigrant women in the early period as:

Good women, women who helped their families in Spain. They had no man. Whereas women who came later, many of them, were divorced or had a male friend and came because here nobody knew them, nobody saw them (M.S 1997:4).

The nun applauds the decency of the women in the earlier period on the basis of their lack of involvement with men, which seemed the opposite in the later period. Thus, the nun assumed that in London women were not seen and not controlled by their local community. Women's 'invisibility' in a foreign country meant that they 'could get away' with being divorced or having a male 'friend'.

The invigilating and 'protective' role represented by the nuns' residences helped Spanish migrant women. In many cases this was the only option for single women who wanted to emigrate and feel 'safe' in England. However, women had to comply with religious principles and the policing of their sexuality by the organisation and the church. Even if some migrant women did not have a strong view on religion they had to comply with what was offered to them in England.

In addition, some working class families pressured their children to emigrate and help them with foreign money and goods. To return to Spain was not an alternative, as it implied returning to the same conditions. The local community in Spain would view the return of a migrant woman as a failure to achieve her purpose, to improve her life in England, and that of her family in Spain, by sending remittances. A single woman migrant would also be susceptible to social condemnation in Spain. The fact of having been exposed to a liberal society, which lacked decency, would mean she was likely to be viewed as 'less' decent herself.

The religious organisation and the nuns' residences acted as work agencies and centres of social services. Nuns would also act as interpreters and hosted many Spanish women who came to London for the first time looking for a job. Migrant women would go to the organisation and the nuns' residence if they became unemployed. English families, who required 'religious, honest, decent and hard working' women, would call the residence and leave their telephone and address. The nuns would do the matching between the migrant woman and the English family. Nuns would send women to hospitals and schools where cleaners were needed. Tania the founder of the organisation corroborated this:

Spanish women came here to do jobs purely in the domestic service. They came to the organisation and the residences to ask for jobs. We were in contact with English employers or English families or schools that needed domestic service. Women were needed in hospitals and in public schools to do the cleaning. Most of the service in the boarding schools was Spanish...also in the restaurants, in the hotels. The natives didn't work in this sort of jobs, so poorly paid (Tania 1997:26).

The organisation continues to help women, mainly Spanish migrants already residing in England or au-pairs who have just arrived. There is still a Spanish upper middle class woman who runs the organisation. Working class women who came to England between the 1940s and the 1960s still visit the centre and gather on a regular basis. During my visits to the organisation I saw that the 'señoritas' (upper class Spanish 'ladies' who have been presidents and trustees of the organisation) serve tea or coffee with biscuits to the 'rest' (working class women migrant) who wait for their time to be served. This underlying hierarchy is engrained in the organisation, although the awareness of it may escape the participant members.

It is embedded in a continuous routine that has lasted for more than thirty years and

has not been questioned. The very irony that the 'servants' are served by the ones who have always had, and still have, domestic workers does not change the 'reality'. That is, the way they view each other. Working class members see the 'señoritas' as powerful. The upper class members view working class women as 'powerless' even if only in a material sense. The knowledge that each member of this small organisation shares with each other provokes internal tensions, jealousies and envies between the social classes and within them. Conflicts originate in the diversity of regions and migration situations that all the women have endured.

Interviews with migrant working class women indicated that the majority of married women had a relative or acquaintance in England when they arrived. These could provide immediate accommodation and names of possible employers. In most cases, these were the relatives' own employers.

Migrant women recounted how they approached their potential employer personally accompanied by their relative who would interpret and introduce her. Family ties were, at least in part, supported by the ideology of return to Spain in the short or long term. This idea was held by many of the migrants in England. Migrants' families viewed remittances sent by immigrant women as contributions to the household. Families constructed their migrant daughters as economic assets and their social security in old age (Buechler and Buechler 1981). Teresa was a typical example of a single woman who emigrated to England to support her family. She was 67 years old at the time of the interview, and arrived in 1960, from a working class background:

When I came to England I helped my family a lot, I sent money for my sister to buy a flat, and for my niece to buy a TV. I used to go to M & S and spent most of my salary in clothes for my nephews and nieces.

I am still helping them (Teresa 1997:13).

Without adequate state welfare programs in Spain, rural and urban parents expected their children to support them. However, it was the daughter who was viewed as responsible for the care of her parents, not the son. The daughter - who had helped the family since childhood in the house chores and working to get a salary to help the household - was supposed to continue in that role of caretaker in her adult life. Mari, 43 years old when interviewed, came to the UK in 1985. She was from a middle class background and pointed out the role of the daughter as a caretaker of the family.

If the daughter was single she was the one to take care of the parents, if it was a single son, this was not expected from him. In fact, one of my friends came to London and she had to return to Spain to live in a little village because she had to take care of her mother. She had two brothers who lived in the area but they were married. So she was the one, the daughter, who was supposed to look after her mother. This happened a lot in those days (Mari 1997:8).

This section has shown that there were three important non-government agencies that facilitated women's migration: the Catholic Church, religious organisations and families.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that official immigration policies were predicated on the notion that Spanish women came to Britain as dependents while men came as breadwinners. The latter were perceived by British migration regulations as an asset to the British economy. This ignored the women who came to Britain as workers to take jobs that people living in Britain would not perform such as domestic work in

private houses, nursing homes, and the catering industry. Immigration policies also largely ignored the many women, who did not enter on work permits, but took employment once in Britain. Generally speaking, women were largely invisible in the immigration rules and in immigration legislation. Where their existence was recognised, it was almost entirely in relation to men. The notion of women's supposed dependence on men was reflected in all aspects of the laws. Men had to show that they could 'maintain and accommodate' their wives and children, but husbands did not have to be supported by their wives.

However, when British law recognised the existence of Spanish women workers, they were viewed as temporary, un-skilled, young and childless to satisfy the economic demands of the country in a specific historical period from the 1950s until the beginning of the 1970s. The obligation of the migrant woman to work for four years in a catering or domestic service position in Britain helped concentrate women workers into types of employment where labour was 'difficult to recruit'. As a result, Spanish women were to be found in unskilled and semi-skilled sectors of the economy rather than in clerical or supervisory work. The barrier of literacy and poor knowledge of English, and the scarce time or money available to learn English due to working hours and conditions, helped to confine most working class women in cleaning and catering jobs. The official version of the occupational structure of Spaniards in the UK in 1971 shows that, in spite of variations between the groups, the majority of people were still categorised as employees, with few in managerial jobs. The provisional character of this migration resulted in a tolerant attitude towards taking unskilled work even under difficult conditions.

Social networks (relatives, friends, acquaintances) and the church helped working class migrant women who came to Britain to enter the labour market speedily

bypassing the law. Most working class Spanish women went into the service sector where, usually, they were given a work contract 'in situ'.

Women were viewed differently according to the ideology in Spanish and British economic and social interests. On the one hand, the Spanish state viewed women as decent mothers and wives. British immigration policies saw them as dependents of their husbands. However, if these women entered Britain as paid workers they were seen as un-skilled young women, childless and hard working. The Catholic Spanish Church represented single women as 'service', paid workers; and single mothers as sinners who could redeem themselves by giving their child away to an English family.

The next chapter will explore reasons for the re-shaping of women's feelings of national identity. It will look at how migration policies limited women's choices of paid work and, in turn, how this has reflected on their constructions of a 'foreign' identity.

CHAPTER 6

NARRATIVES OF SPANISHNESS, ENGLISHNESS AND FOREIGNNESS: WORKING CLASS WOMEN

Introduction

The general purpose of Chapters 6 and 7 is to analyse how respondents used their socio-economic and cultural frameworks to shape and recreate past experiences in the construction of themselves and of English people. This chapters argue that a subjective approach¹ to analysing cultural and gender identity helps uncover how migrants used aspects of their cultural heritage as frameworks in constructing their national and gender identities in a host country. Women in this study viewed Englishness² through their own notions of Spanishness. The measure against which Spanish respondents assessed English people, reflected processes of cultural and gender identity constructed in Spain. This chapters suggest that it is through subjective experiences that acts of identification are reworked, rejected or negotiated. Meanings converge in the agents' individual history.

¹ An approach that is rooted in individuals' circumstances and experiences, and their interpretations of them.

² As it was observed in Chapter 1 'Spanishness' and 'Englishness' are terms, for the purposes of this study, that define what women viewed as characteristic of Spanish and English societies and ways of life, respectively. This is not to say that there is an essence to the concept of "Spanishness" or "Englishness". The meaning of those concepts is as varied as respondents' perceptions of what identifies each socio-cultural setting.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine working class respondents' statements on their gender and national identities and to analyse the reasons that underpin women's identifications. As discussed above women have drawn elements from their cultural heritage to re-create or transform their gendered national identities in London. This section will look at several aspects that affected women's process of gender and national identifications.

The analysis of respondents' accounts shows five interrelated themes: first, working class women's economic and cultural capital shaped, in most cases, their choice of partners. The reasons for migration for most of these women were shaped by their husbands' decision to migrate. Second, the data show that these women's marriage to a Spaniard contributed to their strong feelings of Spanish national identity in England. Third, the data indicate that there is a strong link between the meanings working class women attach to their job as domestic workers and their critique of English women as less hardworking, worse wives and mothers than themselves. Fourth, the data indicate that the economic and cultural capital of working class women attained in Spain, their marriage to Spaniards and their jobs as domestic workers discouraged them from learning English. This, in turn, reinforced women's national feelings of Spanishness, and feelings of isolation and foreignness in England.

Reasons for migration

As observed in Chapter 4 working class women started their working life from an early age. Their schooling was poor and English language was not part of the formal knowledge they acquired in Spain. Their chances of getting married to a British man when they emigrated to England were slim. The data show that women's poor

economic and cultural capital limited their search for husbands to their own socio-economic background. Hence, they generally married men who were from their local communities.

The proportion of women who married and those who remained single is as follows: 7 out of 13 working class women emigrated to follow their husbands. The rest (6) were single at the time of emigration. After emigration took place one respondent married a British subject from Gibraltar. She claimed that her husband considered himself Spanish 'at heart', his predecessors were Spanish. Another respondent married a Spanish refugee in England. Thus, 9 out of 13 working class women married Spaniards. One married a Scottish man and 3 were single.

It can be seen that most working class women married Spaniards. All husbands were from the same socio-economic background as the respondents. Expectations and the aspirations were different according to the women's socio-economic background. Married working class women told their stories of migration in terms of their husbands' financial situation. Their husbands did not earn enough to buy a house in Spain. Thus, these women emigrated with their husbands to save enough money to buy a property.

The women who were single before coming to Britain, viewed international migration both as a chance to support their relatives in Spain and as an adventure. Single women sent remittances to their families in Spain and constructed their gendered identity around their network of relatives in Spain. Thus, these single women were the 'breadwinner' for their families.

However, in order to be respected by their families and the Spanish Catholic Church

in London - the only social encounters these women embraced - they had to remain single. Relationships with men that did not lead to marriage were judged to be indecent by their relatives in Spain and in the religious community in London.

The financial support sent by single women reaffirmed their links with their families. The return to Spain of women, when parents were sick or ageing, legitimised their departure. They were daughters who cared. This care was manifested by sending their remittances. It was implicitly understood that these single women remained within the space of the family. Their migration was negotiated through their classification as women who would support their families, as opposed to having a life on their own and getting married.

Miriam expressed the interrelationship of marriage and migration:

When I got married, we came to London because my husband had already been working in London for one year. Once in London, I started working as a chambermaid during the day and as a cleaner in the evenings until I had the children then I stopped for some years and started working part-time (Miriam 1997:12).

Then, her role would be again the one of worker and caretaker towards her husband and children. If in economic need the woman would work outside the house, but this work would not interfere with her main roles of wife and mother.

These women stayed at home for the first years of their children's lives. They portrayed this decision as one that was expected from them. Mainly, the husband imposed this rule: 'my husband didn't want my children to go to a nursery. He said 'a mother should look after her children' (Catalina 1997:15) and Catalina did not

question it. Catalina was 68 years of age when interviewed, and came to England in 1952. Her parents worked on the land in a village of Castilla. She said that she is a woman 'of her home', she loves being indoors and she considers herself a good mother and wife.

Catalina represents a typical case in that she was taught to do as her own mother had done before her, as the nun's school taught her. She epitomises the consensus on the ideological framework amongst family, school and peers in her environment:

[Did the political situation the Civil War, post war, Francoism affect your life in Spain and in what way?]
I lived in a small city where people lived quietly, where my friends and my parents' friends thought like my parents. There were no questions about the state of things because the school was teaching one thing, the parents were teaching the same thing and my friends were saying the same thing. It was later when I left Spain when I realised that things were not as they should be, but I didn't see that in my childhood or adolescence (Catalina 1997:14).

Thus, the understanding of the self was carried in practices which consisted in a dialogical action on a number of levels, private and public. The private understanding of the self, in terms provided by social agents, and the public social practices rehearsed every day. This meant that these women's cultural and gender identities were not simply defined in terms of their individual properties, but their representations, how they saw themselves, was placed in some social space.

Catalina defined herself partly in terms of what she came to accept and appropriate within the social practices of her family, her school, her local church. Catalina's identification with the practices of social agents became part of her identity, of how

she defined herself. The social reference figured even more clearly in the identity of the dedicated daughter, wife and mother. Catalina's self-understanding does not exist only in her as an individual agent but in her actions, in her social practices. In fact, social practices she appropriated from the social agents and incorporated in her daily actions gave her actions meaning. This is the core of habitus: individual agents' embodiment and interpretation of rules and their application to social practices that regulate their everyday lives. These respondents not only exhibited repeated patterns of practices, but responded to demands or norms similarly.

The data have shown so far that both respondents' economic and cultural capital were uneven from the beginning of these women's lives compared to middle class women, for example, and influenced their choices of marriage either in Spain or in Britain. The next section will shed light on how the national feelings of the respondents' husbands influenced working class respondents' feelings of Spanishness.

Spanishness

Respondents' marriage to Spaniards strengthened their feelings of Spanish national identity. This section will be structured as a dialogue between respondents' accounts on what characterises Spanishness and what these women perceived as a lack of certain attributes in English women. The purpose of this structure is to look at respondents' strategies in utilising their own socio-economic and cultural background to interpret English gender identities.

There are three common themes that characterise Spanishness, in the view of working class respondents. Most of these respondents felt "Spanish a hundred per

cent”. First, on women’s gender identities, they identified themselves with being hardworking, good housewives and mothers who fostered family cohesion. They defined a good Spanish housewife as a woman who kept the house clean, who sewed her family’s clothes and who cooked Spanish meals. Most women mentioned cooking Spanish meals as an important identifier of their Spanishness.

Second, they identified Spanishness with being emotional, friendly and being able to live life to the fullest. Lara was born in 1923, arrived in England in 1942. She is married to a British national from Gibraltar but felt “Spanish at heart”:

I am Spanish to the bone, I cook Spanish meals. My husband is ‘Spanish’, my daughter is Spanish, I sent her to the Spanish school in London and to *flamenco* classes. She married a Spaniard who was born in England. My grandchildren are Spanish. We always spoke in Spanish at home. I am very glad because we can keep a Spanish atmosphere. We cook Spanish meals and we do our life as if we were in Spain. Our friends are also Spanish (Lara 1997:12).

Lara’s persistent statements on the Spanishness of her family need to be contrasted with the fact that her husband was a British national from Gibraltar who regarded himself as a Spaniard. Lara’s daughter and grandchildren were born in England. Lara referred to them as Spaniards, although, they are second and third generation of British nationals. The fact that she was married to a “Spaniard” facilitated the continuation of Spanish language as a mother tongue for their daughter. In fact, speaking in Spanish was reinforced by having sent her daughter to the Spanish school in London which teaches the Spanish official curriculum in Spanish and English. The child was exposed to Spanish folklore, history, language, literature and philosophy. Marriage to a Spaniard, speaking Spanish, cooking Spanish meals,

folklore dance and Spanish friends were social practices that reinforced feelings of belonging to Spain.

Lara's statements were corroborated by another respondent who described her advice to potential Spanish emigrants to England:

When I am asked how is life in England by girls in Spain who want to come here, I say that if they are married and they want to try their luck with their husbands in England for economic reasons, that's fine. However, if the girl who asks me is not married, then I tell her 'don't go to England because you may marry an English and then you will lose yourself'; because she will be divided between the husband's country and hers. I know of cases that the woman is Spanish and he is English and he doesn't want to go to Spain because it's too hot for him, he doesn't like the food she cooks. The children are born in England to an English father, they are torn between England and Spain. Spaniards and English have different mentalities, ways of life...we are very different (Reme 1997:17).

Reme came to England in 1944 and was born in 1922. As Reme underlines, Englishness and foreignness are resisted with emphatic statements of her representations of Spanishness. There is a confirmation of symbolic capital such as cooking and speaking the vernacular language. Economic capital is taken into account with her advice to working class women. Distinctions of different (economic, cultural, social, symbolic) capitals are undermined by their conflation in the process of identity. Reme's references to food, to marriage and to paid work are manifestations of her own national gendered identity. These statements seem political declarations of her position as a Spaniard. She retains stubbornly the demarcation of her being Spanish to strengthen her national identity as a solid reality.

The concept of the Spanish nation, as appropriated by Reme and Lara, displays not only the shape of their national gendered identities but the theme that supports their claims as Spaniards: marriage to a Spaniard who is expected to share with them common ideas about the education of children, about food, and memories of growing up and living in the same country. All of these elements compose the habitus of both husbands and wives, systems of dispositions and appreciations accumulated in Spain and recreated in England.

Clara confirmed Reme's ideas on the implications of marrying a foreigner. Clara was born in 1930, went to work to Cuba in 1950, and came to England in 1962. She married a Scottish man. She talked about their cultural differences:

My husband only likes boiled food, no fish, no garlic. We don't go on holidays together. He says that Spain is too hot for him and that he doesn't understand Spanish. When we go to my family in Spain, he just sits there, gets bored, he likes going to bars but he can't communicate, he is like a fish out of water. We decided a long time ago he would go to Scotland for holidays and I would go to Spain or to Venezuela to visit my relatives. I don't want to go to Scotland because his family looks down on me. Whenever I go there they give me a tea. They don't bother asking me what I would like. I hate tea. I like coffee, so the times I went there I would be angry at their disregard for me. I don't go there any more...We sent our son to an English school as my husband doesn't speak Spanish (Clara 1997:15).

There is a dislocation of cultural expectations in Clara's account. She expects her husband's family from Scotland to cater for her as she would expect a Spanish host to behave. That is, to ask the guest what she would like to drink instead of assuming that a cup of tea is the best option possible. Thus, Clara's fabric of cultural manners,

of expected behaviours, and assumptions (*habitus*), is shattered by what she sees as a disrespectful, even a depreciatory action towards her. Hence, she felt inadequate in an environment she does not recognise.

On the other hand, Clara insisted she cooked her own meals since she disliked English and Scottish cuisine. Clara confirmed Lara's and Reme's views on the importance of cooking and creating a Spanish atmosphere. She also confirmed the negative consequences of marrying a British man. In Spain, cooking, especially in the working and middle classes, serves the purpose of strengthening family ties. The sometimes long preparation of the dishes and their savouring contributes to a 'Spanish atmosphere' that would be spoilt by the fast and simple English cooking. Cooking also serves the purpose of gathering friends together. The host prepares the meal to demonstrate her abilities. She takes pride in cooking good dishes. Once the food is finished men go to play cards and women talk about their own things. Marta described the rituals of Spaniards eating together and the different gendered practices which are followed. Marta was born in 1945 and arrived in England in 1970.

I feel totally Spanish. I wouldn't change that for anything in the world. We [women] talk, we play, we cook a Galician soup and eat together. My house is full of friends in the summer, we cook outside in the garden...When we finish eating, the husbands go to play cards and we talk about our things (Marta 1997:37,41).

There is a constant reminder of food, cooking, meal preparation, togetherness and gendered separation of activities and spaces. While women prepare and cook lunch, men talk; and when food is finished, the men go to play cards and women talk. Thus, Marta's account shows the appropriation of what this respondent sees as a

Spanish national characteristic (symbolic capital) performed by women and men. This appropriation of Spanishness is transmitted in the action of women preparing and cooking the meal and a division of tasks and activities (specific Galician ingredients were bought in a Spanish grocery in London). Food is the meeting point of both sexes; it is the mediating device to trigger memories of familiarity of their past in Spain in a present foreign context. This scene is a recreation of gendered social practices: what these women consider appropriate cultural behaviour expected from both sexes. These daily routines are constructed through a gendered interpretation of social practices and spaces. It is this framework that migrants have relied on and enact when attempting to construct a coherent sense of self through reproducing a familiar and safe environment.

Marriage with a partner with similar national identity feelings was seen by working class women as crucial in deciding what education children had, what language was spoken at home, for where the family spent their holidays and for the selection of family friends. Those decisions contributed to the shaping of respondents' national and gender identities.

Englishness

This section will expand on the differences respondents saw between themselves and English women. It will look at respondents' perceptions of themselves as holders of certain virtues that they considered absent in English women. It will examine women's devices in using their own symbolic, economic and cultural capitals located in Spain to interpret the national identity of English women. To this end, Spanish women reveal in their accounts the embodiment of Francoist notions of femininity in their understanding of what constitutes them as women and as

Spanish, as opposed to what constitutes English women.

There are three common themes in women's representations of Englishness. When working class respondents characterised the features of Spanish women they mentioned being good wives, good mothers and hardworking women who fostered family cohesion. English women's gender identity constituted the lack of those qualities.

There is a strong link between the job most of these women do, as domestic workers, and how they view English women as less hardworking, worse wives and mothers than themselves. This comparison discloses gender identity as a significant carrier through which national meaning and difference is constructed. Women's statements of good and bad reveal gender representations as the subtext linking moralities and identities.

For example, Catalina who was born in 1929 and came to England in 1952 criticised English women when she compared them with Spanish women:

Spanish women are good housewives and mothers, they take care of their husband's meals and ironing of his clothes and children's. She wouldn't let him go to work with a dirty or creased shirt. It wouldn't be right. What kind of woman would that be! Children need a lot of care. To be there when they come from school to help them with the homework and to care for them. Whereas English women don't like children too much around the house. It is as if children bothered them and they let them in the streets until the night. They don't care much if their husbands go with their shirt creased. It is as if it was not with them. English women don't want and never wanted to work at home. They were used to work outdoors but not at home.

Moreover, they still don't like it (Catalina 1997:5).

Catalina's representations of gender reveal a close association of men with the street, the space of 'real' work, and women with the house. *Ser casera* (to be of the home) is a characteristic often valued when talking about the ideal woman. It refers to a woman's ability as a mother, wife and housewife, which are seen as the principal attributes of womanhood. According to their standards to be a proper mother, wife and housewife requires full-time dedication and they see themselves as fortunate in being able to realise this. Even though respondents claimed they liked to have their own money, this did not mean that they aspired to wage employment. They believed that a woman's participation in the labour market was acceptable as long as it did not interfere with motherhood. Some women were obliged to work outside the home to make ends meet, as was the case of most working class women.

Gendered practices are not only reflected in the division of labour, they also underpin cultural and moral representations. Gendered practices represent the link through which differences are constructed and perceived. Women are dichotomised: good housewives, good mothers, hardworking; and bad housewives and detached mothers. It is necessary to deconstruct and contextualise the personal and social relations that frame these women's statements. Most of the working class respondents worked as part-time cleaners. They viewed English women from their positions of domestics for English families.

Spanish working class respondents were socialised to do domestic work themselves. They had seen it done by their mothers and grandmothers in their own families in Spain: to work hard, to cater for the family, children, husband, and to do extra paid

work to complement the husband's salary. Thus, respondents' aspirations, when they came to England, were reflections of what they considered most important in their lives. Four of the respondents talked about their aspirations in England:

Lara who was born in 1923 and came to England in 1942, commented:

When I came here, I expected to have a better standard of living: to be able to buy a house and to live happily with my family. Although, now people have a better standard of living in Spain. Here, in London they only work and go to bed (Lara 1997:32).

Chon, who was born in 1951 and arrived in England in 1969, claimed:

I expected to earn some money to buy a house and live happily, have a family and this is what I have (Chon 1997: 18).

Marta, who was born in 1945 and arrived in England in 1970, said:

I only wanted my children to be ok, I wanted them to study. To have a house and to go back to Spain. I didn't expect anything else. To work, to have some money to educate our children (Marta 1997:24).

And Miriam, who came to England in 1973 and was born in 1954, stated:

We wanted to earn enough money to buy a house (Miriam 1997: 15).

In these four cases their fulfilment was dependent on their family and on having a house. They did not speak about self-fulfilment. The self was not conceived without

the family. The fact that these women think of marriage, family, children and paid work to purchase a house, may reflect their upbringing to the extent that their own families expected them to work in the house, to bring up their siblings and help their mothers with the house chores which is what they continued doing when they got married. Their own families expected them to work and bring a salary to the household. This was also expected from them as wives.

Their accounts stress the importance of the family and reveal a particular preoccupation with male and female virtues associated with the division of tasks in the family and with sexual morality. These gender discourses are close to those transmitted by the Catholic Church. Gender discourses do not exist independently of social relations. In these cases the discourses reflect the social and economic conditions of men and women. They are constituted within these conditions. The high value placed on motherhood and women's self sacrifice for their families expressed in the accounts contributed to the maintenance of a particular division of tasks. That is, there is a relationship between these women's accounts of their aspirations in England and the gender notions transmitted to them in Spain by the Catholic Church and Franco's government.

From these respondents' perspective, if a woman does not care for her family, she loses part, perhaps all of her femininity. To work for her family, in the form of cleaning, cooking, caring and sacrificing herself, confers femininity on a woman. In their view, English women let go of their femininity - that which constitutes them as women - when employing other women to care, to cook, to clean for their families. Respondents became responsible for those jobs in exchange for a salary. This group of working class women saw this act as an alienation of a woman's constitution of femininity. To delegate the power of femininity to other women, as

English women did, provoked a strong rejection from this group of respondents who feel powerful and in control of what 'nature' gave to them: the possibility to care for their families, as if it were to care for themselves, because they view their families as an extension of themselves.

The constructs of 'family' and 'woman' are not separated. Its separation would signify the annulment of femininity, in these women's views. These accounts showed that respondents' notions of femininity were close to those transmitted by the Catholic Church and Franco's government. In turn, official discourses on femininity and women's individual appropriation of official discourses have shaped their aspirations in England.

However, three respondents mentioned that gender relationships in England seemed to be more egalitarian than in Spain, thus admitting that theirs (or Spanish gender relationships in general) were unequal. The next section will deal with working class women's retrospective contestations of notions of femininity in Spain, drawing from respondents' experiences in working for English middle and upper middle class families.

Housework and care: main attributes of femininity

The purpose of this section is to look at Spanish working class women's perceptions of the division of housework in the household in England. In so doing, some respondents' accounts show their dissatisfaction with the actual division of labour in their households.

The data indicate that although some respondents observe the imbalance of work

loads between their husbands and themselves, this observation is not followed by a revolutionary shift of understanding regarding their gender relationships. Despite some women's objections to how the housework is divided, these respondents still affirmed the importance of housework and care for their family as main attributes of femininity.

Their defence of feminine qualities contrasted with their admiration of a more equal gender relationship. This equality was seen as being intrinsic to English society. The difference in gender relationships was attributed to a societal difference, instead of a difference made by negotiations between individuals, or an interaction of social structures and individuals' choices. In fact, it was even attributed to English men having less *macho* natures as Veronica indicated.

Veronica came to England in 1973 and was born in 1952, she worked as a part-time cleaner for several houses:

Usually English couples help each other. Each of them does their own things. English men don't mind washing or ironing. The Spanish man minds because he is more *machist*. I see this in the house I work for. When they go on holidays, the man does his own luggage and he may also do the luggage of his children, she does her own luggage and there are times in which he does hers too. On the contrary, Spanish women have to do theirs, their children's and their husbands'. However, Spanish couples help each other more in the house in England than they would do in Spain. In Spain the husband doesn't help. It's because we are out of the country that husbands help. I can only speak for my own case. It's normal that my husband helps me because I work 8 to 10 hours a day. How can I manage working that amount of time plus the work at home? where you have to spend six hours, at least. It is impossible to do it if the

husband doesn't help. In Spain the husband takes for granted the women's work at home. He expects her to do it. But both people have dirtied the house, both people have to eat, so why should one person take the sole responsibility for those needs? (Veronica 1997:8).

The construct of femininity takes other meanings. In this case, Veronica's husband is 'forced' to help in the house, due to the circumstances of migration. This situation would not have taken place in Spain as Veronica acknowledged. Thus, migration legitimated her husband's help in the house. It became justifiable in the eyes of Spanish society. Veronica did not renounce her femininity, nor her husband diminished his masculinity. It is in the name of mutual help towards a common aspiration: the purchase of a house in England and/or a house in Spain.

This respondent's notion of femininity subverts other respondents' accounts because Veronica delegates part of 'her responsibilities' to her husband, depicting this action as her right and his duty. She says both of them dirty the house and both of them work outdoors. Her decision comes as a logical conclusion. Therefore, it is the external circumstances that 'force' her to position herself differently to attach different meanings to her actions. In Spain her husband's help with the house chores would have been a cause for gossip. In England it was viewed by the couple and others (Spanish relatives and friends in Spain and in England) as 'necessary' to achieve a higher economic status and is therefore permissible.

Veronica's resistance to expected gendered practices was inscribed in historically located moral frames of 'feminine' and 'masculine' practices disseminated by Franco's government and the Catholic Church. Veronica's resistance originated in her position of exteriority in relation to those moral frames. That is, it was living outside the moral, cultural and social constraints of Spain that gave Veronica the

space to resist.

Feminine and masculine practices were inscribed in moral frames in Spain, as Marta showed when she talked, retrospectively, about her embarrassment at watching her husband cleaning the carpets. Marta was born in 1945 in a village in Galicia and she came to London in 1970.

One day I was coming from washing clothes in the river and I saw my husband shaking the carpet outside the window and I told him, 'Juan don't do it because people are looking at you! You know how people are in a village'. They use to gossip a lot and I don't like people gossiping. When I saw my husband shaking the carpet outside the window... a man... 30 years ago! I thought for Goodness sake Juan what are you doing?...He laughed at me so badly and I also started to laugh at the situation. He used to go to the river to take the water everyday. A neighbour asked him once: 'but then Marta is not well?' And he answered, 'of course she is well, she is sitting by the door'. But you see, people are very nosy, they don't let you live your life. Why couldn't a man fetch water in the river? (Marta 1997:16).

The criticism from the community in her village attempted to define, and therefore regulate, appropriate behaviours for both genders. House chores were understood as one of the social practices that constructed 'women'. Thus, women were caught in a balancing act between negotiating their positions of respectability and avoiding critiques of their gendered practices: their social persona. Juan's practices were a challenge to established power relations. A man who did some housework could represent a challenge to the prestige of his wife, who could then be talked about as being incapable of doing her share without the help of a man. Women who did not keep up standards of housekeeping were gossiped about in their local community, because they were considered bad mothers and housewives, and their sexual

morality may have also been questioned. Hence, most respondents carefully adapted to the standards of behaviour that were believed to express the attributes associated with being a decent woman.

Women, like Veronica, observed that there was a more equal relation between men and women in England, at least from what they saw in the houses they worked for, that is middle or upper middle English families. However, many respondents' positions were ambivalent because they also criticised English women as bad housewives and mothers.

The data have indicated so far that international migration required the recreation of expected gender relations and gender and national identities remained constructed within these frames and not outside them. More equal gender relations remained imagined and linked to English society, not to an interaction between social structures and individuals' agency. Migration does not seem to involve a rethinking of individuals' gender positions in most cases. Most women just attempted to use migration to generate economic and social capital for their local communities in Spain.

When Catalina emphasised what constituted femininity she portrayed her representations as natural. Catalina was born in 1929 and came to England in 1952:

My husband never wanted me to work outdoors after having the children. He didn't want our children to go to the nursery. He said that the mother should look after the children, you know...

[And what did you think about that?]

nothing

[But did you agree with your husband?]
on the one hand yes, even if we only ate bread, my children
wouldn't go to a nursery as they do here. Children don't
have the love of their mother as Spanish children have
(Catalina 1997:4).

Women largely embraced their position in the existing order of things, not because they could not see or imagine alternatives, but because they saw it as 'natural', morally correct and beneficial for their family lives. Since women's activities are not defined as work but, rather as care or help - expressions of love - they do not appear as legitimate work or as something that is valued in its own right.

The data, in this section, have suggested that the consensus among women is achieved by contact and interaction with institutions which are important producers and transmitters of gender values. The Catholic Church is a core institution in this sense, both because of its important role in helping migration through the Spanish association of women and nuns' residences in England and because of religious festivals. Catholic gender values penetrated other institutions of civil society, such as the educational system (as stated in Chapters 4 and 5). Women acknowledged that their families' moral values in Spain formed a base from which they addressed problems in their lives. Prominent amongst these were the hard times suffered after arriving in England when women felt isolated, their husbands went to work, and they looked after their children.

Few working class women rebelled against the notion of women as only mothers and wives, pointing out that the moral education of their families was a constraint to their sexuality. The next section will consider how two working class women channelled their resistance to their education by educating their children in a more open environment, where debates and conflicts about sexuality and other issues

could be brought to light and be discussed.

Resistance to ideal notions of femininity

Migration provoked criticism in some respondents and some women criticised their own upbringing and its implications for their gendered behaviour. Feli, from a working class background, was born in 1935 and came to England in 1959. She commented:

I think people of my time sacrificed themselves much more. I only made love to one man: my husband. In those times if you had more sexual partners than one in your life you were viewed as a lost woman, *una perdida*. Sex was a tabu, never mentioned. All those things have changed in me. I learned a lot I loved watching programs on TV that teach me something like Panorama, World in Action, etc. I love learning, I never know enough. If I had known what I known now I wouldn't have waited so much to make love because there were times when I desired it but I restrained myself [she laughs]...Now I am the best friend of my daughter and we have always talked openly about everything: sex, drugs, whatever (Feli 1997:6).

Catalina, who arrived in England in 1952, and was born in 1929, reflected on her education and corroborated Feli's thoughts:

When I came from my village I was very ignorant. I will only tell you...well..I didn't know where the children came from. Imagine, how ignorant I was! The nuns in the school had us all day in the church. All the village was only going to church. Only religion! There was nothing else. However, when I came here things were so different! Franco prohibited prostitution and many women came to England with false passports, many Spanish women prostituted

themselves to get some money and give it to their husbands. I didn't see this but my husband was telling me. These women were in Soho and there used to be a Spanish grocery there. My husband didn't want me to see those things so he would do the shopping...My relationship with my sons is very open, I am their friend and they can tell me anything (Catalina 1997:7).

In both women's childhoods there was an element of ignorance and prohibition regarding sex, which both criticised. Both welcomed a more liberal society where they could learn about sex and interact with their daughters and sons in a freer socio-political framework. There was an element of realisation and regret in Feli's and Catalina's cases. Feli said she would have liked to start her sexual life earlier if it had not been for what she was taught. Both women, though, insist on a more open relationship with their grown up children as friends, as opposed to an authoritarian style of parenting.

Both women construct a discourse of resistance from a retrospective position, located in a different socio-political, cultural and historical space. Their notions of women's sexuality and decency have reworked or rejected sexual meanings that emerged from their personal history. The analysis of how these respondents experienced their moral education - their subjective experiences - provides the space required to explore difference and, subsequently, challenges other respondents' notions of femininity, whereby women were viewed as wives and mothers. Catalina and Feli underlined the representation of women as sexual beings. However, Catalina positioned herself within a clear dichotomous moral frame of 'decent' and 'indecent' women. Furthermore, women who were 'decent' did not go to Soho, thus Catalina's husband behaved according to moral expectations in Spanish society. He protected his wife's decency by going to do the shopping

himself, not letting his wife mingle with 'indecent' women and avoiding possible gossip from Spaniards.

It is evident that there is a high level of confluence between working class women's concepts of the ideal family and the one preached to them by the representatives of the Spanish Catholic Church in England. There are also moral values in Spain, at the time respondents emigrated, which stressed similar notions of femininity and masculinity. Even though respondents rarely refer to the Virgin when they are talking about the ideal woman, the qualities emphasised - such as dedication to the family, care and sacrifice - are closely convergent with those associated with religious teachings. This does not mean that there is total congruence between the ideal and the real. Certainly women manoeuvre in that they negotiate with their husbands and gender relations have changed over time. However, because these negotiations and changes have hitherto taken place within the constraint set by dominant gender ideologies (educational system, the Church, Franco's government) they do not threaten the dominant 'gender order'. Adaptations and changes generally take place within frameworks that do not challenge the core of the doctrines.

This implies that gender values and practices, at the level of face to face interactions, reflect and support a wider ordering of notions of femininity and masculinity. The complicity in relationships regarding men and women is reached through consent. This consent is achieved by the transmission of values through institutions of civil society such as the family, the Church, the education and legal systems. The working class women, in this study, do not challenge their compliance with standard notions of femininity and masculinity. They actively support them. They are aware of the existence of different gender discourses and practices. They

are exposed to alternatives, not only in their surroundings, which they ambivalently condemn and praise, but also through media, especially television. However, there is still no acceptance of alternative social practices for women. Their habitus has been transformed and is transforming within the moral parameters of a Spain they left years ago.

English people viewed as cold

The purpose of this section is to look at how respondents from a working class background viewed English people. This section argues that the reason most respondents viewed English individuals as unemotional, indifferent or cold stems from these women's individual experiences of migration and their socio-economic background in Spain where extended family and friends relied on each other's financial and emotional support. Thus, respondents' expectations from interpersonal relationships clashed with English convention. In England the notion of extended family and friends is diluted by other forms of organisation, such as associations for different purposes, and a social welfare system that in Spain was not created until the 1980s.

This section looks first at what this group of respondents viewed as the main personal characteristics of the English. Secondly, it considers representations of the British state in these women's accounts. There was an unanimous agreement amongst the working class women that English people were cold, emotionless and indifferent. On the other hand, Spanishness represented the opposite: passion, emotion and joy for life. However, the British state was portrayed as caring for foreigners and as a provider for health care and job opportunities.

Thus, there was a differentiation of domains in the field of emotions. One domain referred to face to face interactions between Spaniards and English. Another domain points to the interaction between Spanish individuals and the British state. All respondents mentioned coldness and carelessness in their interpersonal relationships with English. The representation of coldness took different connotations. On the one hand, it comprised English parental detachment from their children as opposed to Spanish parents or families, who were eager to care about their children all their lives. On the other hand, coldness referred to English people as hypocrites.

However, the women viewed English society as caring for mothers with children who were not discriminated against at work because of motherhood. The state was caring because England accepted them as migrants and gave them work to fulfill their aspirations, at a time that Spain did not. Some respondents referred to a structural inequality in English society, a sharp difference amongst social classes who did not behave in the same way towards foreigners.

The representation of coldness has different connotations. Marta, who was born in 1945, and emigrated to England in 1970, and Veronica, who was born in 1952 and who came to England in 1971, gave two examples of this meaning:

English people are cold. In Spain if we have children we help them no matter what age. Here, if the child is over 18 the parents don't want to know more about him, they expect him to have his own flat, his own life. They [English] are cold between themselves, that's why they are also cold to us, foreigners (Marta 1997:21).

Usually, English people don't like children to be too much at home, as if the child was bothering them. They send the

child out in the streets as soon as he gets dinner. The parents don't care as much as they do in Spain (Veronica 1997:14).

From the point of view of these women, the family in England is just one of the many forms of organisation where children grow up. Children are expected to leave the parental home when they reach 18. They consider children maintain a more distanced relationship with their families. In Spain, however, the family is the first collective sphere where individuals meet and there is an effort to stay close throughout parents' and children's lives. It is, therefore, the strongest of the group units in Spanish life. In Spain, the family is stronger than the wider forms of the community. While in England, in the view of this group, this is not the case.

According to this group of respondents, Spaniards are more emotional and friendlier than English people. Teresa, who was born in 1930 and came to England in 1960, said:

Spaniards are more emotional, they do favours easily. They are more orientated towards the heart than towards rationality like the English, who are more cold...In Spain the weather is better, sunny, they live outdoors more than here where the weather is always grey. People make contacts in the streets. For example when women go to the market, *la plaza*, they make contacts amongst themselves. People in Spain are more eager to help each other to get involved in other people's problems whereas in England people live more to themselves (Teresa 1997:17).

Discourses on Englishness are multiple. This has to do with values in which gender is imbued, that is, the moralities which both encompass and ground the

representations of gender and nation. Representations embody meanings that go beyond the original reference of Spanish - English differences and, hence, become potent signifiers of more overarching moral issues. In fact, it appears that in some cases gender and/or nation may be the vehicles through which morality speaks, such as the representation of 'care' that crystallises in help received by relatives and acquaintances in the neighbourhood in Spain, or in the process of migration in England. The grounding of morality in gender implies that discourses on gender and gender inequalities contain a certain potential to order other discourses - not only of difference, but also of inequalities, and even ambiguities. Thus, gender becomes a way of structuring discourses on nation, or a language through which discourses on gender and nation are constructed.

For example, women mentioned politeness when they defined Englishness. English politeness is a term that some respondents linked with hypocrisy because, according to them, it was a politeness replete with 'sorry' and 'thank you' and empty of real meaning. Laura, who was born in 1937 and worked in Switzerland for three years, arrived in England in 1976, remarked angrily:

In Spain we don't say so many 'thank yous' and 'sorrys' unless there is a reason for it. I find that most of the times English say it they don't mean it, it's just a custom (Laura 1997:13).

What some women defined as hypocrisy of what, otherwise, could be characterised as politeness and concern for other people, contrasted with an English attitude that was viewed as indifferent, even careless, at an interpersonal level. Thus, again it is necessary to locate respondents' social backgrounds, and processes of migration to England.

The data indicate that most of these respondents viewed English individuals as hypocrites or detached individuals because working class respondents were used to social relations of care, help and concern from their social networks of family and friends. Close relationships demonstrated their concern and involvement in respondents' experiences of migration. These social networks helped them to find a job, to find a house in England and the relatives or acquaintances, who had emigrated before them, also interpreted for them when going to hospitals or councils. Some women in this study received help with child care from family members, who also lived in London. Others explained that family members, back in Spain, had cared for their children for extended periods of time. Thus, working class migrants saw interpersonal relationships as very significant in the process of their own experiences of migration. Laura mentioned that English people did not do favours easily or only looked after themselves. This reflected on most respondents' notions of extended family and help from the close community of neighbours in the working class neighbourhoods in Spain. Furthermore, respondents' perception of English individuals reflected respondents' need of a social network in the processes of migration.

On the other hand, working class women's accounts underlined the care that was shown by the welfare state at a social level. This was demonstrated by the social facilities and sense of fairness when it came to facilitating employment for mothers in England. The social care of the British government was contrasted with what the women saw as the indifference of the Spanish government towards Spanish migration to the UK. This indifference concerned the lack of language facilities, such as interpreters, at the point of entry to the UK. No information on the labour market in the UK was provided by the Spanish Consulate. Spanish immigrants were left to their own destinies. In many cases, respondents underlined the abusive

behaviour of civil servants working in the embassy who treated them as 'dirt'. They were left on their own with no Spanish state protection until the 1980s. The emigration boom had started in the 1960s, thus they experienced twenty years of delay. Veronica explained her feelings when she answered the question whether she felt part of the English society:

They [English] are proud of being English. I think that they see foreigners as guests in their own house which is England. It is as if foreigners asked them: 'I see that you have an empty room and I would like to stay, do you mind?' and the British answered: 'yes, you may stay'. However, it's still their house (Veronica 1997:21).

There was an apologetic feeling conveyed by working class women. In a thankful way they felt part of English society because the society gave them a job and it took care of beloved members of their families. For example, a costly operation was performed on a respondent's son, who was born with a heart condition. In their view, the UK provided them with jobs and a more advanced health system than Spain did. Thus, these women thought that if they claimed they did not feel they belonged in English society, this would seem a lack of appreciation on their part. Thus, they would have a feeling of remorse. The UK had been good to them, had accommodated them and had provided social services that Spain did not at the time they left to go abroad. Chon, who was born in 1951 and who emigrated to England in 1969, exemplified the above:

England has given me a job, and Spain didn't at the time, I should be thankful for that and I should feel that I am a part of this society but I can't feel that (Chon 1997:9).

There is an apologetic and a thankful attitude. She is apologetic for occupying a

space that is not hers, even though she has been living in London for 27 years. She is also thankful since England offered her more profitable jobs than farming jobs in Spain. However, statements that reinforce respondents' Spanish identity, although recognising positive aspects of English society, may reveal a conflict of loyalties. New loyalties to individuals and relationships developed in England may be experienced as a betrayal of the parents and relatives left behind in Spain or Spanish values. In other words, 'invisible loyalties' may interfere with the process of acceptance of the new country, resulting in a blockage of anything that draws the respondent away from maintaining emotional proximity to those people and places that constitute for her the sources of her identity.

Some respondents were also thankful towards the British state because it facilitated employment for them as mothers. Laura and Marta talked about their experiences as mothers working as domestics:

I think there is more equality in England, women are not rejected because they have children to look after. Employers give them the possibility to work whereas in Spain that is not the case (Laura 1997:21).

We feel things in a different way. We love in a different way. We are different. They are very cold, indifferent. I can't stand it! However when I came here I saw there was no difference between a woman and a man, a woman could get any job a man could get (Marta 1997:18).

Both statements may seem contradictory. However these women experienced appreciation for having a job and discomfort at the indifference of English people. Many of these women were allowed to take their children to work. Therefore, at the time that they were cleaning houses, they could look after their very young babies

letting them sleep in one of the bedrooms while they were cleaning the house. The possibility of bringing a child to work meant that the mother could go back to work quickly after childbirth and be with her child when it needed feeding. This was also the case when the child was a toddler. The respondent could always keep an eye on him/her being in the same house. Most of these respondents did part time cleaning, in different houses. This type of work and the working conditions allowed mothers to earn a salary and have a flexible timetable to care for their children.

English employers were seen as being more fair than Spanish employers. There seemed to be more equality between the sexes in access to the labour market. As one of the participants pointed out, English employers did not discriminate against women on the grounds of maternity:

English are very good people if they are middle or upper class. If they are working class they are very aggressive, like hooligans. English, perhaps, are more polite they say thank you and sorry all the time. We [Spaniards] don't say it as frequently. Most of the times when they say 'sorry' or 'thank you' they don't mean it. It's mechanic, it is engrained in them. On the other hand, in Spain if a woman wants to work and has children the employers don't want her because they may take time out of work to look after her children when they are sick. In England, mothers are given the possibility to work. Moreover, English men don't mind preparing breakfast for their wife while the wife is getting ready to go to work, for example (Miriam 1997:24).

Yet, according to most women, there was a structural inequality in English society, an abrupt difference amongst social classes in the way they behaved towards foreigners. When this group of respondents spoke of the English working class as aggressive, they referred to the behaviour they were exposed to in some of the

council estate flats they lived in. Vandalism, obscene graffiti, smuggling, aggressive manners, and cases of racial discrimination towards their neighbours were common practices for some tenants who lived in estates:

In the council estate I live in I have to accompany my daughter to take the bus to school. She is 16 but I am afraid of the people who live in that estate. They are white British, many of them unemployed. There have been several attacks on Indians living in that estate. We wanted to be rehoused due to the level of violence, but the Council doesn't have money to accommodate us somewhere else (Chon 1997:24).

These women were exposed to both worlds. They saw the world of politeness of 'thank yous' and 'sorrays' of the employer from a middle class or upper middle class backgrounds in the houses they worked for. They also saw the world of hooliganism, a fraction of the English unemployed class. Yet, none of these worlds scratched the surface of 'formal' social relationships. Respondents stated firmly they did not have English friends and they did not want to have any.

The reasons for this will now be examined by looking at narratives of foreignness. These fill out the map of identifications made up of working class Spanish women in London.

Foreignness

The purpose of this section is to look at why working class respondents represented themselves as foreigners in England and in Spain. The data in this section suggest that feelings of foreignness are the result of an amalgam of factors, such as respondents' disadvantaged economic and cultural capital gained in Spain;

respondents' lack of verbal and written proficiency in the English language; their working conditions in the English labour market; and respondents' position as foreigners, as perceived by English nationals in London, and Spaniards in Spain. This section will look at each of these aspects in order to examine how their combination provoked feelings of foreignness.

Disadvantages in economic and cultural capital

The data suggest that respondents' short period of schooling, parental attitudes towards their formal education and poor financial resources discouraged them from continuing formal education when they reached adulthood. In turn, these factors influenced respondents' decisions not to learn English language formally. Partly as a consequence, they did not improve their skills or look for alternative jobs to domestic service or the catering industry. However, these women pressurised their children to achieve high academic standards.

The way respondents viewed their children's education contrasted markedly with their parents' discriminatory attitudes between the education of girls and boys. Respondents also had different views to their parents' regarding their children's formal qualifications. Nevertheless, the shift of respondents' attitudes with regard to their children's education and aspirations did not change how they viewed their own formal education as adults. This was still delimited within the parameters of poor educational and occupational aspirations

It was argued in Chapter 4 that one possible consequence of early gender stereotyping was that these respondents placed less value to their own education. Chapter 4 looked at respondents' schooling and parental attitudes towards their

education. Most of the interviewees from a working class background stated that their parents did not support their schooling either because they did not have financial means or because respondents were needed to work to help their families. Respondents' accounts also pointed out that if there was a chance of obtaining a formal education, then the chance went to their brothers. Thus, the data suggested that parental attitudes and discriminatory education against girls provoked, in some respondents, low aspirations concerning their intellectual abilities. This is of importance for this section because the data suggested that respondents' low expectations about their intellectual abilities hindered formal learning of the English language.

For example, Marta emphasised that she could not have done better in her life even if she had learned English:

[Do you think that learning English would have improved your chances of getting a secretarial job since you said earlier you would have liked to work as a secretary?]
That would be impossible. Well...nothing is impossible. But, no, no... Even if I had learned English well, I wouldn't have been luckier. No. I know of people who were more prepared than me, who had more qualifications, and they were cleaners. I was working in much better places than them and I didn't know what they knew, therefore, no...(Marta 1997:22).

Julia pointed out her inability to learn:

[Do you think learning English would have improved your chances of applying for different jobs?]
No, because I cannot learn. I am a brute. I don't have the capacity to learn. I only can do well what I am doing: cleaning (Julia 1997:14).

However, Julia had learned basic English with a method she tailored for herself: writing English words phonetically in a notebook. Thus, she associated the word with its sound and learned its meaning contextually. Most working class women lacked confidence in their intellectual abilities. This, in some cases, reinforced their conviction that cleaning was the best position they could aspire to. Most respondents, from a working class background, attributed success to effort, or luck and failure to their lack of ability.

Both forms of economic and educational disadvantages resulted in a process by which members of the working class group were less likely to aspire to what women of the middle class group considered 'good' jobs: being a secretary or a nurse. Low occupational aspirations affected how working class respondents represented themselves as learners, in general, and as learners of English language, in particular. Their views were reflected in their refusal to learn English. Conchi talked about her choice not to attend English classes:

I never went to classes, although I could have attended because they were near where I lived, but I was tired of working outside and working at home. Anyway, why would I need to learn English in the books? I know it is important to learn English but my family is Spanish, my husband, my children...the job I do does not require the knowledge of English. I clean in houses and offices. At the beginning, when I didn't know any English I would stick a label on the things that I used like the Hoover, the brush, so I knew what the lady meant. Later I didn't need that any more (Conchi 1997:21).

Thus, there was a conflation of three elements: one, marriage with a Spaniard and, consequently, speaking Spanish at home; second, working as a cleaner where there

was limited interpersonal contact with English employers, and Conchi's responsibilities towards her home. Earning a salary and looking after her children and the house work left Conchi exhausted. To learn English was not a priority. Moreover, Conchi did not use English and did not intend to speak or write it 'correctly'. She already understood basic instructions at her work place and only aimed at making herself understood in simple conversations.

Yet, all respondents in this group appear to have resisted parental and school attitudes, that constrained them, by transforming their children's possibilities. As parents, they wanted their children to have a better access to education, to gain a cultural capital to generate an economic capital. These women's accounts pointed to the extreme importance of education for their children. Marta, who came to England in 1970 and was born in 1945, had been working as a cleaner since she arrived in England and commented:

I left school at the age of seven to take care of my brother who was just born. My mother's cousin would come to teach us how to read and write when we didn't have a lot of work in the farm. If it hadn't been for him I don't know what would have been of us. I can't imagine! My husband and I worked hard all our lives to give a good education to our children. I don't want them to go through what I went, I want them to be more than me, because anybody can be what I am (Marta 1997: 21).

All the working class women viewed formal education for their children as paramount. Respondents wanted their children to pursue academic qualifications and, thus, a better job than the job they had. Some respondents worked overtime to finance a private tutor for their children. Miriam's daughter had private tuition for her GCSE exams and then went on to read history at university. Chon's daughter

was going to start a degree course the following year. All the working class mothers interviewed expected their children to study hard at school, and to pursue formal qualifications. Academic titles were seen as passports to a better life. Respondents' approaches towards their children, daughters and sons, were different from that of their parents. These women did not think like their parents, that is, the belief that the best legacy they could leave their daughters was a husband and a trade to earn some money. These women taught their daughters and sons to achieve a formal education first. Miriam and Marta exemplified the above when they talked about their aims for their children:

I want my children to study and if necessary I will pay somebody to complement their school classes so they can do better at school (Miriam 1997:13).

Our aim (my husband's and mine) was to work hard in order to educate our children, to send them to good schools. I would feel extremely upset if my children didn't study. Life is hard but they are more prepared to face it if they study (Marta 1997:9).

The data suggested that respondents' cultural and economic capital shaped women's low expectations concerning their formal learning and occupational capacities. Thus, respondents negated their ability to learn English formally. By not learning standard English women reduced their possibilities of working in other professions. In addition, the slow process of acquiring basic English skills produced feelings of isolation and depression in some respondents.

Language, a marker of foreignness

The data indicate that language was a marker of foreignness: respondents felt

foreign because they could not communicate. The feeling of foreignness was strongly connected with lack of verbal and written proficiency in English that negatively affected respondents' feelings of belongingness to England.

Working class women did not have any knowledge of English when they arrived in the UK. They felt 'deaf and dumb'. Language was an obstacle in their daily communication. Respondents could not express what they thought and felt. Their communication was limited to the confines of their families or to Spanish social clubs. Some of them could hardly read in Spanish, but they watched Spanish television and basic programmes on English television because their children wanted this. Miriam and Veronica described their feelings of foreignness:

My friends are Spanish and my family is Spanish. I feel like a stranger out of these environments. I have to put an effort to keep a conversation with an English woman, to understand her, and to talk with her. My English is not good (Miriam 1997:22).

Veronica confirmed Miriam's views:

I felt dumb and deaf when I came to this country, I didn't speak English, I didn't understand a thing anybody said. Now, I understand most of it, I can make myself understood, but I can't write it. My friends are mostly Spanish, I also have some Portuguese and Brazilian friends. I can communicate with them because Portuguese is similar with Galician. I can't make myself understood with an English person as I would like to. That bothers me. I used to spend a lot of time trying to work out what an English person said. How can you be friends with somebody you don't understand? That's basics! What I didn't understand I guessed by the context, or the English would do mimics. Hard work! If you are a Spaniard and live in England, you

feel you don't belong here (Veronica 1997:23).

Foreignness, in the view of respondents, was related to difficulties in speaking English and understanding it. The lack of English skills affected feelings of belongingness. 'I do not understand them, therefore I close myself to their world, I do not belong there', was a common attitude amongst respondents who had a poor understanding of English language. This feeling of not belonging in England brought respondents together in a sense of solidarity. This solidarity was composed of feelings of non-belonging in England, nationalist feelings of Spanishness and a self-definition as foreigners. Moreover, as Veronica stated, language was not only an obvious difference between English and Spaniards, language also transmitted a difference in value systems. According to Veronica, Spaniards are better communicators than English, Spaniards also 'care' about others, they care to put an effort and open themselves to others. The term of 'care' was a recurrent theme, examined in the previous section on Englishness. Veronica continued to note differences transmitted by language:

My husband and I devoted ourselves to Spanish friendships. To get to know an English person is difficult. English don't make friendships with you that easily. They are very different from us. We [Spaniards] are more open, more communicative. English don't communicate easily. English people don't like others to speak in their own language. They are suspicious, they think that if you talk for some minutes in your language with a colleague you are talking behind their back. Most English people don't speak any other language. Anyway, I feel more comfortable speaking my own language. We have completely different ideas to the English. We are more talkative, we make the effort to talk with another person. They don't (Veronica 1997:7).

Language appears as an obstacle to forming friendships with English people. This became one of the reasons to adhere to Spanish friendships or search for friendships among people that are closer, according to respondents, to Spanish language and/or culture such as Italians, Portuguese or Greeks. Portuguese friends were valuable for Galician respondents, since Portuguese is linguistically close to Galician.

Thus, this group of Spanish women did not make English friends because they were not able to understand English fully. There was a lack of both verbal and behavioural communication. Therefore, all the information that respondents missed verbally, when interacting with an English person, was substituted with the respondent's interpretation. This situation only provoked misunderstandings and failure to motivate the respondent to speak with a native.

The lack of English skills affected how Spanish women viewed English people and also channelled their friendship towards a Spanish friend with whom there were no possibilities of misinterpretation.

All my friendships are with Spaniards. I think there is a difference between the friendship of a Spaniard and an English. With the Spanish person I talk as I wish, it's my own language, I don't have to think when you talk, for example, I can express whatever I feel. When I speak in English I manage to have a conversation but sometimes I cannot explain myself as I would like to, as I can in Spanish, that's why I don't have friendships with English (Tina 1997:36).

Thus, Spanish language remained the language of emotions and feelings which she did not even 'have to think'. Spanish provides a vehicle to express what was inexpressible in English. Therefore, Spanish was seen to enhance intimacy in

interpersonal communication. Respondents felt at ease, comfortable speaking in their own language and with people who understood them. Speaking in Spanish provided respondents with the necessary fluency to form a friendship, something which was denied to them by the host society. Moreover, Spanish was the language of shared memories of historical events, of customs and folklore, of exchanging recipes. Thus, they were acts of identification that mapped respondents' roots in a geographical, socio-cultural and linguistic space.

The data suggest that lack of knowledge of English is linked with feelings of isolation and mental depression. Some respondents failed to communicate with the outside world. Particularly, if their husbands worked in shifts they had to spend all the time on their own at home. Women were cut off from the outside world until they learned basic English. Veronica talked about her depression when she arrived in England:

When I arrived in England I couldn't speak with anybody. I had nobody to talk to except when I was cleaning offices. But when I was working I couldn't understand what they were saying to me, so I couldn't talk. When I was not working I spent all the time indoors on my own. My husband was out working. I spent the hours crying and sleeping. I couldn't eat. My sister in law was coming to feed me, when she was not working. I was in this state for some months. I didn't realise I had had a depression until a year later (Veronica 1997:1, 15).

Thus, lack of verbal proficiency in English was related, in many cases, with depressive symptoms. Learning the language of the host country would have allowed Veronica a closer interaction with English. The levels of stress and depressive symptoms associated with lack of English skills resulted in feelings of

social isolation.

Respondents may have eliminated participation in the socio-cultural life of the host society because they saw discriminatory practices towards them as foreigners. Some respondents saw their status as domestic workers in England for a compulsory period of four years as a discriminatory practice against them. For example, Reme who was born in 1922 and who came to England in 1942 talked about her first job as a live-in domestic, which she regarded as an exploitation:

When I arrived in England as a worker I had to write my profession on a form, so I wrote domestic. I was told that I had to work as a domestic for four years, after that I was free to work in anything I wanted. I had not worked as anything else before but I thought I could work in the catering industry. However, I didn't want to get in trouble with the police as I had to report any changes of employer or address. I was scared they could send me back to Spain, so I continued being a domestic and that's what I have been doing all my life...When my daughters were in their secondary school we were told by the teachers that if we wanted them to go to university we had to become British, otherwise they wouldn't let them go to university. At that time, you had to be British for two or three generations to let you study at the university. So we became British (Reme 1997:10).

The obligation to work in the profession stated on entering the UK for four years implied a limitation on choices of jobs. None of the respondents who declared themselves as workers had formal qualifications, all of them had work experience as domestic workers, in the catering industry, in agriculture or in clothes factories. The condition under which they had to stay in one particular job constrained their choices of paid work. In some cases, this forced them to stay in working conditions

that were exploitative. A change of employer was the alternative to exploitation. However, if there was not another employer available, the respondent had to endure the circumstances as long as she could to avoid transgressing British immigration laws and being sent back to Spain. Reme provides an example of the route that many working class Spanish women followed to enter the UK.

Until I was 18 I worked in a handkerchief factory. When my grandmother died of typhus I had to become a domestic worker to earn more money for my family. I asked my boss whether he knew of other jobs, he said that the fruit keeper was asking for two girls to go abroad. The fruit keeper told me that the Consul of Spain in Liverpool had written to the Major of my village asking for girls to work in his house in England. They offered me, £2 per month. I didn't need any official papers because I came with diplomats. Once I started working for them the Consul said he would keep my salary because I didn't need it as I wasn't going anywhere. I didn't speak English and I couldn't learn it because I was working everyday. There was another girl who came to work in the house. She was 16 years old, they treated us very badly, one day the lady slapped that girl. I left the house but the Consul reported me to the British police. I was supposed not to leave the house where I worked unless I had another house to work as a domestic. I was lucky enough that I had a friend and her employer took me in as a live-in domestic (Reme 1997:8).

Another example is Lara. She married a British national from Gibraltar and came to London in 1941. She described the working conditions of Spanish citizens in England in the 1940s and 1950s:

When I came to England in the forties people who had a British passport couldn't work in civil places, *sitios civiles*, because they needed us [British nationals] to work in military sites such as the war factories. A Spaniard couldn't

work in a war factory, nor in post offices. Until recently to work in the Post Office you had to be a British citizen. At that time, almost all the jobs were only for British subjects, if you weren't one you couldn't work in almost anything. You could find a job such as street cleaner for example; all foreign immigrants cleaned what the bombs had destroyed. Women had to work in the domestic service, they couldn't work in anything else, unless they were British. Many Spaniards became British because they wouldn't find a job (Lara 1997:21-22).

There was a difference that configured the status of the worker. In the first case, Reme was lucky to find an employer immediately. However, she ran the risk of being called to the police station or being sent back to Spain. Lara reflected on the labour market division between British nationals and foreigners. This difference determined the type of job each group could access. Thus, Spaniards had to become British if they wanted to bypass work restrictions. These socio-political constraints certainly influenced respondents' view of themselves as non-British and as low waged workers. Both accentuated respondents' positions as foreigners and reinforced their Spanish national feelings. Thus, occupational placement demanded outward compliance with migration regulations, while denying the migrant equal access to the labour market and offering few prospects of substantial improvement. However, respondents earned comparatively higher salaries in England than in Spain. This fulfilled economic and moral obligations of helping their relatives in Spain. It also contributed to their own aspirations of buying a house and educating their children.

Respondents' lack of English skills affected their lives in various ways. First, respondents' lack of knowledge of English negatively shaped their feelings of belongingness to England and reinforced their identification with the notion of

Spanishness. Second, language restricted respondents' friendships to Spanish nationals and served also as reflection of two different systems of social values. Third, the lack of English skills exacerbated respondents' feelings of social isolation and depressive symptoms. In addition respondents' limited access to the English labour market strengthened their self-representation as foreigners which separated them from the English society.

The next section will deal with respondents' feelings of foreignness in their local communities in Spain. The purpose of the section is to complement the map of representations of foreignness in England with respondents' feelings of being outsiders in their own socio-cultural context in Spain.

Respondents' feelings of foreignness in Spain

Foreignness is a position in which respondents found themselves when going to Spain to visit their families, especially, if they were born in small villages where there were close social networks of relatives and friends of the family for generations. There, one was defined by being the 'daughter of' or the 'son of' somebody. One was known by the person one meets in the street.

Women expressed their feelings of foreignness when they walked in the streets in their villages or neighbourhoods in Spain and saw people they did not know. They did not know of births or weddings or deaths. The information of these daily events was missing due to their regular absence from that local space. Hence, these women had to ask for feedback from their own families to get a close picture to the 'transformed' local community.

Veronica, who came to England in 1973 and was born in 1952, reflected on the pain of being called 'English' by her neighbours:

The only thing that hurts me when I go to Spain on holidays is that people in my village say to us (my family): 'look, here they come: the English'. I am Spanish like them. They say those things to me because I have been 25 years out of the country. I am not English I am Spanish. Perhaps, they don't mean any harm but for me it's hard because I am out of my country. They don't know what is living out of your own country. I didn't know anybody when I came to England, I didn't speak any English. The only people we gathered with were Spaniards. It's very difficult. I spent my youth working and indoors (Veronica 1997:9).

Most respondents were viewed as migrants, who lived a wealthy life abroad and returned with a 'posh' attitude to the village where they were born, as if they had more knowledge than the locals did, a knowledge that only could be acquired by the migrant. Respondents brought economic capital to their villages and neighbourhoods, usually a new car, or they built a new house and brought gifts to their relatives. Economic capital generated social capital through the claim to knowledge of another country and goods that working class locals did not have access to. Thus, economic, social and symbolic capital changed migrants' status to 'the English'. Respondents resented and protested at these representations of themselves. This imagery reinforced the feeling of foreignness, but at the same time of Spanishness. In fact, respondents were eager to 'prove' they felt Spanish in their statements:

When I go to Spain I don't recognise many of the people in my village. New marriages, baptisms, people who have died. It makes me sad because I don't get to know those events until they are past. When I go there my relatives tell

me about those things. On the other hand, we are looked at as if we were rich. They think that we have spent so much time here earning a lot of money...they think we view ourselves as important because we come from England; but it's all in their imagination because we have worked very hard for what we have achieved. Nobody pays attention to that. Nobody takes into account that we, my husband and I, left our families behind to come here with nothing in our hands, just to work, work and work. Some times we are called 'the English'. I hate it. We are not English, we are Spanish a hundred per cent (Miriam 1997:19).

Thus, there is a parallel situation: respondents did not know the changes that their social networks were going through. They do not know the dynamics of what they considered at one time their community. In England respondents did not master English and their knowledge of English was insufficient to follow a complex conversation in English. Therefore they were distanced from the media or any interaction that implied knowledge of English. In both cases there was a lack of knowledge. In the first instance, in the events that marked the pace of local community life, in the second instance respondents missed out on a deeper knowledge of English society. In both instances the outcome is: silence and distance from the local environment in a Spanish local community or an English context that created feelings of uprootedness.

The data have suggested so far that the transitions created by immigration often resulted in loneliness because of the absence of people with shared experiences. Second, migration often caused strain and fatigue from the effort to adapt and cope with a different environment. Third, feelings of rejection from the new society appear to have had an effect on self-esteem. Fourth, migration was likely to provoke confusion in terms of social values and expectations; and shock resulting from the differences between two socio-cultural settings that may lead to a sense of

impotence resulting from the inability to understand and function competently in the host society. There was a strong feeling of loss stemming from the uprooting experience, and extraction from the primary group networks in the society of origin. The loss of the social circle composed of intimate face to face contact with family friends and neighbours became bitterly distressing.

The pain of uprootedness was also activated in subtle forms by everyday absence of familiar smells, familiar foods, and familiar routines for doing the small tasks of daily life. It was the lack of the average expected environment (the lack of expected social practices and, therefore, the divergence between habitus and the expectations from the host environment) which become a reminder of what is not there any more. It was the loss of this expected environment that appeared to be most disorienting and most disruptive of respondents previously established identity. Working class respondents tried to recreate a feeling of continuity through the reproduction in England of social practices that ordered their lives in Spain: they sought Spanish friends, cooked typical cuisine, sent their children to Spanish schools. The practice of this expected behaviour comforted and eased the feeling of uprootedness.

The next section will look at two exceptions amongst the working class respondents. This brings out some generational differences between respondents. These two women both reported changes in how they viewed their national identities after migration.

Generational contrasts

Cruz and Isabel, both 32 years of age at the time of the interview, came to England in 1990. They were the youngest in the sample and they contrasted markedly with

the other members of the working class group because both had university education. Both came from working class families and worked part time in their professions, as teacher and social worker. Due to their status as non-EEC workers when they entered England, they did not have a work permit. They worked initially as cleaners, au pairs, and waitresses and were able to move upward in their respective professions in the early nineties when Spain became a full member of the European Community. However, both complained, at the time of the interview, that they had to work part time and would like to work full time. They did not own a house or a car or any of the possessions the rest of this working class group enjoyed, due to their relatively limited time in England and their working status as part-timers.

Cruz sees herself as a Galician not as a Spaniard:

I feel I am Galician more than anything else, although when I travelled around Brazil I was viewed as an European (Cruz 1997:13).

However, she is seen as a Spaniard in England and as a European in Brazil. She has a strong sense of being Galician compared to previous generations. This 'nationalistic' feeling emerged in a newly democratic Spain when regions were decentralised from the main administrative power in Madrid. Since then, regions have the right to speak and teach their own language and have their own parliament, whereas in Franco's times this was forbidden.

Cruz and Isabel coincided in their views on English understandings of Spain: English view Spaniards with the idea of vacation in 'Costa del Sol'. Both respondents felt foreign in England, because of their accented English, which caused

them frustration. The feeling of foreignness decreased by having a good knowledge of English language but it was always present. Cruz had plans to return to Spain when her parents fell ill. Indeed Cruz's feelings towards her family echoes other respondents' views on the moral obligations of women to look after their families:

Once my parents are old and sick I will go back to Galicia to look after them. I have four brothers but all of them are married I am their only single daughter; and that's what people do in Galicia, daughters take care of their parents, even if they are married. It's not the responsibility of the sons but of the daughters. I feel it's my responsibility. In fact, I went to Galicia for one year because my mother got sick, I was the one who looked after her, who bathed her. I don't know how long I will be in London, I guess until my parents tell me that they need me (Cruz 1997:25).

Thus, Cruz, despite being one of the youngest respondents in the sample, felt she had the same moral responsibilities that her mother had towards her grandmother. Cruz's academic achievements, her young age and her migration to other countries (she lived in Australia for one year and was born in Switzerland and lived there until the age of 8) did not challenge her 'destiny'. She embodied her family's habitus and brought it forward into the future. Her cultural and economic capital did not alter her family practices. The expectations Cruz's family had of her and, in fact, Cruz's positive response to those expectations signify an automatic action that fits within her family's moral framework. Cruz appropriated her family's discourse when accepting the responsibility of looking after her parents for being the only daughter.

This engendering process of looking after her parents becomes increasingly contradictory when the practices associated with the experiences of oneself as a gendered person and the rights this may accord one within a collectivity (be this at

the smallest level of the household) are constantly challenged. This contradiction is frequently contested by the contemporary reality of Cruz's position in England as an 'independent' woman. In a distant Spain she is 'more controlled' within the family. Spain is where Cruz may engage in gendered practices that will lead to a coherence within the local understanding of a dutiful daughter and, therefore, contribute to the process of self-identification and loyalty to her family.

The internalisation of family norms had deep roots in respondents' identities from three generations. Thus, respondents who are uprooted from one society, no matter how successfully they adapt to life in another, do not appear to fully let go of the internalised gender expectations for women.

The next chapter will contrast the understandings of Spanishness, Englishness and foreignness of middle and upper middle class women with the perceptions of national and gender identities of working class respondents.

CHAPTER 7

NARRATIVES OF SPANISHNESS, ENGLISHNESS AND FOREIGNNESS: MIDDLE AND UPPER MIDDLE CLASS WOMEN

Introduction

This chapter investigates the factors that influenced middle class and upper middle class respondents' constructions of national and gender identities. There are two aspects to take into account. First, respondents' perceptions of their national gendered identities and of feelings of foreignness appear to vary according to their level of formal education. Second, respondents' perceptions of their national gendered identities appear to differ depending on the national identity of the husband, that is, whether he is Spanish (or British from Gibraltar of Spanish origin) or British from the UK.

Reasons for migration

Middle class women responded to family pressures in two ways: some women did not pursue further education in Spain due to marriage, 47% of women, (8 out of 17), terminated their studies for reasons of marriage. Some of these women thought of themselves as not capable, not bright enough to continue studying. They did not expect to achieve anything academically.

Another reaction was to emigrate to the UK and continue studying English language in London, despite family and peer pressures not to do this. Learning English was a pretext for 47% of the women (8 out of 17) to go abroad and escape from parental

policing. Hence, middle class women told their stories of migration in relation to their motives to go abroad. Middle class women's reasons for migration may be grouped in three categories: first, to escape repressive parental attitudes. Second, to learn and/or to practice English, third, to live an adventure through migration. These motives were not exclusive, some women pointed to an interactive combination of two or three. The proportion of women who married Spaniards differed significantly from the working class respondents. Only 29% (5 out of 17) women were already married when they emigrated, of those five, four came to the UK following their husbands. This represents 24% of middle class women compared to 54% in the working class group. The rest 71% (12 out of 17 women) of the middle class respondents met their husbands in the UK.

The first impression looking at these women's reasons for emigration is their apparent 'rebellion' against their families' control by coming to the UK. However, they were supported financially by their parents. They received an income every month until they got married and some of them even after marriage. It was resistance within hegemony, resistance shaped by patriarchy and material factors. It was a negotiation between their wish to be 'free' from parental control and their need for parental economic support.

Middle class women had the choice to go abroad with the economic support of their fathers. If things did not turn out as planned they could always count on their parents accepting them back home. Whereas working class women, did not have that kind of economic support or encouragement. Reasons for migration are significant for two reasons: to examine how cultural and economic capital affected women's choices of marriage and work. Second, to look at the effects of marriage in the shaping of respondents' gender and national identities.

Effects of education and marriage on the shaping of middle class respondents' national and gender identities in England

The data show that there is a distinction between the understandings of Spanishness, Englishness and foreignness of respondents who attained a vocational training or secondary school education, and university graduates. In the case of respondents who attended school up to the age of 16-18 their understandings of Spanishness coincide with some of the statements made by working class women in the sample. That is, Spanish national identity is characterised by being a good mother and wife. Thus, this group of middle class respondents mentioned the importance of family cohesion, and cooking Spanish meals for the family, as acts of identification. However, in contrast with the working class group, middle class respondents did not position themselves in relation to a hierarchical classification whereby they perceived themselves as better wives and/or mothers than English women. Nonetheless, they shared with the working class group very strong Spanish national feelings. On the other hand, middle class graduates did not mention the above attributions as identifiers of themselves as Spanish women. They highlighted other characteristics such as being friendly, 'upfront' and spontaneous as the main aspects of Spanish identity.

Both groups of middle class respondents shared three common outlooks. Spanish nationals were seen as being friendlier and more spontaneous than the English. Second, the Spanish language constituted a principal part of their national identity. Third, both groups observed that there was a clash of representations between how respondents saw themselves as Spaniards and how they were viewed by the host society. Consequently, most respondents emphasised their discomfort at English characterisations of Spain and Spaniards, which usually fell into stereotypes

extracted from brochures of tourist package holidays.

Exploring the social construction of meaning, reveals the ambiguities of power processes: the predominance of 'official' discourses on femininity and nation in Spain at the time respondents were growing up must be taken into account. Even respondents who had an extended formal education could not change the agendas entirely or avoid them completely. They could manoeuvre or manipulate particular discourses to influence understandings, but power relations were re-created in the interaction, not totally imposed. It was clear that in the forging of their identities different actors negotiated relative positions of power resorting to specific gender imagery. Middle class respondents with a secondary school education recalled notions of women as housewives and mothers as the main characteristics of their identities. Although, graduated middle class women did not express their identity in this manner, they too re-created their mothers' social practices, which were also followed by most respondents in this study. That is, they reproduced the practices of child care and housework. They favoured English as the language spoken at home, thus highlighting their husbands' national identity. They selected an English school for their children. These practices revealed 'Spanish values' concerning the predominance given to the wishes of the husband or father in Spain, as described in Chapter 4.

Elena is an example of contradictory narratives. She was 48 years old at the time of the interview, and arrived in England in 1980. She was a teacher married to a British engineer. Elena studied an interdisciplinary master in women's studies in London when her children were adolescents. She described the conflict between being a student, a paid worker and a (house)wife:

[How did your husband see the fact that you were working and studying at the same time?]

Very badly. What my husband has offered me is a lot of opposition... It hasn't been easy for me. There have been many, many, many times when I was preparing for an exam and when I knew he was coming from work I had to hide the books to avoid him seeing me studying. Sometimes, I was thinking what a ridiculous situation...I remember that in front of men I had to demonstrate that I wasn't interested in books. If I was somehow successful in my studies I had to relegate it. I had to justify myself saying, well it was purely coincidental, I had to take away importance of it. This is something even now that I get annoyed about. I get annoyed at the fact that women have always to justify they have other interests and that they want to fulfil themselves in other things other than the domestic domain. Men haven't changed. The majority of men still think that women's place is at home, that women should be interested in feeding them and arrange the house and all those things (Elena 1997:23).

Despite her protests, Elena had done all the house chores since she got married and had taken responsibility for the care of her children since they were born. Thus, particular social practices seemed to frame most respondents' behaviour at all times. The complex web of constraints respondents faced were tied up with a conflict of loyalties, with spaces they wanted to retained or create, with emotions, compensations, and rewards. Hence, respondents' narratives were not coherent units of speech, behaviour or norms; they crossed each other, containing incongruities and discrepancies. Their narratives were constituted through process of identifications where meanings and interpretations were attributed and disowned. Narratives were drawn upon in the forging of the process to encourage adaptation to a host country and, at the same time, maintain a sense of familiarity, of psychological well being throughout the process.

One way to keep that familiarity with home was to re-produce, in most cases, the type of gender relationships respondents had been exposed to in Spain, instead of

opting for alternatives, which would have brought yet another change. Thus, in this way women protected and sustained their own definitions of the 'reality' and their moral standards. Indeed, the re-creation of such relationships was itself constantly negotiated. The possibility of maintaining power relations or transforming them, stimulated their reproduction.

National gendered identity and the household

According to middle class respondents with a formal education up to a vocational training or secondary school Spanishness was defined by family cohesion, cooking national dishes, friendliness and sincerity. The following four interview extracts reflect respondents' national and gender identity constructions.

Paca who was 66 at the time of the interview, arrived in England in 1960 and worked most of her life in England as an air hostess until she retired. Her husband was of Spanish origin from Gibraltar. She gave her impressions on how important it was to be Spanish:

In Spain people enjoy life, in England people only exist. Spain is like my mother. I would never reject my mother. If I were asked what do you chose your mother or your stepmother, England? I would always chose my mother, Spain. I feel Spanish to the marrow. The *paella*, the food, my husband, my daughters, the Spanish atmosphere of my home, that's how I feel as if I were in Spain. I go to Spain at least six times per year and when I go there on holidays I regain the happiness to live. It is not that I have a bad time here, it's different. I don't really have friends any more in Spain, only cousins, but still when I go to Spain it's like embracing my mother (Paca 1997:45).

Felisa who was 48 at the time of the interview, arrived in England in 1989. Her

husband was Spanish and was assigned to a university in England. She was a part time teacher and described her experience of living abroad as enriching, but adhered to the daily social practices she was accustomed to in Spain:

In my house I don't have the sensation of living abroad, my house is Spanish from the time you go in: we eat Spanish style, we are up to date on Spanish news, we read Spanish newspapers. We visit Spain three times per year. My children were born in Spain...I think Spaniards are more upfront and friendlier (Felisa 1997:17).

Rafa who was 60 at the time of the interview, came to England in 1963 from a middle class background and married a British lawyer. She had been a housewife since she had her children. She described her national feelings:

I feel a hundred per cent Spanish. I go to Spain three or four times a year. I have feelings for Spain. For me Spaniards have a *joix de vivre*, (joy of life) that English don't have. Spaniards are more sincere and straight (Rafa 1997:34).

Carlota was 55 years old when interviewed and arrived in England in 1965. She was originally from a working class background and worked in domestic service and the catering industry in England. She married a British media producer. Since then she has been a housewife. She affirmed emphatically:

I feel Spanish a hundred per cent. I go to Spain twice per year and in two years I will be living between Spain and England, but more in Spain. We are going to buy a house there (Carlota 1997:28).

It can be seen that amongst these women there was a strong feeling of being Spanish and a constant recreation of a Spanish atmosphere that coincided with the accounts of the working class group. By contrast two respondents, Rafa and

Carlota, who married British nationals from the UK, did not mention Spanish meals or their children, or their husband's national identity to reinforce their own national identity feelings. Instead, they pointed out these Spanish 'qualities' they missed in English society, such as being friendly, warm or the directness of interpersonal relations.

In contrast with the working class group and the first group of middle class respondents, middle class graduates did not name being a good wife and mother or doing the house chores and women's self sacrifice as acts of national identification. Moreover, most middle class graduates silenced any mention that they were good mothers and wives as main identifiers. They dismissed the subject of housework and family care as taken for granted, as something for which they did not want to spare much thought. Nonetheless, they spent their own time and emotional energy to maintain their families through undertaking child care and doing the house chores. All respondents did the house chores or were responsible to delegate the housework to somebody else. Therefore, although graduated respondents did not openly voice the care of the family (being a good wife and mother) and house chores as two attributes of their historically and geographically located femininity, both characteristics were practised 'naturally' or as women stated as a result of their 'free choice'.

Elena a 48 year old graduated teacher, who came to England in 1980 and married an industrial engineer, expressed timidly her opinion on sharing the house chores and child care:

My husband does not help in the house. He does not even know how to fry an egg [she laughs]. I am sure if he were on his own he would do it but...on the other hand, I'd rather do these house chores myself

because I know how I want the house to be, instead of explaining to him how it should be done. I had a woman who used to come a couple of times per week to help me.

[Was there ever any discussion between you and your husband about sharing the house chores?]

No, I am of the opinion that each of us does what s/he can. Why would I tell him to do things if I can do them myself better and in less time? Besides, there is no need to provoke a confrontation for this issue (Elena 1997:34).

It is significant to examine the gender relationships these women maintain with their husbands. They see their husbands in the same fashion they saw their fathers as analysed in Chapter 4. Most women in the sample replicated the role of their mothers in their marriages. They did not ask for help from their husbands in the house chores nor with child-care. In cases where husbands helped respondents, this help had not been demanded, the husbands had offered themselves to help. These respondents did not allow the division of house chores to be seen as important for fear of frictions with their husbands. They preferred hiring domestic help rather than asking their husbands and facing refusal. This situation put them in a position to accept the refusal silently and do the house chores by themselves. Or to protest and have an argument that did not guarantee their husband's co-operation in the future. These women refused to 'educate' their husbands into house chores and into looking after the children. The latter was in all the cases done by the women.

House chores and child-care were in all cases done by the middle class respondents whatever their level of formal education unless financial circumstances allowed for domestic service. Then respondents would be in charge of hiring personnel and controlling the overall work done by servants.

Lourdes, a graduated teacher of 55 years of age, at the time of the interview, arrived

in England in 1963 and was married to a British teacher. She was reluctant to answer questions in this area fully, hence the insistence on the theme of whom was responsible for the housework and child care:

[Did your relatives help you with the children and/or housework in England? In what way?]

No I did everything myself. I had some friends who helped me. I had one Indian friend, we helped each other a lot with the children.

[What do you do in the house? Cooking, washing up, ironing, shopping...]

Yes, actually, I do everything, I do everything. I could have someone to do it for me. I used to have somebody who came here to clean but she was hitting the furniture with the Hoover and I have some antiques that I don't want to damage. I have so much love for the house and the things in it that I prefer doing it myself.

[Does your husband help you?]

He helps me in what he considers I should be helped

[And what is that?]

Well, he does whatever he can (Lourdes 1997: 35).

It can be seen that she was reluctant to reveal that her husband did nothing in the house. However, Lourdes answered extensively the rest of the questions and this particular interview lasted for five hours.

Although, these 'educated' women drew from higher cultural and economic capital and rebelled against constructions of femininity in Spain exerted by family, religious schooling and Franco's government, they also concur, as do working class and middle class respondents with a lower level of formal education, in replicating the 'naturalness' of the division between women and men in the household. They are not prepared to challenge gender relationships in their marriage, nor in their parents' marriage as was noted in Chapter 4.

The next section will deal with respondents' negotiations of Spanishness in their gender relationships with English people.

Intertwined representations of Spanishness and Englishness

The data suggest that notions of femininity engrained in middle class respondents habitus were reflected in their relationships with their partners. Respondents who married British nationals shaped their gendered identities to fit their partner's national identifications in the host society. Respondents recycled their own definitions of femininity by constructing representations of themselves as English wives and mothers. These were based on definitions of femininity internalised in Spain. These women maintained their identifications of Spanishness 'a hundred per cent' for themselves and their Spanish relatives and friends. Thus, respondents married to British nationals from the UK differentiated sites in their lives where they could generate representations and social practices. On the one hand respondents generated practices that they assumed their husbands and children expected from them. On the other hand, these respondents produced identifications associated emotionally with memories of their youth in Spain such as smells, sounds, house-decoration, and frequent visits to Spain.

Graduate respondents married to British partners fashioned diverse styles of self-representation that they tailored to particular audiences rather than representing a unitary self characterised by attributes that remained constant in all settings. In encounters with their husband or husband's family or friends, respondents reported that they mimicked the dominant stereotypes regarding what they perceived as Englishness, providing an elaborate image of those qualities which they imagined their British husbands and British others expected. These respondents via

performances, which emphasised their cultural 'assimilation' to England, fed into their notions of family and the role that a wife should play. Thus, these women appropriated their husbands' surnames as part of selfhood and social identity. This is not a usual practice in Spain where women keep their maiden name. However, in the privacy of their relationships with their best friends, in most cases Spaniards, they viewed themselves as totally Spanish. They said that their roots and family of origin were in Spain and they loved and felt proud of the cultural heritage Spain offers.

Respondents also saw motherhood as an enclave where they set roots. The geographical place where their children were born was significant and served as a source of national identifications. By contrast, if the respondent's husband was Spanish, the country where the child was born was irrelevant to their national identity. It was taken as a matter of chance that represented the parents' temporal residence in England.

However, if the husband was English, his Englishness and that of his friends and his social networks, as it was perceived by the respondent, influenced how the respondent represented herself to others. To embrace Englishness appeared to be an act of loyalty towards the English husband. For example, Lourdes exemplified the process of her transformation from feeling a foreigner to feeling English and Spanish:

I was studying at the university plus I was having a relationship with a British: my husband. I was integrated also through him. I had a lot of friends through him. I was more integrated in this society and I also had quite profound relationships with many other people. I saw myself because of this more as a Spaniard than as a foreigner. In my environment [English] people acknowledged my nationality, my

position, my roots. It was important to me to be viewed as a Spaniard, and not as a foreigner. Being a Spaniard I could contribute with my difference, with my background. [Later in the interview she answered the following to the question: Do you feel Spanish?] I consider myself totally Spanish, my roots are Spanish, I am proud of what Spain offers, despite the fact that Spain didn't offer me much at the time I left. I consider my home to be Spain. I think both cultures Spanish and English have reinforced each other within me. I see myself in a cultural equilibrium (Lourdes 1997:30,38).

Lourdes says first that both nationalities were balanced within herself. Nevertheless, the statement that follows is a confirmation of certainty: 'I consider myself totally Spanish'. Lourdes did not add 'and totally English' or 'half-English and half-Spanish'. There is a sense of irrevocability. The totality of being Spanish comprises her roots, her family of origin, her culture, her language but also her marriage to a British man and her British daughter and, indeed, 34 years of residence in England.

These women's feeling of Englishness drew also from the fact that their husbands were from the UK. English husbands were the ones who introduced respondents to their English friends, to an 'English way of life', however this was interpreted by each of the respondents. Nevertheless, the English friends that respondents were introduced to did not become close friends. When husbands were not present respondents did not socialise with their husbands' friends. Most respondents' best friends were Spanish. Englishness was left out of the door when Spanishness came into play. Englishness was present in English social environments. Englishness was also present as a family unifier and an act of family identification.

All respondents married to British nationals sent their children to an English school. Some children had complementary Spanish classes and some respondents spoke in Spanish to their children. However when the husband was present the language used

was English, even if the husband spoke Spanish. Lourdes claimed:

I sent my daughter to an English school. We didn't speak Spanish at home this was because the paediatrician told me to speak only in one language to the child. I shouldn't speak to her in Spanish he told me, of course this was part of an ideology at that time. When she was 20 I sent her to Madrid to learn Spanish...My husband doesn't speak Spanish, he always said that he would learn it one day and I'm still waiting. We have talked about it but there is no point to take it further. I think that is very hard for many emigrants that children reject their culture, Spain has so much to offer! It is so hard to think that many came here for economic reasons and they have sacrificed their lives working and their children reject the language and everything... (Lourdes 1997:28).

The husband confers his Englishness through the language spoken by the closest family members: his wife and children. The English husband also confers his Englishness through his surname adopted by his wife; and in the education chosen for their children also, in social interactions when both husband and wife go out together. Leisure time, if it is spent together with friends, is spent with English friends. Englishness is dominant in all aspects of social life that the husband is involved in.

However, Spanishness was acted out in the privacy of respondents' own personal time: in friendships with Spaniards, in reading Spanish books and newspapers. For example, Asun stated: 'every time I go to Spain I buy plenty of books so I have plenty to read until I go back'. Spanishness also applied when respondents were with their children on their own. Spanishness was privately deployed and Englishness was utilised privately and publicly. Spanishness became a bracketed time in an English continuum although feelings of Spanishness were asserted constantly by the respondent: 'I am Spanish to the bone', 'I am Spanish a hundred

per cent' were strong claims that are both rational and emotional. Yet, Spanishness was limited in its expressions, and the respondent herself imposed this constraint. She believed family must appear as a unified centre where Englishness is at the social core. Consequently, respondents agreed with their husbands that their children should attend an English school, speak English when the family was together. Spanishness remained at the core of respondents' emotional lives but at the periphery of their husbands' and children's lives. It was as if they had to surrender to their husband's Englishness to preserve a family unity.

The spare time of some respondents is also transformed by taking up some English pass times such as bridge and gardening. For example, Rafa a 60 year old housewife who arrived in England in 1963 and married an English lawyer had been a member of a ladies club for 22 years and she has been in England for 28. Rafa played bridge and visits gardening centres with a ladies club. This is significant considering that in Spain the game of bridge does not exist and the garden is not a commodity Spaniards cherish. A great majority of Spaniards who live in cities or small towns reside in flats. In villages, depending on the size, people live in flats or big houses that are surrounded by a piece of land to cater for farm animals or to cultivate vegetables. Thus, Spaniards' conversations would rarely touch the subject of gardening as there is no interest in this hobby in Spain.

Despite Cristina's statement of feeling a foreigner, which she said became a complex, she belonged to a club where there were only English women and where the ethos was impregnated with Englishness. She immersed herself in what she considered English environments, such as a ladies club and gardening centres. Perhaps this was to compensate for her lack of feelings of Englishness since she represented herself as a foreigner, not as an English.

However, Rafa thought of herself as part of the English society because ‘my husband is British, my children were born in England and they hold the British nationality, I also have spent most of my adult life in England’ (Rafa 1997:31). All these circumstances make her feel part of English society and integrated in England. However, she pointed out that her best women friends were a Spaniard and a Portuguese woman and that she could not share her life experiences with an English person because:

The English are a fraud and they pretend most of the time. They are not sincere. They may be smiling to you but they stab you on the back. They talk behind you. I cannot stand fraud people. I would like them not to be so polite and talking behind my back. They are cold, not affectionate. I am a very sincere and upfront person (Rafa 1997: 27).

Hence, there are two contrasting discourses: Rafa cannot tolerate what she states as the characteristics of English nationals but she feels integrated in English society, although she does not identify herself with English nationals who, she said are ‘fraud people’. Rafa does not have English friends but Spaniards and Portuguese and she attributes it to the more honest, open, and confidential nature of the friendship. Thus, when it comes to confidentiality in her personal relationships, Spanishness plays the most important role.

However, when it comes to family since her husband is English and she considers her children English too, there is an effort on her part to be viewed as integrated in this society on behalf of her family. The fact that she belongs to a ladies club and to several gardening centres inserts her in some aspects of what she interprets to be the English ethos as opposed to an Spanish ethos. Yet her ‘assimilation’ to the English society breaks down when she enters the intimate space of a friendship. It also breaks down when she represents English people as frauds as opposed to

herself as sincere. The two characteristics Rafa chose to describe English nationals were critical on the basis that they were 'against her way of being'.

The data suggests that respondents adapted to the host society using three strategies. Firstly, the construction of a social network based on Spanish 'best' friends; frequent visits to Spain, with a minimum of two to a maximum of eight times per year. Secondly, the data indicate a persistent conflict of loyalties: respondents' loyalty to themselves, to relatives in Spain, to the Spanish language, which they associate with emotions and memories and to Spain where they were brought up. Thirdly, respondents chose to maintain their loyalty to their husbands' British national identity, their children's, the place their children were born, and the country they have resided for most of their adult lives.

Spanish, the language of intimacy

The Spanish language constituted a main identifier amongst both groups of middle class respondents. In contrast with the working class group whose lack of English skills hindered their social interaction with members of the host country, middle class women spoke, read and wrote a standard level of English. Yet Aurora chose Spanish friends because she said friendship was not only about mastering English language but was also about emotions. Aurora age 52 at the time of the interview, arrived in England in 1972. She is a graduated teacher and her husband is an engineer from Spain:

I think that British women are friends to certain extent but if you are a foreigner you are not at the same level, in the sense that you are a foreigner and she is an English. Customs, education....you can talk about everything but friendship is more than that. It has to do with emotions, with other things apart from understanding each other in the

same language, or having fun together. The English are more distant (Aurora 1997:36).

Communicating in Spanish comprises the transmission of emotions, of intimacy, and Aurora pointed out that she needed those emotions to be able to reveal herself to a friend, to become intimate: to talk about herself.

Therefore, the first language remains the language of emotions; speaking in a second language may distance the respondent from vulnerable and innermost parts of herself. The language the respondent chooses to speak about herself to others is Spanish³. Spanish served as an instrument that enhanced the respondent's intimacy. When speaking about herself the respondent experienced comfort and an ease which speaking in English inhibited.

Speaking Spanish was a part of these respondents' Spanish identity. Half of the middle class respondents had gatherings with other Spanish women, at least, once a month to talk, to cook Spanish meals and exchange recipes. The majority declared their best friends were of Spanish origin. Paca considered cooking and being open and friendly as part of her Spanish identity which for her created a Spanish atmosphere.

I cook paella, and other Spanish dishes. I have a group of friends only Spanish women, 7 or 8, and we gather every month in the house of one of us. It's like a big feast, the host prepares her best dishes and all of us contribute with the best we can make. We exchange recipes, we talk about ourselves and our families. I look forward to it every

³ Respondents were asked to choose English or Spanish to conduct the interview. All of them chose Spanish and many pointed out that they were very glad to talk about their lives in Spanish to me. As most of these middle class respondents married British nationals, they spoke English at home.

month...My husband is Spanish. We travel frequently to Spain. All this contributes to a Spanish atmosphere. I find that Spaniards are more open and friendly (Paca 1997:30,35).

Another respondent, Susana 49 years of age at the time of the interview, and a part time teacher and writer, married to a British research consultant came to England in 1977 and explained her relationships with English and Spaniards:

Although I am fluent in English I always find that I can express myself better in Spanish. It is not a matter of mastering the grammar or the vocabulary. When I speak in Spanish I have a feeling for the language whereas when I speak in English I don't. It's like speaking in an artificial language. I do have English friends, I go to their homes and they come to mine. However, when I have a problem and need to speak about myself I call my Spanish friend. It's my own preference for cultural reasons, being with people similar to you it's so comfortable, the sense of humour, the cultural references, you don't have to explain yourself. Some days ago I went to see an acquaintance, she was so English, so English! I couldn't believe it. She speaks Spanish very well. I went there for the weekend and she didn't cook all weekend. We ate package food and when she invited other people for dinner she went to buy a Chinese take-away. I am Spanish regarding cooking and food [we laughed]. These things are difficult for me to understand (Susana 1997:29).

The participation in extra-familial supportive networks functioned to redress the painful imbalance of the negotiations induced by migration and the exchanges between perceived gains and losses. Losses usually stemmed from the uprooting experience from the native society. Respondents' networks of women friends and extended family were truncated. Therefore, the disassembling of old networks encouraged them to share their experiences of migration and their personal problems in their mother tongue with other women. These created a link of continuity despite the discontinuity that the process of international migration brought. Consequently,

the data show that the preferential use for one language - Spanish - was deeply related to identity. These bilingual respondents, most of whom spoke in English with their husbands and, in most cases, with their children, illustrated the evocative power of the use of their mother tongue.

Eva Hoffman's 'Lost in translation' (1991) is an autobiographical account of the impact of language on the life of the immigrant. She describes in her work the sense of feeling split between her Polish-speaking and her English-speaking selves. According to this author, only after narrating in therapy, in English, the events that happened to her in Poland, did she feel like an integrated person. For immigrants the integration of the two languages when addressing their personal experiences may be a step towards integrating both cultural backgrounds. Conversely, the exclusive preference of one language over another may be the effort at compartmentalising the contradictions inherent in being an immigrant. Language may be the mediator of a system of values. Therefore, the issue is one of clashes in values that are expressed through the preference of one language over another, when discussing private experiences or cultural differences. Language gives voice to the expression of respondents' identities and their cultural heritage. Even if middle class respondents are fluent in English, the first language often remains the language of emotions. To speak in a second language may distance respondents from important parts of themselves, their cultural references and their memories.

English representations of Spanishness and feelings of foreignness

English representations of Spaniards are paramount to respondents' feelings of belonging to England. Those representations may serve respondents to embrace England as a second home or to strengthen their Spanish national feelings. The data

show that being a foreigner and speaking accented English intersected to the disadvantage of the respondent in the labour market across social classes and different levels of formal education. Representations of Spaniards by English nationals varied according to social class and level of education. To analyse this further first there was an example of how English working class view Spaniards according to Paca. Paca, 66 years of age at the time of the interview, arrived in England in 1960, and was married to a British national from Gibraltar of Spanish origin. Her husband worked for an air company. She worked for a few years in a British record company and then in a British air company. She remembered sadly the attitudes of her colleagues:

Forgive me to say this but here many uncultivated people call us [Spaniards] 'foreigners', 'bloody foreigners'. I realised that for some of them [English] I was nothing else but a 'bloody foreigner'. I was thinking of a way to avoid that. I didn't like that some English would look down on me, in a depreciative way. In order to make them change their minds about me I, gradually, got closer to them. I waited for the 'right place' and the 'right moment'. I spoke to them slowly, and I think that they realised they didn't have to look down on me. English people, sometimes, look down on foreigners. Usually, it is ignorant English people not educated people, these are very good people. Sometimes, we would go to a restaurant together, my colleagues from TS and I, and some of them wouldn't even look at me, they wouldn't address me. I felt hurt, when I analysed the situation, I thought I hadn't done anything to be treated like that. I realised it was just because I was a foreigner. I didn't apply for the position of manager because my accent gave me away as a foreigner. At the end, I became friends with some of them. In TS, people were more open, more educated than the people in the company where I started to work for LAM records company. I started to work in the accountancy department and there were some people there, especially one supervisor, he always was saying to me you should go back to Spain. He asked me 'where does your husband work?' I answered that he worked in an air company and he said to me that 'he should issue you a one

way ticket so you won't come back ever'. He was very serious about it. That hurt me because I didn't do anything to him. Why was he saying that to me? He was English. That hurt me...English people think all Spaniards have black hair and dark eyes. However, I am blonde with green eyes. In general, English think we came to this country to be domestic servants, cleaners, and low wage workers in hospitals (Paca 1997:26).

Paca did not apply for a promotion because she believed her accent would be an obstacle in her obtaining the position. Thus, there is a pattern of national identity and job position that worked to the respondent's disadvantage due to the negative representation some employees held against the respondent as a foreigner and, consequently, the stigmatisation this provoked. Some interviewees specified that it was the English working class who referred to them as 'bloody foreigners'. Their Spanish accent gave away their foreignness and affected, in most cases, their job prospects. Respondents did not identify with the English working class and the insult of 'bloody foreigner' was stigmatising in a double manner. On the one hand, it was said by a native who belonged to a lower social stratum than hers, hence the insult was even more degrading. On the other hand, the insult created a distance and an opposition between the respondent and the native that resulted in the respondent feeling an outsider and made 'strange' by the native.

Lourdes confirmed Paca's statements. Due to her accented English, she almost failed the last year of her pedagogy degree. Her lecturers wondered how she would manage in a classroom with her accent. The case of Lourdes made explicit the difference of treatment towards foreigners by members of the working class and the educated middle class:

When I finished my degree in pedagogy I went for an interview with my Spanish accent, that was in 1975 imagine! I was

interviewed by quite a few people. I had already passed the Proficiency Certificate in English by the Cambridge University. The people who interviewed me had never interviewed a foreigner before. I did three practices and I was supervised to see how I was doing with my accent. I passed my two first practices with no problem. As a part of my degree I did a study of my daughter and my teacher said that it should be published because it was so good. Then, I did another study in which I wanted to do a comparison of the fairy tales and Goya's paintings. My project had to be sent to another university because nobody knew about Goya there, can you imagine? My third practice was not as good. I think it was due to my accent/or my being a foreigner with a certain accent, although they could not tell me that. However, my teachers knew the progress of my work by then. It was hard because many of these lecturers had never been with a foreigner before and they wanted to make sure that I could work fine in a classroom. I started working in a Catholic school in 1979 where there were a lot of immigrants: Portuguese and Spanish. I worked there for two years. When I left the school I remember the children's parents were queuing to give me presents. They were Italians, Portuguese, Spaniards; the parents identified themselves with me very much. ...In the second school I worked I was called a 'bloody foreigner' by some parents of the school. They were of a very poor economic background, many of them Jamaicans. Boys were extremely aggressive, one of them tried to burn the school (Lourdes 1997:24, 45).

According to Lourdes, middle class lecturers were discriminatory towards her accented English. The difference between working class individuals and those of the educated middle class was the language they used. Social classes did not discriminate in the same fashion; the education and political correctness of some middle class lecturers impeded open statements such as 'bloody foreigner'. Nevertheless, some lecturers still expressed their concerns regarding Lourdes' capacity to teach because of her accent. These lecturers' concerns should be considered in the following context: Lourdes was finishing her pedagogy degree, she had already passed the Proficiency Examination of English Language by the

University of Cambridge and had been living in England for 12 years. Her English was considered up to the standards during her degree examinations but it did not seem adequate in the training practices in one of the schools. According to Lourdes, this context confirmed the biased attitudes of these specific lecturers who asserted their advantageous native position against the accented foreignness of Lourdes.

Flor saw herself as overqualified for the job she did. She argued that she was used as a political tool by a London borough Council as a display of 'multiculturalism'. On the other hand, the public she dealt with judged her on the basis of her accented English as less capable for doing her job. She had an administrative post in a health centre, although she had graduated in philology in Spain:

I applied for the job of administrative. There was a black woman as a receptionist and this was part of the policy of the Council towards minorities. The job was fairly easy; I had to deal with the public as well. Some times, they would ask me how I got the job and told me things like there were so many unemployed in England and I was in that position....(Flor 1997:35).

Flor described this integration policy as one of double standards. On the one hand, there was a reticence expressed by the 'white' English nationals towards a foreign accent. There may be a positive response when the English person likes the accent or does not mind. On the other hand, there is a negative and challenging response that is expressed by the 'white' English unemployed towards her as a foreigner, as if she did not have the right to have a job, because of her foreignness, because of her accent. There are implicit assumptions in the questions asked by the public. These assumptions are that the person who holds the job and has a foreign accent is less capable. Therefore, she should not have the job. It may be assumed she has fewer qualifications than required by the employer or that she got the job through

bribery. Yet, she was overqualified for the job which was given to her precisely for being 'ethnic'. Her 'ethnicity' as viewed by the Council integration policy was an asset.

In the case of Isabel her accented English became an obstacle to get a permanent position as a lecturer at the university where she had been employed for six months. When the situation arose of employing somebody for this position the university employed a white British national apologising to Isabel for this but considering her accented English a problem to get the position. Yet her level of English was good enough to extend her first contract.

'Are foreigners only good for temporary positions?' Isabel asked. Indeed, the refusal to employ her for that particular position gave her the feedback that she was not one of them, one of the English. For Isabel there was a clear demarcation between those who belonged to the 'right' group. The English working class, according to some respondents stated this difference with their insults. Nevertheless, the English working class did not have the actual power of obstructing the access of a foreigner to employment. Middle classes did have that power and, some of them exerted it. Respondents felt there was a clear annoyance, and even rejection, of their being foreigners.

Foreignness acted as a disguise of respondents' formal education or social class. English nationals could not classify respondents' accent. They did not have the social knowledge face to face to ascertain whether these Spanish women have attended a private or a state school, whether they are from a working, middle or upper class.

The kind of accent was also important. According to respondents, a foreign accent was stereotyped depending on whose accent, what nationality the accent came from. One of the interviewees was of the opinion that French accent seemed to be more accepted, it seemed to represent sophistication. However, Susana a graduated teacher, claimed that Spanish accented English was rejected, in some cases, on the basis of backwardness and historical reasons: the animosity British and Spanish political powers maintained during centuries which students learnt about in the history books.

Isabel, a psychoanalyst, stated that English viewed Spain as a third world country even in professional circles where they posed questions such as ‘Spain is the place of bullfighting, isn’t it?’ She saw this question as an oversimplification, and stereotyping and assumed professionals would have a richer, more complex view of Spain, instead of identifying it with the land of bullfighting, sun and wine extracted from holidays brochures.

The data have suggested that these common complaints from respondents about discriminatory practices and negative views on Spain and them as foreigners with accented English highlighted the subjectification procedures that occurred during everyday interactions. Power relations only attempted to construct immigrants within classificatory limits that were unacceptable, but also left respondents at a lower level of the social structure with little room for manoeuvre. Respondents were subjected to a series of identification procedures in their daily interactions that located them in specific social positions (as darker, as ‘ethnic’, as backwarded, as low waged workers). Respondents had to worry about their foreign accent that obstructed promotion at work. Few respondents worked in the field in which they graduated. They worked in related fields, usually in lower positions than expected.

Respondents' association of Spain with friendliness and openness may be linked to two factors. The first is the freedom for self-identification as opposed to constructions of them in negative social locations they reject. The second factor is that respondents imagined Spain, as their 'home' where they could engage in social practices at work that would lead to a constructive process of identifications, where they would not have to constantly negotiate their position as non-English. While respondents discussed their migration as part of an attempt to live an adventure, to practice a new language and/or to escape from oppressive parental attitudes, their challenge was to establish their positions both within their own histories and across space.

Respondents needed to generate coherence out of the change that migration provoked. The change projected respondents into a new hierarchical distribution of power, privilege and prestige embodying systematically differentiated conditions of life. Institutional barriers, symbolised in the bureaucratic apparatus for officially qualified professionals, kept them from utilising their professional qualifications, thus, kept them from their aspirations. However, there are also satisfactions and feelings of renewal, a point well conveyed in Lola's account of her experience of migration:

Emigration is like a new window to the world from where I contemplate things from a different perspective. I have absorbed this enrichment little by little. Now it manifests in my actions, the way I experience things. In Spain, I experienced a lot of control: the church, the family, society, everybody exerted this control. One has to be very strong to be able to break from all that, to shake it off. One needs to break free not only geographically but also mentally. I wanted to start anew from my own stand and to see the world as I chose to see it. Thus, distancing myself from Spain was like distancing myself from a painting. I needed to see the whole picture. Now I realise that when I came here I was like a handicapped, my world was constraint by

accumulated control from the church, school and so forth. I had to learn to detach myself from those constraints, to be myself. I have learned a lot. I also had access to studies that in Spain were not offered like feminism (Lola 1997: 37).

The metaphor of migration as a new window reflects respondents' accommodation to a new set of circumstances. New learning opportunities emerged, as the host society interacted in a myriad ways with the psychological and socio-economic and linguistic equipment that respondents brought and created in the host society. Most middle class respondents enjoyed the freedom and independence of being on their own, making their own choices, without the close supervision of relatives and local communities. The convergence of transitions induced by the migration process created opportunities for many respondents to realise the imposition of old restrictions on their behaviours and to new situations. Respondents' reactions also included the development of the self in negotiating, and re-configuring modes of self-representation, and the representation of others. Finally, migration induced a variety of processes structuring respondents' life cycles, including work options in the host society, marriage to British nationals and motherhood in England. The agency of respondents is stressed in that there is often a self-conscious acceptance or rejection of symbolic practices, friendships, choice of language, space and attitudes.

Upper middle class respondents

Upper middle class respondents in the sample had all married British diplomats and senior executives from the UK. Respondents' fathers had been diplomats (except for one who had been an academic) during Franco's government. All respondents spent most of their youth in different countries around the world. All of them were,

at least, trilingual and had attended boarding schools in the countries to which their fathers were posted.

The data suggest that these respondents constructed themselves primarily as the emotional foundation stone of their families. This contrasts markedly with working and some middle class respondents who identified themselves with being good wives and mothers, which was reflected in the practices of housework, cooking Spanish meals and self-sacrifice for their families. Upper middle class respondents employed cleaners, cooks, nannies and au pairs to fulfil those needs and during the academic year they sent their children to boarding schools. They showed their emotional support to their families by involving themselves fully in the life of their children, their education and their care. Wives of diplomats were not allowed to work in the country to which their husbands were posted to avoid diplomatic conflicts between the British Foreign Office and the country in question. Thus, none of these respondents had taken paid work outside UK. Two of the respondents started their current jobs when their children were in their late adolescence. However, most upper middle class respondents, had been working for charity organisations for a long time.

Amongst upper middle class respondents representations of Spanishness and Englishness were intertwined by a constant reference to both cultures as providers for their self-definitions. However, their display of Spanish features, interests and identifications was confined to the realm of emotions and to their private time with specific friends. For example, Tania, who arrived in England in 1946 and was born in 1917, reflected on the meaning of being a wife and a mother of British nationals:

I love Spain. I get emotional when I listen to the *Jota* (regional folklore

dance). Or when I go to a Spanish association for the Christmas lunch and all the regional flags are hanging on the wall. There, we listen to Spanish music and dance *paso doble* (typical dance from Spain), *chotis* (folklore dance from Madrid) and *cha-cha-cha* (Latin dance). The cuisine is Spanish...When I married my husband I was given a diplomat British passport. I adopted my husband's surname. I haven't renounced to my Spanish passport but to be loyal to my husband and to my children I still hold the British passport (Tania 1997:18).

All upper middle class respondents feel the need to be loyal to their husbands' and children's national identifications. To choose between the Spanish and the British passport represented a betrayal of the family. According to these respondents, family and national ties had to merge to avoid contradictions between national and family identities. It seemed that 'the family' had to have as a reference point, one singular site: Englishness, composed by their husbands' and their children's Englishness. The children's birth in England constituted part of the Spanish mother's construction of Englishness. Respondents' British passports also supported their own claims to English national identity. These women did not want to betray or contradict the one site in which all the family appeared as a unity: their sharing a common British nationality.

Tania exemplified how upper middle class respondents constructed their Englishness around their families. This construction was based on two facts: marriage to a British national and children's birth in England. When asked to define themselves they said they kept their British passport to be loyal to the unity of their families. Yet they still kept their Spanish passport because they felt Spanish 'to the marrow'. They had a sense of moral responsibility to what they perceived the Spanish nation to be. These respondents felt emotional towards Spanish cooking and Spanish folklore. However, they expressed no emotions towards English folklore or English cuisine or England. The definition of their own national identity, disassociated from

their construction of family and motherhood, pointed to their emotional ties with Spain:

I have been a wife of a British man [she is a widow] but, personally, I don't feel any obligation to Britain. I don't know whether I will vote or not because I don't consider myself English [there were elections at the time]. I don't feel any moral responsibility towards Britain. I have both nationalities. I do vote in the Spanish elections, and would do whatever necessary to vote in Spain, but not in England (Tania 1996:26).

Mercedes, married to a British diplomat reinforced Tania's arguments in her statement: "I feel 100% Spanish and 100% English. I have a 'split mind'". Mercedes used this phrase in Spanish and the quotes in English. The extracts show that there are two different narratives. An official narrative that is constituted by these women's Englishness: how they chose to be considered by others in England: as English wives and mothers of English children. Another parallel narrative is the representation of their national identity to themselves and to me: a 'Spaniard to the marrow' who becomes emotional with Spanish folklore and Spanish dishes. Both identifications are not clearly separated in their daily lives, as they are mothers, wives and Spaniards all at once. Nevertheless, when I asked them directly about identifying themselves, there was an artificial distinction imposed by our interview, which forced them to clarify, to define, to name their identity(ies).

There were occasions where identities were superimposed and a kaleidoscope of social sites gave away a demonstration of several national identities as Tania described:

One of the girls from Madrid that I had to help me at home, Vicenta, got married here, in Soho. She asked me to be her godmother and to

dress in Madrileño style for her wedding. She dressed in white and she asked me whether my son, that at that time was very young, could hold the tail of her dress. My husband is Scottish and my son dressed with the typical Scottish suit. It was fantastic, what a mixture! (Tania 1997:26).

Acts of identification became explicit in certain daily interactions. However, these respondents showed a clear discord between national identifications and an attempt of conversion to 'Englishness'. This conflict was also evident in the middle class group. Belén described her process of Anglicanisation:

[What did you do to Anglicise yourself ? (we laugh)]

In the way of talking, of dressing, I didn't talk about what was not English in my persona, I did not ever mention films that were not English because English people don't like to hear things they are not interested. In Spain, if you talk about foreign things, instead of receiving lack of interest one receives envy. Spaniards envy if you have two cars, a big house. It is a different envy; it's a material envy. In the times of Franco, people used to envy you if you had been living abroad in a free country, for example. Now, material envy in Spain has diminished a lot because society is now more equal, the middle class has extended and includes more people, this has given a sense of living in a more equal society.

[What happened after Anglicising yourself?]

Well, my eldest daughter of 12 years old at the time, told me once: "Mum, why do you have to pretend to be English?" That was the end of my pretence.

[How would you define English people?]

One can live very well here, I don't know whether it comes from the indifference English people feel about others, I suspect that it is the case when I speak about the English aristocracy. They are totally indifferent to what is not related to themselves. They don't really care about you and once you surrender to that, it is then when you can enjoy them as people. Otherwise, if you insist on the fact that they should care about your little problems you can wait forever. You must know how to treat them and to know what they can or cannot offer you. All of us give whatever we can (Belén 1997:38).

Flor, spoke about the different layers of representation she chose from when speaking about her national identity. Flor, 55 years of age at the time of the interview, arrived in England in 1971. She was married to a British consul and had been a housewife until five years ago when she set up her own business. Although, she would have liked to have a job in the countries her husband was assigned, she said that up to fifteen years ago diplomats' wives were not allowed to work for pay in foreign countries. Flor resided in numerous countries during her youth. Her father was a Spanish diplomat, and she continued a nomadic life with her husband.

[From your experience of living in so many countries, do you think one can be Anglicised, or Franchised or..]

I have learned to be English, to be Spanish, to be a British Consul lady, *seora consulesa británica*. Yes, yes it is like putting on a coat. You can be Anglicised if you are very comfortable with it. Like many Spanish friends of mine who are married to English men and they feel totally comfortable in England because they have lived a lot of years here and you become Anglicised from that point of view. However, I believe it is very difficult to change the material one is made of. I believe that the older one gets the more one goes back to one's roots . What one does is to adopt herself to the environment and to learn from other people.

[Did you feel a foreigner in the countries you were?]

I have felt Spanish wherever I have been. Whenever I have been asked where are you from I have always answered I am Spanish. It is ridiculous to say I am English. I am from Madrid, I have been viewed as a Spanish and not as a foreigner. The way I do things is from a Spanish person. I have been a magnificent British lady doing a job for her majesty the Queen but always Spanish...What really counts in my life is in Spain. I feel very comfortable in Spain. My friends here are all foreigners married with English men. I don't belong to any Spanish association I'd rather go and see the product in its purest form, that is, going to Spain or staying in England. I don't like the

products for expatriates. I feel totally Spanish. I have lived in so many countries that for me England is yet another transitory stop. When I am in Spain I do my life as a Spaniard and when I am in England I do my life as an English. I even change my tone of voice. It's a different life it's not comparable. I would love to go to Spain forever (Flor 1997:21).

These respondents maintained multiple national identities and moved fluidly between them. However, they did not value equally all their national identities. There was a preference in their hierarchy of identifications. This preference was activated by a particular audience and a specific location. All respondents emphasised being Spanish as their preferred national identification. Nevertheless, as in the case of the middle class group, Spanish identity was reserved for intimate moments in the privacy of the respondent's personal time or close friendships.

In contrast with middle class respondents, they did not experience prejudice and discrimination through accented English. They spoke with no foreign accent in Spanish, in English or in French.

Cultural and economic capital accumulated in favour of these respondents' freedom to disguise themselves with different national identities. The power of multiple impersonations of national identities served to avoid being spotted as a foreigner and to access any position in the labour market they chose. Their social and symbolic capital drawn from their families' contacts in Spain and those of their husbands', acted as a source of prestige. One upper middle class respondent had worked for a broadcasting company, another had worked for a magazine, and a third one for an international organisation. Respondents obtained these jobs through the contacts of their families in Spain. They did not have formal qualifications for this type of job and worked for a short period of time until they

got married or had children.

All these women were influenced by their international location and varied education to develop a cultural multifocalism that enabled them to draw on whichever national identification seemed appropriate at a given moment. However, the indications of transnational orientations and multi-local identities seemed less compelling if one carefully distinguishes respondents' rhetoric from their practices and their more reflective statements. These respondents, despite the availability of an array of national identifications, continued to ground important claims in the assertion and revalorisation of identities that were both singular and localised. In audiences with Spanish or other foreigners these women were more inclined to refer to themselves as Spaniards, and to contrast themselves to English.

Their constant nomadism did not necessarily, however, represent an abandonment or attenuation of specific understandings of national and gender identity. These respondents placed primary emphasis on the family, as did middle and working class women. Flor explained the division of tasks at her home:

My husband was delighted I had more interests than being a housewife. However, I always made sure that he had a nice meal on the table and his shirts were marvellously ironed. I was also the organiser of his cocktail parties at the Consulate. My standards are still the same but now that we live in London I work double. I do everything at home, we used to have service in every country, not here. I don't complain. Everybody does whatever they chose to do. Always. My husband never helped me, I never asked him to help me but I believe that men are better out of the house...I never thought my children would go to a Spanish school. My children are English. My daughter is following the same route as me. Her fiance is Italian and she will leave everything behind when she marries. It is like a

repetition of my life. When you marry a man, you leave everything behind and you do the life of that man...I didn't expect anything when I came here. I am not ambitious. I only wanted peace and harmony. I never asked myself what I wanted to do. I stopped making that question a long time ago. I have been the infrastructure of my family for so many years! I am like a mattress, I am there in case anybody needs to jump in, so they don't get hurt (Gema 1997:21).

National identification was shaped by gender identification with the family as an emotional source. Respondents' lives were constructed around their children and husband as providers for their own gender identity. These followed conceptions internalised from their own families, and from a specific socio-cultural location in Spain. Although, most respondents were critical of some aspects of their being wives and 'followers of their diplomat husbands', they did not construct the difficulties they encountered in terms of an unequal power.

Gema's illustrates how gendered habitus is the incorporation of the existing division of labour between the sexes, a division of labour which for the most part was accepted unquestioningly by the majority of respondents. The failure to notice is made possible in Bourdieu's theoretical framework by the operations of symbolic violence. For Kraus gender identity is a 'deeply rooted, bodily anchored dimension of an agent's habitus' (Kraus 1993:170). Kraus comments:

Symbolic violence is a subtle, euphemised invisible mode of domination that prevents domination from being recognised as such and therefore as misrecognised domination is socially recognised. It works when subjective structures - the habitus - and objective structures are in accord with each other (Kraus 1993:172).

Respondents' self-criticisms focused on their personal failure to avoid a future as

'unemployed'. Flor said:

Now that my children are married and my husband keeps busy working outside I do not know where to employ my time, I am jobless. A daughter, a mother and a grandmother, that's all I have been in my life (Flor 1997:31).

“Dispositions were inevitably reflective of the social context in which they were acquired” (Reay 1995:357). Stereotypes engrained in the habitus of respondents affected their life chances. Bourdieu outlines a ‘fit’ between agents’ subjective vocations (what they feel ‘made’ for) and their objective ‘missions’ (what is expected of them) and recounts how this harmony may be expressed in two modes of behaviour; firstly of doing what they have to do happily, and secondly of acting with a resigned conviction, which Bourdieu explains as a feeling of not being able to do anything else (Bourdieu 1981:308).

Respondents recreated their ‘missions’ of being a wife and mother by placing primary emphasis on developing and maintaining personal ties with their husbands and children. Two of the respondents took up a job they could do from home to maintain their desired forms of family life. The dominant image of gender identity was both derived from and most vividly reflected in the basic unit of quotidian ideology and practice, the nuclear family.

Respondents from middle and upper class backgrounds did not suffer from the financial constraints that could affect school attendance or learning English language. Marriage may be interpreted as a significant deterrent to respondents’ aspirations. However, respondents confined their aspirations to having a family. They did not ask themselves ‘what are my aspirations in life?’ Thus, marriage and

having a family was an achieved goal, one that they aimed for themselves even before meeting their husbands. Their expectations of self-realisation outside their positions of wife and mother were low or non-existent.

A multi-national education provided no resources for alternative futures to marriage and motherhood. If they had had any other expectations, such as following a career, this was seen as having negative effects on marriage and on family life. Hence, these 'aspirations' would have been jeopardised. By contrast some middle class women expected to have a career. Marriage or motherhood did not obstruct that path. Respondents tailored their careers according to their family commitments but kept in mind the continuation of their career.

The processes of cumulative advantage or disadvantage discussed both here and in Chapters 4 and 6 show the continuing effects of social origins and gender on habitus in the three different social class groups. Different messages sent by family, school and state education in Spain provided women with the ideological framework to represent themselves primarily as mothers and wives, carers of their husbands and children. Upper middle class respondents had the economic capital to avoid getting involved physically in house chores or in the day to day interaction with their children. Au-pairs, nannies or boarding schools satisfied that function. These respondents' definitions of femininity were confined to the emotional support of both, their husbands and their children. The qualities of care and self sacrifice, for upper class women, were mirrored in their practices which reflected the family unit as the axis of their lives.

The interaction between culture and structure is clear. The differences between gender identity and social origins underline Bourdieu's arguments about the

differences in habitus, cultural and economic capital for each group. There is an emphasis, in all respondents accounts, on constraints and demands imposed. While habitus allows for individual agency it also predisposes individuals towards certain ways of behaving. Thus, the dispositions that make up the habitus are the products of opportunities and constraints framing the individual's earlier life experiences. "They are inculcated by the opportunities and prohibitions inscribed in objective conditions" (Bourdieu 1990:45). "Habitus produces action but because it confines possibilities to particular social groups, much of the time those actions tend to be reproductive rather than transformative" (Reay 1995:361).

The data has shown that gendered habitus is mediated by social class. The construction of femininity in upper class respondents did not entail domestic work but emotional support and indefinite availability. Habitus as a method with its emphasis on domination in everyday practices and subjective vocations provided insights into the power dynamics of gender and class relations within a particular setting, England. Thus, personal habitus engrained in the social histories of each respondent underpinned gender and national self-representations.

Conclusion

The concern of this chapter and Chapter 6 has been modes of self-representation, representation of the other, and the underlying dynamics of such representations in the context of changing socio-political systems and power relations. These chapters have shown how international migration opened up different possibilities for expressions of national and gender identities. The negotiation of self-representations implied redefinitions of relations of inequality and domination between the immigrant group and the host society. Within a changed and changing

social, political, and physical field, the setting and re-setting of social boundaries takes place.

The theme of gender and national identity was explored with a view to elicit at an empirical level, their mutual imbrication. While respondents internalised aspects of Francoist imagery of femininity as components of their own identities, it is also true that this imaginary was incomplete. As migrants, Spanish women entered another socio-cultural and linguistic setting. They came into increasing contact with a non-Spanish world and with culturally different groups. As a result of these experiences of border-crossing, their identities were partially deterritorialised and reshaped in ways which eluded the control of their local communities in Spain. In their daily interactions with the host society, Spanish migrant identities were both strategic and selective assertions.

Rather than a unitary self characterised by attributes that remained constant in all settings, Spanish women fashioned diverse styles of representation which they tailored to particular audiences. By tracking Spanish self-representations in the light of their formative experiences in Spain as well as subsequent experiences in England, the analysis of respondents' accounts has shown that women's identities were historically produced as multiple and shifting. Dominant constructions of Spanish femininity were juxtaposed alongside divergent forms of self-representations. National gendered identities emerged from the data as shifting, situational and negotiated within power relations.

These chapters have investigated the reconfiguration of the gender and national identities of native Spanish women in the light of migratory experiences in London. The re-creation of unitary conceptualisations of both gender and national identities

has been shown. However the diverse spaces of cross cultural interaction in London where identities were neither stable nor homogeneous have also emerged.

Political and religious ideology as well as the local beliefs in Spain, and what respondents thought English beliefs and customs to be contributed to the shaping of women's identities. The image of family care was deeply engrained in the national gendered identities of all social classes across the three historical periods. The high value of motherhood and women's self sacrifice for their families expressed in the accounts contributed to the maintenance of a particular division of tasks. The concepts of being a good housewife and a mother related to the political and religious ideology of Franco's regime transferred to England. Respondents' accounts of family were not separated from the construct of 'woman'. Social ideology was individually appropriated in the construction of respondents' national and gender identities. Nevertheless the difference in perceptions of gender qualities between the social classes highlighted the variability of gender representations. Gender and national discourse did not exist independently of social relations. The discourses reflected the social and economic conditions of respondents who were constituted within these conditions.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

This study has tried to explore the dynamics between the power of social forces and the agency of individuals in shaping their national and gender identities in Spain and in England. The focus of this study was on Spanish immigrant women in London. In looking at women's formation of identities, the complexity of the social sites of different classes, educational attainments and generations, was illuminated.

However mechanisms of formations of identity were not isolated from the dynamics of the wider society. They magnified the contrasts between Spain and England. Women had to make sense of socio-cultural discourses from their own histories and social locations. As became clear in this study, women's self-understandings moved beyond a concentration on gender or class or education alone. Instead in analysing the formation and transformation of women's identities, this thesis has recognised the overlapping dynamics of history, political and economic interests in Spain and the UK, social class systems, family ties, informal social networks, women's aspirations and psychological processes of uprootedness.

This study placed questions of identity in the context of history, language and power. This posed questions about processes of identification: how identity was constructed within parameters of gender, social class, education, cultural difference, nation and religion. It was necessary to consider a greater historical specificity, in the way acts of identification operated in concrete macro and micro historical situations. For example, in the case of older women who experienced the Spanish Civil War or younger respondents who had been exposed to the flourishing of nationalisms within Spain under a democratic regime.

As this work showed, personal and collective identities are not just the result of acts of considering oneself or a group as a permanent entity. They included many other acts of identification. A woman may identify herself as belonging to a category, as a daughter or a mother, as a worker, a Spaniard, and a flamenco lover. She may also identify herself as the same subjects in the photographs of her christening and in her graduation. The perceived fictional permanent self may display a different facet. It may change as the “I” appears in different acts of identification.

However these acts of identification, as seen in this study, were mediated by signs and symbols. Flags, pictures, flavours, smells, sounds, dress style prompted acts of identification. These symbols and sensorial experiences appeared as something with an affective value, as depicting something familiar, comfortable or foreign, amusing or surprising. Emotion, feeling and affection were components of acts of identification. Women associated emotions with symbols and became a part of its personal sense. Symbols such as folk songs, typical dishes and dress codes, appeared as mediating devices for a feeling of belonging. However, this study demonstrated that this happened because of previous uses in the joint activities of a group in Spain.

Symbols were not alone in shaping social practices. They came together with stories and discourses about the past. Sounds, smells, characters and events of the past acted as symbolic devices for identification. Symbols were not only embedded in systems of activities, but they were also included in myths and were used in narratives. They not only had an affective side. They represented concepts which had values and norms attached to them. Symbols were also used in discourses that superimposed a rationality upon them (Bourdieu 1977:61). Thus, narratives provided a rationality to history and autobiography.

This study has shown that acts of identification were always embedded in particular systems of activities. The social activity in which the individual's action was embedded set some conditions of possibility for the actions that the individual performed. This included possible acts of identification an individual carried out, be these private or public, e.g. considering oneself as belonging to a group of migrants, or reciting a Spanish poem in front of an audience.

Radical changes such as migration represented serious problems for the maintenance of a coherent identity structure. In some cases the move required individuals to develop entirely new identities. In other cases individuals tried to reconnect their identity to a different set of people and circumstances (Breakwell 1992; Hormuth 1990; Ethier and Deaux 1990).

Women's accounts collected for this study were reflections of how each agent represented herself as a Spanish woman and construed the English 'other'. Constructs were made out of bits and pieces of history and meaning the woman's culture made available to, or forced upon her, including gender, class, and other power structures. On the other hand, the subject was not a puppet. The subject was an agent with traces of past experiences and the tools mastered in advance with which to make sense of the displays presented. The subject then did not play a pre-set role in the action but played the roles she could perform, with the means she had available, and to the extent that she felt identified with what was expected from her in that situation. Individual actions were not always a direct result of the external setting but the individual accepted the role expected from her, or decided to resist it. This was not the result of an arbitrary movement but something that was subjected to scrutiny in this study.

This study showed that each respondent's account had drawn upon a set of dominant ideologies in current Spain regarding women's duties in marriage and motherhood. At the same time, each story reinforced the relationship between these cultural conceptions. The Spanish system, advocated by the Catholic Church, religious schools and the family, prompted women to find happiness in the domestic sphere and to pursue paid work only if it was financially necessary. Each respondent's account offered its own twist on this general pattern. Locating the points of contradiction or discontinuity among women's stories illuminated the multi-dimensionality of hegemonies in Spanish society. This multi-dimensionality also showed how different groups drew on different aspects of 'Spanish culture'. Educational and religious institutions, and most families of participants, linked dominant ideologies to stereotypes with which women were encouraged to identify. In naturalising certain constructions of femininity, religious schools, the state and family taught women how to live within the interpretative confines of dominant ideologies.

Despite the power of school, church and family the possibility remained that women could construct subversive responses. A subversive response was one that was made to challenge pre-fabricated discourses by positioning the agent as struggling against dominant ideologies and social forces. Subversive responses were critical of the cause-effect chains expected in Franco's government and in the early democratic regime. From the representations of femininity women were inscribed into, some formulated a subversive interpretation of the cause and effects presented. This response placed the blame for personal problems on structural forces instead of blaming themselves or luck.

Subversive responses located or negotiated the solutions to problems in the rejection of dominant ideologies. However, subversive responses required a deconstruction of dominant ideologies from within. This study showed that subversive responses were difficult to construct. Nevertheless the migration process instigated some respondents to reflect on their own patterns of identifications and to transform them.

This study has looked at how gender and nation may be appropriated in women's accounts, and how representations of gender and nation related to other significant social phenomena. Differences in empirical realities were mirrored in respondents' accounts. In examining their lives, this study has shown the tension between the power of institutions, which were created under particular historical economic and social conditions, and women's appropriation of institutional discourses in their identities. Thus, there was a constant dialectic between the two: the historically formed and institutionally limited individuals and the humanly created and defined self-understandings within that configuration.

This dialectic has been approached through the opposing paradigms of reproduction and transformation of women's identities. As was seen in the lives of these women, both ways of viewing reality were necessary. As their lives showed, women were influenced by institutional discourses. However they were also able to reflect and transform those discourses by attaching different meanings to them. This study has argued throughout that while it is important not to ignore the power of political and economic forces and history as contributors to women's formation of identities, it is at least as important to think about identity as an individual appropriation and creation of individual meanings. Only in this way we can see the subtle and dramatic transformations of national and gender identities.

Because of the interest of this study in these individuals as women, it focused on their interaction with different power relationships such as parental and school attitudes towards women's education, Francoist discourses on femininity and different treatment of men and women migrants in the migration policies.

Although social forces powerfully shaped the limits of what was possible, these women retained the possibility to construe their self-understanding as women. Women's constructions of identity tended to vary according to particular audiences, and at different times in their lives. This study has shown that women were not simply parts of some mechanism of social reproduction, nor were their lives dictated by demands of governments or economy or migration policies, although they were influenced by them.

Migration as an uprooting experience

However, international migration caused both a challenge to older forms of social networks, such as networks with the family of constitution and neighbours and friends in Spain and to the older class structure.

Settlement in a different socio-cultural system involved more than reconfigurations of gender and national identities or a cultural shock. In this study the migration experience itself was composed of three fundamental transitions: alterations in the bonding and reconstruction of interpersonal social networks; extraction from one socio-economic system and insertion into another; and movement from one cultural and linguistic system to a different one. All these transitions provoked feelings of uprootedness in all respondents as was examined throughout the Chapters 6 and 7.

National identity fostered a sense of belonging, a rootedness. As was seen in Chapter 3, the idea of the Spanish nation was glorified by the government, which enforced religious, linguistic and cultural homogeneity. The idea of nation construed historical memories into a 'common heritage'. Francoist Spain preached a sense of common mission and a common destiny. National and gender identities were an effective form of ideological binding and control as was seen in Chapters 3 and 5. In other words it promoted uniformity. This ideology of uniformity influenced women's national and gender identities. National identity was an expression of a way of life. It had a powerful appeal because it was a mode of women's self-understanding. The social construction for national identity linked women to their past in Spain, their families of constitution, their friends, their neighbours. National identity also linked women with people in the present, by transforming relationships and interactions with social networks in Spain and creating new relationships in England.

Women's identifications with the Spanish nation implied an appropriation of its own history and myths, of a notion of motherland and of a 'figured' blood relationship with Spain as was shown in Chapters 6 and 7. It is not surprising that women used the representation of the family as a core for their national identity. The construct of national identifications was rooted in the notion of culture. Culture referred to the process whereby persons were inscribed and culture referred also to language. This study showed how individuals perceived differently English verbal and non-verbal cues, emotional tonalities and motivational pulls that were the product of a childhood and adolescence quite different from those of someone who had grown up in England. The permanence of these differences may be likened to that of the accent that persists in most immigrants' speech, however well he or she learns the language of the host country. Unlike a foreign accent however, differences in early

cultural experience such as non-verbal cues left traces so subtle as to remain largely hidden from other people, only recognisable to 'natives'. Cultural identity is intrinsically connected with language and non-verbal cues. As was shown in this study, it was through language that most women became aware of themselves as foreigners. Language and place were inextricably interconnected. Language interweaved the respondent's personal identity with her collective cultural identity.

Women's national and gender identities connected with the power structure and power relations of the society they lived in. They referred to modes of feeling, valuing, perceiving and believing which had some kind of relation to the maintenance and reproduction of social power. As has been shown in this study, notions of nation and gender worked much less through explicit concepts or formulated doctrines - although this was the case in Francoist Spain - than by image, symbol, habit, ritual and mythology. This study has shown that national and gender identities are affective and experiential, entwining themselves with the roots of the individual.

Acts of identifications like 'bridge' or cooking *paella* referred to the imaginary ways in which women experienced the world. Acts of identification signified the way such subjects lived out their positions in class-society, the values, ideas, images which tied them to their social functions and prevented them, in some cases, from a radical challenge of their positions.

The concepts of Spanishness, Englishness and foreignness were central in this study as deployments of women's national and gender identities. Some of the major themes and images around which definitions of Englishness, Spanishness and foreignness have been constructed and organised are common to women of the same

social class and education backgrounds.

Common themes in gender and national identifications

The interplay between social practices and habitus helped explain why certain forms of identifications were so widely shared by respondents in this study¹. The messages that became most commonly shared were those stored and distributed by social institutions like the church or the school or the media, so that most people encountered them in some form or another. This patterning was a requirement of many of the practices by which people interacted with each other, shared knowledge, coordinated common activities, fulfilled expectations for themselves, and otherwise conformed to the laws of their government and the conventions and values of their peers.

Participation in certain institutions and alliance to certain ideologies were enforced because this suited the interests of people in positions of power such as migration laws of both countries dealt with in Chapter 5, economic and ideological interests of Franco's government discussed in Chapters 3 and 5 or the Spanish Catholic Church and concerns about women's decency analysed in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. In this way, habitus and social forces interacted to determine cultural dynamics. It was not only the conscious systems of ideas and beliefs, but also the whole lived social process as practically organised by specific dominant meanings and values. Rather than seeing a dominant ideology as being uncritically transmitted to reproduce the conditions for national and gender identities, it has been more fruitful to examine the negotiation of women's identities in the context of lived experience.

The engendering process of women's national identities

This thesis has demonstrated that there is a relationship between socio-economic background (economic capital), educational attainment (cultural capital) and women's subjective representations of themselves. This inter-relationship influenced how respondents represented themselves as women who belonged to a specific nation and how in turn their self-representations shaped definitions of English 'others'.

The data indicate that the economic and cultural capital of working class women shaped, in most cases, their preferences for a Spanish husband. Their marriage to a Spaniard strengthened their Spanish national identity feelings. Hence, the low levels of economic and cultural capital achieved in Spain by working class women, their marriage to a Spaniard, and their jobs as in domestic service and the catering industry in England deterred them from learning English. This, in turn, generated feelings of isolation and foreignness in England which reinforced working class women's national feelings of Spanishness.

Working class women interviewed for this study engaged in a process of replicating habitus within the sphere of national identifications and gender identity. Although changes in relation to sharing house chores gave rise to other arrangements, i.e. some husbands helped their wives doing the house chores. Respondents did not view these changes as gaining control over an equal share of the housework but as necessary changes to accommodate their job schedules in England. However respondents had a more active role within the decision making of the household than their mothers had for example, especially in the working and middle class groups.

Middle class women with higher levels of economic and cultural capital tended to marry British nationals. These women spoke and could understand English. Their understandings of their national identities differed according to their level of formal education and the national identity feelings of their husbands. Respondents recycled their Spanish definitions of femininity by constructing representations of themselves as English wives and mothers. They were based on definitions of femininity internalised in Spain in their youth. These women maintained their identifications of Spanishness “a hundred per cent” for themselves and their Spanish relatives and friends. As noted in Chapter 6, respondents married to British nationals differentiated sites in their lives where they could generate representations and social practices which they assumed their husbands and children expected from them. Some respondents ‘Anglicised’ themselves. They adopted a different tone of voice when they spoke, selected the subjects they spoke about with other English women, or became members of a lady’s club to play bridge and to exchange gardening tips. On the other hand, these respondents produced identifications associated emotionally with memories of their youth in Spain, such as smells and sounds.

Notions of femininity engrained in middle class respondents’ habitus were reflected in their gender relationships with their partners. The division of housework was in all cases done by the respondent or an employee the respondent hired. Respondents who married British nationals shaped their national gendered identities to fit their partner’s national identifications in the host society by adopting English as the only language spoken amongst family members. British husbands would not relate to the respondents’ Spanish friends.

Upper middle class respondents constructed themselves as the emotional source of their families. Their representations of Spanishness and Englishness were intertwined in their accounts by a constant reference to both cultures as providers for their self-definitions. However, their display of Spanish features, interests and identifications was confined to the realm of emotions and to their private time with specific friends (mostly Spaniards or from Latin and/or Mediterranean countries). These respondents constructed their Englishness around their families based on two facts: their marriage to a British national and their children's birth on English soil. When they were asked to define themselves they said they kept their British passport to be loyal to the unity of their families.

Middle and upper middle class women married to British nationals did not value equally all aspects of their national identities. There was a preference in their hierarchy of national identifications. A particular audience and a specific location activated this preference. Most respondents, from all social classes and educational attainments, emphasised being Spanish as their preferred national identification. Nevertheless, in the case of the upper and middle class groups, Spanish identity was reserved for intimate moments without husbands in the privacy of the respondent's time alone or with close friendships.

Middle and upper middle class women married to British nationals were attempting a different task: that of transforming their national identity by representing themselves to others as 'English' within the spheres of the family and public appearances. Respondents' migration did not seem to involve rethinking women and men's positions within the family. Working class and middle class women married to Spaniards tried to use their family unit to reinforce and recreate Spanish national identity feelings in England. In fact, in the case of middle and upper middle

class women married to British nationals, migration reinforced notions of femininity internalised in Spain. That is, these women viewed their family as the most important dimension of their lives relegating their professional careers to a second role. In turn, their adherence to their identification with the family as part of their femininity triggered the process of 'Anglicisation' as an expression of their loyalty to their husbands and children.

However, respondents did not transform their identifications with Spanishness when making close friendships. They chose, in most cases, Spanish friends. All respondents felt emotional towards Spain. Almost none of the women interviewed claimed any emotions when referring to England or Englishness and only few of them considered themselves part of the English society.

Respondents of all social classes lived and moved within this transnational space - Spain and England - and the reproduction of a sexual division of labour occurred in both spaces, in spite of heterogeneity of practices observed in England. It seemed that transnational spaces allowed resistance to be counteracted through movement. Women moved within different power relationships - socio-economic, gender, cultural and linguistic - in two countries and they encountered new and different forms of power that made resistance an ever more complex process. Resistance was to be negotiated while maintaining a sense of coherence and psychological comfort with the national identity(ies) chosen (Spanish and/or English) and a keeping a set of older social relations intact.

Tendencies against commonalities in respondents' identifications

Respondents did not always incorporate the same cultural themes in their gender and national identifications. Experiences of different individuals did not always result in shared understandings and how these did not always become widely shared across respondents. The first most obvious explanation of the varied identifications of respondents is that in any society, different people live comparatively separate and divergent lives. When their resulting experiences diverge so do the schema of dispositions they build up from these experiences. Some such variation in experience comes from the sheer distance between regions of a country: in the way that different languages come to diverge geographically so do other cultural practices.

Much other variation in experience results from sources of segregation. This study has dealt with differences in social class and levels of formal education. Among the difference that existed between respondents, it should be clear that there could be differences in the feelings and motivations that they attached to the schemes of dispositions they held. As shown in this study, two respondents could have been exposed to the same information but cared differently about that information and so did not internalise it in the same way².

Cultural and gender practices were in respondents' heads, but a given cultural and gender schema needed not be in everyone's head. Respondents may have shared their habitus with as many different groups of other individuals as they shared a history of similar experiences - at the same time sharing all of their schema of dispositions with no one else in any of these groups, since motivation and emotion

attached to those experiences play a role in the construction of habitus. Thus, the similar processes by which two individuals were shaped as cultural and historical personalities, also shaped them in all of their unique identities.

Historical continuity of identifications

The common pattern that respondents showed in their accounts of their identifications was historical continuity across three different generations, different social classes and different levels of educational attainments. The tendency of some of schema of dispositions to recur historically was certainly because the same individuals who learned and enacted given schema at one time were still around at a later time, still enacting many of the same schema (Bourdieu 1984:455). The continuity and motivational force of identifications for individuals had consequences for historical continuity. When people were motivated to enact and reenact social practices they had learned from their own experience, they recreated the public world of objects and events that they knew, reproducing patterns of experience from which the next generation learnt³. This about the shape of the environment structuring schema of dispositions in successive generations is the essence of Bourdieu's account of cultural reproduction and identification. At its most unproblematic, this process is similar to individuals acquiring habits from repeatedly observed and practised patterns of identifications described in Chapters 4, 6 and 7 which dealt with respondents' formation and transformations of national and gender identities.

Just as any given generation of individuals is predisposed to practices that are familiar to them and appear to be the only ones which are available or natural or

even imaginable so the next generation is predisposed to practices and understanding of themselves that are familiar to them and appear the only ones available - 'natural' identifications - being reenacted by the adults around them. Furthermore, the world of objects, people and events from which children learn can have emotional resonances and motivational implications as well as informational content. This is especially the case when international migration takes place. Respondents wanted to keep part of their cultural and gender identifications to keep the familiarity they were used to in their own socio-cultural environment in Spain as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 which showed how some respondents recreated the patterns of their own childhood experience in their child rearing practices⁴.

The patterns so replicated may carry and reproduce lasting emotional and motivational effects as well. Practices like child rearing and sexual division of labour in the household often seemed like such natural way to do things that they went undiscussed; as long as they continued to go undiscussed, no language for talking about them developed. The absence of any such language to talk about an experience made it less likely to come under scrutiny, and not being the object of such reflection, it was simply continued. Social practices like this were especially persistent. These practices lacked a language for articulating them, they did not even have labels. The women's unequal power relationship went unmentioned. It persisted unquestioned as was shown in Chapters 6 and 7. Part of these chapters dealt with analysing the main attributes which women identified with motherhood and being a housewife. Living in and experiencing a world shaped by the last generation's everyday practices was not the only determinant of the reproduction of gender and cultural identities. There was a significant tendency for the content of what was taught to be reproduced over successive generations.

This was because respondents had certain ideas about what values were to be transmitted to the young and what knowledge was to be preserved for certain generations. Hence, in addition to unintentionally recreating the world they knew by the schema they enacted, respondents also acted intentionally to pass on practices and beliefs that they valued, to insure that certain of their own enduring schema of dispositions became the enduring schema of their children⁵.

Historical continuity rested as well on the fact that old ideas were expressed and preserved outside of minds and in the absence of any sustained effort to recreate them - for example in masses preached in the Catholic Church in London, in books, folklore music, routines and the organisation of groups - social clubs of immigrants in London. The institutional discourses of femininity which stressed the subservience of women in Franco's regime (1939-1975) and its legacy in the early democratic Spain contributed to the shaping of women's habitus which, in turn, shaped women's cultural and gender identities. Thus, women were the bearers of socially imposed representations as both individuals - incorporating selected discourses of social forces in their habitus - and collective subjects - women were the representatives of political discourses on the ideal woman during Francoism, as was seen in Chapter 3. The power relations of institutional forces were seen not only in terms of social institutions and practices but also in terms of symbolic meanings contributing to the formation of identities and deeply rooted belief systems. Thus, dormant idea systems like Francoism, had the ability to gain renewed force as noted in Chapter 4 with regard to the speech of a Catholic priest at a mass for Spanish immigrants in London in 1995. However, such external producers of cultural understandings can also become effective vehicles of change.

Tendencies disrupting historical continuity in respondents' identifications

The expectations and attitudes of working, middle and upper middle class women towards their daughters and sons were different from those of their parents'. All respondents believed in providing equal formal education for their daughters and sons, formal education was considered a highly valued source of capital. Some women also reported changing repressive attitudes to sex. They fostered, instead, an open relationship with their children as was shown in Chapter 6⁶.

As indicated in Chapter 6, Feli tried to have an open relationship with her daughter and resist the attitudes of her family, the church and the political ideology of the Franco regime. She altered her child rearing practice: she did not favour her son's formal education instead of her daughter's. She did not wish to repress girls' sexuality and expect her daughter to lead the life of a submissive wife and mother, Feli unwittingly altered the dynamic of gender identification. Consequently, Feli changed the way her children thought, felt about and enacted their gender identities. This example reinforces the point of this thesis that there is a need to understand the intersection between culture, social structure and biography in order to recognise differences in the shaping of cultural and gender identities. The continuation of practices and identifications cannot be predicted from studying a given generation's social practices alone. Only some of them will be continued into the next generation. A researcher can discover which practices respondents believe merit being continued, and wish to teach the next generation and which they do not.

Deliberate instruction, too, can lead to generational change just as it can lead to cross-generational reproduction of values. Feli and other respondents not only

modelled more gender egalitarian behaviours and liberal attitudes than they observed growing up, they also deliberately imparted such values. However, for the teachings of Feli to result in changes in her children's gender and cultural identities, widespread changes outside the home were necessary. In fact, respondents found the process of international migration to a more liberal society - not restricted by a dictatorship and a powerful Catholic Church - a trigger factor in their realisation of their families and mothers' gender identifications, in particular as was seen in Chapter 7⁷.

Earlier in this section it was observed how experience that goes unlabelled can persist over time. Labelling previously unarticulated experience was another way in which historical changes in practices could be initiated. Naming experience linked disparate understandings in a new schema, lending the named experiences a social reality. This was seen in Chapter 7 with the example of middle class women who arrived in the UK between 1976-1992. Most of them realised and articulated their criticisms to their mothers' submissive attitudes. It is also important to bear in mind that the mere presence of practices from the past does not guarantee their continued force; unless the appropriate understandings and feelings about them and the appropriate motivation toward them are passed on (even if in altered form) across successive generations.

Migration as a learning journey

Migration involved the experience of new learning opportunities and new requirements of adaptation. This was a view implied by the metaphor some respondents expressed in Chapter 7, migration as a window to a new and different

world.

Most respondents spoke of their changes in their self-understandings as a process of learning, learning about themselves and learning about different cultures. Respondents talked about feelings of dynamism, progress and learning due to accommodating successfully to a new set of circumstances. Veronica from a working class background, Lourdes from a middle class background and Gema from an upper middle class origin shared the views on renovation and learning that migration has generated in their self-understanding:

Migration has taught me a lot. I learned English. I learned how to deal with many different people from different nationalities. I learned to handle situations by myself in an unknown environment and to be self-sufficient in a country I didn't know anything about, not even the language. I became stronger and more independent (Veronica 1997:18).

I have learned through many situations that I have lived through migration, it has made me much more self-reliant. I also learned a lot about other cultures and ways of life. It has helped me to come out of the monolithic perspective of Spain (Lourdes 1997:25).

For me migration has been a constant learning . I have travelled and resided in so many countries ... that I have learned to adopt to many situations and types of mentality. Migration has been the major element of enrichment in my life (Gema 1997:21).

The emphasis upon the active and creative nature of the self is very prominent in these accounts, the sense of inner strength that derived from the experience of self as an active agent of making things actually happen and realising one's intents in a foreign world. This agency involved a sense of self arising in the face of obstacles.

It stemmed from feelings of the respondent's own capacity and competence to strive.

Respondents' adaptations to the host country were mediated in most cases by feelings of renewal. New learning opportunities emerged. Institutional structures in host society interacted in a myriad of ways with the cultural, educational, economic and psychological equipment women brought and created. Working class women learned English informally and developed creative strategies to transfer their skills for that purpose. They learned of other modes of living which generally they chose not to follow. However, they acknowledged that they got used to living in London and whenever they returned to their local communities in Spain they missed aspects of their lives in London. Therefore, an exchange or an interaction of different modes of living took place even if women did not identify themselves with the host country. They reflected on their lives in Spain and reconfigured their vision to draw positively, in most cases, from their experiences in England.

Indeed, working class immigrants who reaffirmed their Spanish identity reshaped their national and gender identities by reintegrating their identifications on the basis of the interaction with the new environment. Their persistent claim of Spanishness suggested a constant shaping of their identities according to their perceptions of Spanish identity during their time of residence in Spain and their subsequent vacation visits. These women constantly demarcated their national identity against a foreign background to keep their Spanish identity 'safe'. This process required a persistent private and social acknowledgement of being Spanish. These women consciously chose social practices that recreated their chosen identity, for example by sending their children to Spanish schools or flamenco folklore dance. Even if

these women refused to take in any of the values or features of the foreign socio-cultural system, they negotiated their identities daily in an attempt to maintain their perceptions of Spanishness.

Middle and upper middle class respondents' identifications married to British nationals, in the initial phase of culture encounter, were to some extent directed at that what was lost, i.e recreating familiar sounds, smells, friendships. Later processes were geared towards selective identifications, internalising some of the new culture's aspects, aimed not at recovering what was lost but at enriching the self with a new environment. The internalisation of these selective identifications brought transformations to the person's cultural identity. There were also psychological transformations of personal empowerment for having succeeded in living in another culture and making new friends, learning to adapt oneself to the change; integrating new images of the self. Changing representations of oneself brought re-organisation of social practices, which were reflected, in the interaction with the new environment. 'New' identities reflected, not the mere sum of bi or multicultural endowments or the total engulfment in the new culture, neither did negotiations of identities meant a stable achievement but rather denoted a continually re-edited process.

Transformed identities reflected a final consolidation into a remodelled identity of selective identifications with respondents' perceptions of a new culture, which were integrated with their past cultural heritage. What actually resulted from the crisis of cultural encounter when adequately solved - that is if the migrant overcame the shock and did not suffer depressions or psychosomatic illnesses related to the experience of migration - was a fecund growth of the self. What began as a threat

to identity and grievance ended in a confirmation of a plurality of contextual cultural and gender identifications.

A residue of the initial intense longing for the past culture still remained and it seemed that it would never leave completely. A new array of cultural identifications represented only a transitional period in the constantly ongoing process of negotiations of identities and personal exploration and growth. Personal exploration of identifications with other cultures implied a continual exposure to new experiences, a continuing internalising of relations with others. Acts of identification were submitted to a continual process of reorganisation and a reshaping of the self. Most women studied claimed a knowledge that non-migrants could not access. Non-migrants did not experience living in a different socio-cultural-linguistic system. Thus, this valuable knowledge - only achieved through the experience of loss of social networks, language difficulties, divergence of cultures and socio-economic uprootedness - was the principal claim of these women's distinctiveness. Nevertheless, this study did not capture the full range of aspects of women's identities.

Limitations of this study

Due to limits of time and resources this investigation only focused in two modalities of identity construction: gender and national identifications. However, what women's accounts involved was a complex maze where I was repeatedly faced with decisions and where paths wound back on one another. The prevalence of the distinction between different identifications, i.e gender, national, work, group membership, tends to obscure the complexity of the actual formation of identities

and threatens to render the decision to focus on only two aspects of women's identities less rich than might otherwise have been.

The scope of the thesis was limited to the shaping of national and gender identities of women migrants. A complementary study on migrant men's understandings of their national identities would have been useful to observe distinct engendering processes rooted in social practices in Spain and in England and their effects in the formation of men migrants' identities. Such a complementary study would have shed light on what specific elements men drew from when defining themselves as Spanish or any other category from their specific gender relation to English men and women. I can only speculate that their acts of gender and national identifications would not be cooking or their self-sacrifice for the emotional comfort of the family.

In conducting the fieldwork for this study it would have been valuable to interview more young women, in their late twenties and early thirties, who arrived in England before 1993. The contrast between a young generation and the rest of women in the sample would have shown more dramatically whether changes in the constructs of femininity in Spain had been transformed in relation to older generations whose childhood, adolescence and young adulthood took place under Franco's regime. Three women aged 32 at the time of the interviews, all shared with the older generation the obligations they felt towards their ageing parents. In the case the woman was married she remained at home to look after her children and relegated her professional aspirations to a secondary position. It would have been useful to interview a larger sample of younger women to see whether this constituted a general pattern within the sample.

Future research

This study has documented not only the richness and significance of these women's lives and transformations of their self-understandings embedded in two different socio-cultural settings, but also provides examples of the possibility of analysing biographies to comprehend the interaction between agency, structure and history. This study aims to benefit research that implicates directly or heuristically the experiences of persons exposed to rapid socio-cultural change and the consequences of such changes in their lives. This research also benefits the theorisation on the formation of identities in migratory experiences. It may increase the researchers' appreciation for the importance of qualitative research of cross-cultural migrations and may contribute to a better understanding of identity processes.

International migrations represent fruitful research events. The convergence of transitions induced by international migration creates opportunities to study the impositions of new requirements of adaptation and how immigrants and the groups in which they participate react to such requirements. The reactions of immigrants in a new country may include the development of the self and a variety of processes structuring a life cycle. Research may also address the process of learning about the self in the migration experience. That is, to look at migration as a learning experience about constructions of the self and as a journey of self-realisation concerning the individual's socio-cultural background and other individuals' cultural beliefs and values. However new research needs to direct attention to the contexts of the sending and receiving countries, the components of migration experience: change of social network bonding, change in socio-economic status, change in culture and language.

Cross-cultural migrations are a visible face of social change and they offer strategic research opportunities to analyse themes on identity formation. New research could explore how the migration experience affects intergenerational continuity in cultural identity, spouse relationships, socio-economic mobility and patterns of transformation of migrants' identities in other countries.

Research might look into language as an emotional device that helps migrants to relate themselves to their past and their inner part of themselves, that is their memories and their intimate communication with others. Thus, new studies could investigate further how the mother tongue serves as an important strategy for coping with the 'discontinuity' international migration generates in all dimensions of women's lives.

However new directions for research on migration gender and identity imply an intrepid crossing of various older boundaries within social, cultural and psychological research on identity. Three kinds of boundaries need to be crossed. These are the boundaries between theoretical and qualitative research on cultural identity, between various national-cultural groups and between different disciplines, anthropologists, sociologists and social psychologists. All have contributed to this area but with little interaction between them. Thus, some co-ordination and co-operation is important and urgent to cut across the tight boundaries of the disciplines and participating in this venture.

ENDNOTES

1. When Elena, a teacher married to a British engineer, described how she had to hide her books so her husband would not see her studying for the exams, she also said that her master in Women's Studies had helped her a lot to feel empowered:

I have always done all the work at home. When I had a cleaner we were doing it together.

[Did your husband and you discussed about who does the house chores?]

We cannot talk about it. He doesn't want to talk about it. If I tell him to do something, he tells me he will do it whenever he feels like it. Otherwise it can continue in the state it is. I do everything at home, what can I do? I don't like it but...[she laughs] I studied a master on women's studies in London. Many years ago I was suspicious of women's studies but later in life you realise that there has to be a spokesperson, a field that deals with women's rights and the role they have in society. I learned in that course that you have rights for yourself not because you are an appendix, not because you are the daughter of your father or the wife of your husband. You have rights for yourself. This revindication is very important and I have only acquired recently. I revalued myself by doing this course. Before that, I had confused ideas. I didn't know what rights I had or even if I had the right to have rights [we laughed] (Elena 1997:35,46).

Elena, like most graduated middle and upper middle class respondents, experienced the occasions for acting as a housewife very differently from the way she experienced those for acting as a university student. As far as she could see from both real-life examples, things seemed to work out well for women who acted as housewives in a marriage situation. It seemed natural for Elena to take care of the house and the children and to work for pay and to study at the same time. It seemed natural not to question the choice of school - an English school - or of language spoken at home - English -, hence favouring her husband's cultural identity over hers. Elena thought that, otherwise, if she challenged her husbands' attitude to those issues the marriage would be destroyed and she would feel responsible for it.

To an observer Elena's practices and words, may seem inconsistent. However, middle and upper middle class respondents seemed unaware of the inconsistency. Their understandings of women's rights and their understandings of what a wife and a mother were expected to do were triggered in different sorts of contexts - in a university classroom and in the home - by different features of experience, so they rarely came into conflict. This inconsistency in what was imparted by public institutions, rituals and representations combines with respondents capacity for encapsulating information to help explain how contradictory understandings, identifications, come to coexist in a person's head.

Miriam, another respondent from a working class background with basic schooling described one day in her life:

I go to clean several houses in the morning and the afternoon. I come home sometimes at 5pm other times at 7pm and start cooking for the family. My husband also works. However, I cannot ask him to cook because he wouldn't know how to fry an egg. Besides I dedicate the week-ends to keep the house clean (Miriam 1997:18).

Thus, to learn about Miriam cultural and gender practices it does not matter that Miriam acquired this cultural and gender model from parental teachings, personal experience, observation of other people's practices, and the media, while Elena acquired it from different assortment of experiences. Since both sets of inputs reveal the same general patterning of associated characteristics, that pattern is represented by strongly interconnected representations in each of their gender and cultural identities.

2. For example Lourdes, aged 55, from a working class family, went to school when she was 3 years old and stopped when she was 10. She had to go to work for pay. Her parents decided that Lourdes' brothers could continue to attend school. She started working as an ironer assistant in a dry cleaning shop and continued working all her life. She started studying again in her late adolescence in Spain and completed a master's degree in London. At present she is a teacher married to a British lecturer:

I started working in a dry cleaning shop when I was 10. I remember I was ironing, reading and also listening to the radio, all at the same time. I used to work 11 hours per day. I was earning 5 pts a day, with 3 pts you could buy a kilo of bread. I was giving everything to my family. When I was telling my father what I was reading he used to tell me 'leave me alone' (Lourdes 1997:7).

Another respondent, Miriam 43 years old when interviewed, from a working class background was sent to school from the age of 8 until the age of 14. Her brothers were sent to a private school and she helped her parents in the land. At present, Miriam works as a cleaner and is married to a Spanish waiter.

I left school at the age of 14 none of my friends continued. I started to work with my parents in the land (Miriam 1997:9).

3. For example, Cristina who was born in 1948 and arrived in the UK in 1969, from a middle class background, described the share of housework in her house:

I do the housework and my husband does the DIY. He is always doing

alterations in the house...I do a part-time job because I like to keep my house clean. I don't know whether my standards are high. When I was growing up I always saw that the house had to be kept clean like a museum. Well, I am more relaxed about it now. If I don't have enough time to clean everything I don't get desperate, but there is something inside me that says mm.. I have to wash that or dust the other.

[Do your children help you? She had a son of 21 and a daughter of 18]

Tracey yes, she helps me, my son doesn't.

[Why?]

Why?.....[long silence] I don't know why. If I tell him to put his clothes in the wardrobe he would do it, but he doesn't offer to do it. He is not like Tracey. If she sees that the floor is dirty she says 'mum shall I Hoover?' He doesn't think about it. I don't know why (Cristina 1997:21,22).

When Cristina drifted back into gender practices she learned growing up they became part of the observable world that shaped her children's habitus. The children's habitus were also shaped by the social practices they learned about in other homes they visited, at school, in books, in the media. To the degree that these other practices tended to idealise gendered social practices, her children's understandings surprised Cristina by how different they were.

4. Kati, 46 years old when interviewed, came to the UK in 1989 and worked as an accountant. She was from a middle class background. Her father worked in a bank and her mother was a housewife. Kati talked about child care:

When my children were born I was getting up to change their nappies. I was in charge of the smooth running of the house.

[Did your husband help with the house chores?]

Well, he was in charge of the garden and would help me whenever he could.

[Did you ever discuss about the division of house chores and child care?]

No, never (Kati 1997:18).

5. Lara, a working class respondent, conducted a deliberate campaign to preserve Spanish as the main language spoken at home and Spanish cooking passed on to her daughter.

I sent my daughter to the Spanish school, she married a Spanish and we cook Spanish dishes at home. We speak Spanish and my grandchildren speak Spanish too (Lara 1997:8).

To the extent that she and other mothers like her succeed, speaking Spanish and Spanish cooking continued for another generation. To be sure, these practices survived not as they once did, as a matter of habitus - 'natural' reproduction of practices - but now as a result of conscious effort in England.

6. As mentioned in Chapter 6, Feli said:

I didn't want my daughter to grow up thinking that sex is a sin. I wanted her to have an open mind and talk with me about anything instead of hiding it, like I had to do with my parents (Feli 1997:12).

7. Susana, from a middle class background, confirmed this:

Emigration made me see there was a different world out there. The most important is that you realise that you only know your little chunk of town in Spain. What emigration and reading books and all the learning process of my life taught me is that we live in very compartmentalised worlds. You see the world through your own world. For example, my aunts were always making fun of the village women. However, they knew many more things about plants and animals than they did. My aunts only knew about praying and embroidery. Emigration makes you see there is something else and it relates to where I come from. This happens to many people, you enter another social class which is different from the one in Spain and you do things that perhaps in your country you would never do. When you return to Spain you appreciate it much more. I believe that when you go out of your country, what you really learn is about your country and the limitations of your perspective (Susana 1997:28).

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APPENDIX

RESEARCH DESIGN

The purpose of this appendix is to describe the methodological framework of the thesis. First this appendix considers a feminist approach to the data analysis. It will be suggested that a feminist perspective allows this study to analyse women's constructions of their life histories as a process and a product of social interaction, power relations and personal agency. Both a concern for women's experiences and a concern for their socio-economic backgrounds have helped this thesis to focus simultaneously on women's agency and the constraints of social structures in the shaping of cultural and gender identities through the process of migration.

Both perspectives are anchored in my position as a researcher with a specific background: a daughter of Spanish migrants, born in Brussels. My father emigrated to Germany for economic reasons and my mother emigrated with a friend to Belgium as an adventure. My father's status as a *guestarbeiter* came to an end after two years residence when he was told to leave Germany. He had to emigrate to Belgium. These experiences are contextually located. I was raised in Brussels and then in Madrid under the Franco government. I lived my adolescence during the young democracy in Spain, and came to London in my early twenties.

Second, this appendix describes the ethnographic perspective used conducting fieldwork and, lastly, it explores the negotiation of power relationships between the participant and the researcher in the process of the interviews. It should be observed that the impersonal style of the written text of this appendix will change in the last section to the personal 'I': the last section makes explicit the feminist

epistemological principle of the researcher being located in the research s/he conducts. Thus, the researcher becomes part of the production of a contextualised knowledge, a knowledge which is rooted in a specific viewpoint of the knowledge-producer (Stanley 1997:204; Kvale 1996:14).

Third, due to an ethical responsibility to protect the interests of my respondents, all women's names and participants are pseudonyms in order to maintain confidentiality.

Epistemological framework

Feminist research on women's lives underlines a number of methodological questions to do with the unequal power relationship between the participants and the researcher. This also includes commitment to presenting the research to participants in a clear, informed manner, seeking their consent to take part, guaranteeing them privacy and confidentiality and making space for feedback at the end of the interview.

In addition to the 'raw experience', material conditions also had a key role in the shaping of respondents' identities. The next section will deal with the importance of looking at the data considering differences in respondents' economic capital.

The division of the sample according to respondents' socio-economic backgrounds and education follows the epistemological principle of a materialist approach. This thesis looks at women's material conditions, how these affected their formal education in Spain, their decision to migrate, their marriage and how, in turn, these choices shaped and are shaping women's self-constructions of gender and cultural

identities. This will provide new resources for research categories within every social class in the cultural group in the sense that women's experiences differ in every social class and within it (Harding 1987:7).

One of the problems of qualitative studies concerns the absence of (sub)cultural aspects in studying social groups like working, middle and upper class migrant women. Their (lack of) coherence is hardly ever problematised (Lather 1991:131). This research attempts to access diverse positions available to various groups that were likely to produce different knowledge within respondents' experiences (Kemp and Squire 1997:143). This study explores the locations of different power relations in a way that this knowledge could be used by respondents to be aware of their conditions in their social context. Both perspectives - a concern for women's experiences and a materialist approach - enabled this research to see the interaction between social structures and women as creative strategists who devised ways of dealing with the limitations and contradictions they experienced (Middleton 1992:36).

Thus, this thesis will use women's accounts and a materialist epistemological framework to analyse the field work data. The next section will discuss the methods of data collection used and the two main criteria taken into account for the classification of participants in this research: participants' social class and the chronological period during which women emigrated to England. The purpose for the use of these criteria is also outlined.

Methods of data collection

This research has been conducted using qualitative-ethnographic methods aimed

at the reconstruction of everyday life in a specific migrant group by using the terms and understanding of the members of this group. Participant observation, field notes and interviews were the key methods used to give an in depth insight into the particular setting of Spanish immigrant women in London (Huberman 1994:8). The interviews were open-ended, applying a life course perspective given the varied backgrounds of women immigrants, their different motivations for international migration and the particular circumstances prevailing at the time of their arrival and subsequently. Open-ended interviews were used specifically for allowing for a range of possible responses, including the unexpected (Kvale 1996:7; McCracken 1988:16). The interview schedule used to structure and prompt respondents is at the end of this appendix.

These methods were designed to elicit Spanish immigrant women's understandings of their gender and cultural identities in England. The life stories illuminated the decision to emigrate and describe the real life context in which the process of migration occurred. Thus, the open-ended interview as a method which allows a multiple set of outcomes (Yin 1994:92) serves to explore the variety of participants' responses regarding their definitions of gender and cultural identity from their specific positions in England.

Furthermore, it is important to realise that women's constructions of gender and cultural identity were not easily observable phenomena. Thus, this study relied on detailed accounts of women's representations of themselves and others - English nationals - which were by their very nature personal. Participants' representations are part of a much wider set of social processes, which must be analysed to understand why women migrated and to what extent migration has or has not changed their understandings of themselves (Brettell 1982:21; Eastmont 1993:35).

This study aimed to understand the decision to migrate and its effects on women's identities and to grasp some of the tensions and contradictions in these processes and the way these processes were likely to change between generations. These women's life histories as migrants were culturally embedded and their descriptions were, at the same time, a construction of the events that occurred, together with an interpretation of them (Purvis 1994:18). Therefore, participants' accounts were cast against a larger social, cultural economic and political background in which migration occurred (Andezian and Castani 1983; Boyd 1986). Analysis of life histories revealed the subtler details of the experience of identities in the context of migration (Friedman-Kasaba 1996; Gabaccia 1994). Thus, qualitative methods were particularly appropriate to explore participants' experiences of migration and its effects on their gender and cultural identities.

For practical reasons, London was the base for my observations and interviews. London is the city where most Spanish immigrants settled in the UK and where I live. This study was drawn from a range of different sources. These have been used to complement participants' accounts, field notes of the interviews and observation in the Spanish organisations in London. First, I conducted interviews with 35 Spanish immigrant women living in London and second I took notes from observations in Spanish organisations in London for 10 months in 1997. Third, I conducted interviews with significant members of Spanish organisations, who assisted Spanish migrant women in London. Fourth, I examined statistical data on migration in the UK and in Spain. In the UK I looked at censuses, Department of Employment reports, Parliamentary Papers and correspondence between the British ambassadors in Madrid and the Home Office. In Spain, I examined, in particular, the records of the Institute of Emigration in Madrid. The next section will present in a greater detail the different sources of information this thesis has drawn from, looking at their strengths and weaknesses.

Interviews with Spanish immigrant women living in London

Here, the sample of women in the pilot and the main study will be described. This section looks at the intricacies of the process of interviewing and the decisions made in the course of the study regarding the themes of the interview schedule. For the main study I conducted thirty five interviews between February and December 1997.

I started my fieldwork in 1995. I carried out a pilot study interviewing eight working-class women. I randomly chose eight women. These women were linked to Spanish associations. The pilot interviews I conducted were very helpful for developing a possible 'conceptions strategy' (Francis 1993:71) in order to use samples of conceptions to construct categories which were used for my interview schedule in the main study. I analysed the data and explored relations between different categories in order to derive a meaningful model of the conceptions from the sample of interviews. I analysed some emergent patterns for a conference paper I wrote about the state, identity and Spanish women migrants (Bravo 1995). The data I collected served the purpose of refining and expanding the interview schedule for the main study. I concluded I needed a more complete interview schedule to expand on themes that emerged which were relevant to the study. I developed one interview schedule based on the following themes: women's lives in Spain, decision to emigrate, life in the UK: housing, employment history, education, housework, child care, social networks/friends and national identity. After interviewing some participants for the main study I looked for patterns and correlations in the interviews. I compared answers across the interviews. From the patterns and comparisons some themes started to emerge. These themes were more relevant for the study such as the national and gender identity, formal education and work. For later interviews I reduced sections on money management and housing. This

reduction was also due to the length of the interview. I confirmed the importance of the themes after I collected more data. I created categories and connections between them. I then sought to abstract a more general formulation of the categories (Dey 1993; Huberman 1994; Kvale 1996; McCracken 1988; Radnor 1994; Riley 1990; Silverman 1993; Strauss 1987; Tesch 1990). I used conceptual maps (Huberman 1994:19) in order to lay out the correspondences between categories.

These were some of the titles of the maps:

- a) Political, economic and social conditions affecting migration
- b) Migration and access to the labour market, what facilitated/hindered that access
- c) Education as a reason for migration/Migration as education
- d) National identity formation and transformation through international migration

The discovery of relationships underwent a continuous refinement throughout the data collection and analysis process which fed back into the process of category coding. As I compared constantly events in the interviews I discovered new relationships. Then I explored the implications of the emerging patterns and linked concepts to theoretical approaches in the literature (Strauss 1987:86).

Interviews with significant members of Spanish organisations who ‘helped’ Spanish immigrant women in London

To supplement the life histories of the respondents with background interviews I conducted a group of interviews with key representatives of different organisations of migrants in London. This material gave insight into the notions of femininity in Spain and their (re)-production or negotiation in Spanish organisations in England. This material underscored the shortcomings of historical explanations and conclusions based solely or primarily on quantification.

One of these interviews was with the Mother Superior of a Spanish residence in London who provided accommodation to Spanish women from the 1950s. I also interviewed officials in the Spanish consulate in London who helped women look for accommodation and work. Key figures of organisations that assisted Spanish migrant women were interviewed. Participant observation was also conducted in a migrant women's social club.

Statistical data

To gain an estimated account of the number of Spanish immigrants in the UK this study looked at statistical information based upon censuses in Britain, British police data, Consuls' reports to the Ministry of Labour in Madrid, immigrants' newsletters, and information books addressed to potential emigrants published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Madrid. These provided an official version on migration from Spain and its regulation. This data underestimated the existing kin ties within households and the migrant group in London. This material did not allow me to verify the importance of social networks. Anecdotal information showed that the extended family performed important social functions in Spain and in the UK, as well as the Catholic church, but the information based on the afore mentioned documents alone could not indicate how this network assumed new roles in the UK. Censuses data (analysed fully in Chapter 5) gave only an incomplete and contradictory picture of how kin helped each other find jobs, homes, friends; and some kind of kin support defied measurement. Emotional bonds, charitable networks (from the Catholic Church or the Spanish school or from social workers in the embassy itself) were not quantifiable. Further, there were important questions that the 'official' data alone did not allow me to ask concerning family and village ties and how these were maintained in London.

Sample framework

This section explores first, the chronological period when respondents left Spain to come to England and, second, their socio-economic background and their formal education. The purpose of this categorisation is to see how social class, work and education were interrelated in both social settings, Spain and England, and how that interrelation affected women's constructions of their gender and cultural identities in each historical period. Furthermore, to look at the period participants emigrated to Britain aims to examine two aspects. First, to see whether a dictatorship and later a democratic regime in Spain and the changing immigration policies in Britain affected women's decisions to emigrate. Second, to explore how political changes and their implications in both countries shaped participants' representations of themselves as women and as Spaniards in England.

Historical periods

This study divides the sample according to the years women arrived in the UK. The years are clustered in three historical periods: 1940-1959, 1960-1975 and 1976-1992. These periods were divided according to historical and political criteria in Spain and immigration policies in the UK. The reasons for these divisions are as follows:

Between 1940 and 1959 the Spanish dictatorship faced international hostility. The aftermath of the Spanish Civil War, which ended in 1939, made Franco's government reluctant to facilitate emigration. The 'Aliens Restriction Act' of 1954 in the UK required a renewable work permit issued by the Department of Employment for 12 months. Most Spanish workers were given work permits only for catering industry, domestic service and industry. For example, in 1969,

according to a British police report, 57% of Spanish immigrants in the UK worked as cleaners, cooks and chambermaids; 28,3% worked in the domestic service and 8,5% worked in the industry (quoted in the Spanish Institute of Emigration, *Instituto Español de Emigración* 1972:7).

Between 1960 and 1975 Franco saw emigration as a safety valve when an economic policy planned by the most conservative part of the government produced a recession. Franco's government created the Spanish Institute of Emigration (1959) to assist emigration. In 1975 Franco died and this was the start of democracy in Spain. In the UK the British Immigration Act of 1971 obstructed the entry of immigrants coming from the Commonwealth. However, the restrictions made to immigrant workers and a quota system were crucial in reducing Spanish immigration to the UK (MacDonald 1972:62). The third period between 1976 and 1992 was characterised by the development of democracy in Spain and by the operation of a restrictive quota system through British immigration laws. Spain joined the EEC and free labour exchange started in 1992.

Respondents' socio-economic background

This study also divides the sample according to respondents' social class, taking into account their formal education. Class was determined by three elements: a) the respondent's economic and educational status at present and b) the education of the respondent's parents and c) her partner's occupation and education.

This study explores how social class, education, work and marriage contributed to the shaping of women's identities in the socio-cultural settings of Spain and England. Thus, two elements were considered:

a) Occupational factors in understanding their social class. The occupation of women's partners and women's parents occupations were investigated. These elements reflected the categories of any survey but the qualitative material shed light on the ways in which these factors were interrelated at the level of women's experience.

b) Educational factors in social class, women's formal education, their parents' and their partner's education were explored to see whether education influenced economic and social status. The extent to which there seems to be a 'progression' whereby it is possible to 'better' oneself and move up the social ladder through education was examined (Delphy 1981; Charles 1988; Delphy and Leonard 1986). Feminist historical analysis has shown that gender divisions at home and at work have implications for women's participation in the labour market (Charles 1990:73). The restricted definitions of social class which look only at a combination of the relations of production, or property relations, and give sole consideration of the paid work in the occupational hierarchy was inadequate to analyse women's social class. An awareness of the particular cultural meanings that each society, Spanish and English gave to women's work (outside and inside the house) was relevant to complete my understanding of their situations and how these affected respondents' shaping of their cultural and gender identities.

Many of the women were not working for pay. Others were working part-time or working full time outdoors and were also responsible for the house chores. Thus, taking into account social class and education shed light on questions such as: How respondents who had graduated from university view themselves when working as cleaners until they mastered English language? Does formal education transform a woman's shaping of her identity?

The occupational position of these women may provide an important indicator of their socio-economic background. However it does not reveal the complexities of women's class as it is lived which may contain elements other than the purely occupational. The meaning which the women who were interviewed attached to work for pay was also significant when talking about class. It is important for the concerns of this study to comprehend how women experience social class and the meanings they attached to work and education. The exploration of social class and education in this study was undertaken to see how they affected respondents' understandings of themselves as women and as belonging to a particular socio-cultural setting.

Sample selection

My access to the women who were interviewed was through snowballing from acquaintances and colleagues. I first went to the Spanish Consulate and talked about my study. I was told where I could find Spanish immigrants. Initially, I visited five different locations in London where Spanish migrants socialised. Seven women were recruited. I interviewed two women who were introduced to me by a friend. One of them told me after the interview, she only agreed to it because she knew me, otherwise she would not have agreed. Snowballing from participants themselves provided me with the rest of the sample.

Being Spanish assisted me in finding participants, I was told that an English woman had attempted interviewing women from a centre visited for her own study some time ago. Unfortunately, the women in the centre had ignored her. They felt she was English and, although she spoke good Spanish, people in the centre were reticent about being interviewed by an English person. Her presence was seen as an

intrusion in the only Spanish space for the Spaniards of these organisations. Women did not want to be reminded they were in a foreign country, even though most women members of that organisation had been living in England for more than twenty five years. The English woman represented an aspect of invasion of their Spanish space. Women expressed this idea by being indifferent to or annoyed with the English woman whom they felt did not belong there.

Ang-Lygate has dealt with the accessibility to interviewees on the grounds of sharing ethnical identity (1996:157). Kvale talks about using the self as a tool in accessing interviewees:

The interviewer has an empathic access to the world of the interviewee; the interviewee lived meanings may be immediately accessible in the situation, communicated not only by words, but the tone of voice, expressions and gestures in the natural flow of the conversation. The research interviewer uses him - or herself - as a research instrument, drawing upon implicit bodily and emotional mode of knowing that allows a privileged access to the subject's lived world (Kvale 1996:125).

My experience of interviewing was very positive. I did not encounter any problem when I approached possible respondents. I explained what I was doing, they asked me what city I was from in Spain. I am from Madrid but I also said that my mother was from the north, Galicia and my father from the south, Andalucía. I chose to mention my parents' origins to seek some sympathy from the women, as I knew there were a large number of Galicians in the centres. When I interviewed Galician women, some of them used Galician idioms that I understood. I identified cultural mannerisms and responded accordingly. I was aware of a whole body of cultural features and cues in this subtle fabric of non-verbal literacy, which were crucial in my interaction with this group of women. In this sense, cultural literacy was as

powerful as literacy in the language. My position in the group became even easier and more identifiable.

Some women approached me saying they wanted to be interviewed. It was clear that my position as a Spaniard, and perhaps as a woman, gave me an immediate right of access to the group. I was seen as 'belonging'. The sharing of one common nationality and language as a code of interaction allowed me to be accepted at face value. However, in some cases, in the middle and upper middle class groups those attributes were not a passport for identification. This will be discussed in detail in the next section.

Some of the interviews turned out to be a kind of therapeutic session, due to the sensitive nature of the experiences described. Such interviews seemed to follow a cycle. Respondents would start answering my questions generously and expand on the themes most distressing for them. When they talked at length of their painful experiences and cried, they seemed to release their pain in the interview process. Scenes of crying and distress occurred with some frequency. In the cases where I saw that a respondent was totally engaged in her story, the interview took the shape of the participant's narrative with just some prompts on my part to expand on themes relevant for this study. Special distress was shown when respondents talked about experiences of depression associated with lack of English language skills which reflected feelings of social isolation. Experiences at the British borders were also distressing.

I was moved by these stories. Holland and Ramazanoglu talk about the effects of the research on the interviewers (1994:136). Many interviews happened to be very distressing and emotionally draining during the first months of fieldwork. After the interviews, I had to unwind and share my distress with a friend. I was positioned as

an understanding ear as the interview developed. It would have been helpful to have some training or rely on a specialist for some guidance. Moreover, for many of my interviewees it was the first time they had disclosed their story to somebody else.

The recreation of respondents' experiences of loss of family and social networks in Spain, the sensation of discontinuity of cultural identity and the acknowledgement that some had suffered a depression came to light in the interviews. The reflection on their own experiences allowed them or forced them to make causal connections regarding why they reacted to particular experiences the way they did.

For example, to explore the reasons that led them to depression and how they coped with it using an array of strategies. Some of those strategies were working harder - up to 15 hours a day - for pay; travelling more frequently to Spain; trying to contact other Spanish women in London; or going to psychotherapy. These respondents tried to make sense of the whys and the hows of their storied lives in the interview to bring coherence to painful events in their lives. Those events that respondents saw from a 'present' time in the interview became intelligible.

The longest interview took five hours. The length of the interview depended on each woman's experiences and the engagement in her story. Some women chose to split the interview in two: this was the case on five occasions. I would visit the woman twice, and each meeting took usually two hours. One participant chose to divide the time of our interview into three meetings. Interviews were conducted in Spanish, the language the interviewees chose. I transcribed and translated the interviews into English. The transcription process took me approximately ten months to complete. I also kept a research diary and field notes of my interviews and observations made in different Spanish institutions where I was introduced to

Spanish migrant women.

All the interviews were tape recorded except for one in which the woman did not want her voice to be recorded because she was afraid of her work status. She was working 'illegally' (she was not paying taxes). I told participants they could stop the tape-recorder at any time or not reply to any question they were not comfortable with. All the participants answered all the questions. Some women asked me to clarify the questions posed or to engage in other themes which were not related to my question. I thought it was important to let women 'deviate' to other topics. On many occasions, this free flow of conversation would give rise to a rich source of data to complement my questions. I tried to make women feel at ease with me. For that purpose, I explained the aim of the study, a bit of my background and I answered personal questions addressed to me. I think this exchange of information made most women feel relaxed.

All the women were interviewed individually. Most of the interviews took place in the interviewees' homes in inner and greater London. Four interviews took place in a Spanish social club in a private room and three interviews took place in a quiet cafeteria. All the women in the sample were born and raised in Spain until their early twenties, except for one who was born in Switzerland to Spanish migrants and was raised in Switzerland and Spain. At the time of the interview 24 were married; 8 were widows and 3 were single. The following table is the sample of women interviewed:

Table 3 Sample of women interviewed

Time period	UK	w. c	c.n	UK	m. c	c.n	UK	u.m.c	c. n	n
1940-1959	1942	Lara	(BG)	1959	Feli	(S)	1944	Tania	(B)	8
	1944	Reme	(S)	1957	Pilar	(B)	1950	Mar	(BG)	
	1952	Catalina	(S)	1955	Carmen	(B)				
1960-1975	1960	Teresa	(S)	1960	Paca	(BG)	1971	Flor	(B)	15
	1962	Clara	(B)	1963	Lourdes	(B)	1963	Belén	(B)	
	1962	Chon	(S)	1963	Rafa	(B)				
	1970	Marta	(S)	1965	Carlota	(B)				
	1971	Veronica	(S)	1969	Cristina	(B)				
	1973	Miriam	(S)	1969	Asun	(S)				
				1972	Aurora	(S)				
1976-1992	1976	Laura	(S)	1977	Susana	(B)	1990	Gema	(B)	13
	1987	Isabel	(S)	1980	Elena	(B)				
	1989	Toñi	(B)	1984	Andrea	(S)				
	1990	Cruz	(S)	1985	Mari	(S)				
				1989	Felisa	(S)				
				1989	Paz	(S)				
			1990	Kati	(B)					
Number		13			17			5		35

Abbreviations:

- UK:** date of arrival in the UK **c.n:** current nationality
w. c: working class **(S)** Spanish nationality
m. c: middle class **(B)** British nationality from Britain
u. m. c: upper middle class **(BG)** British nationality from Gibraltar

The next section will deal with the different power relationships that were in play during the interview process. It explores how interviewees were agents in the creation of their own positions during the interview process and how they shifted positions in interaction with the researcher and with the questions posed to them.

Power relations in the interviews

To examine the power relations in the interview process gives the researcher the opportunity to see how respondents chose to represent themselves in accordance with the theme of the interview and the interviewer. This insight offers the researcher a chance to see how they represented me and the reasons underpinning their decisions to represent themselves and me in particular ways. The purpose of this section is to look at the different positions in which the researcher and the interviewee located themselves at the beginning of the interview and how in the interaction of the interview, the researcher and respondent redefined their own positions.

I argue that a key concept is representation, how I presented myself and how respondents presented themselves. This term points to the cultural construction of experience, in particular, the processes by which agents constructed images and through these images created meaning. These processes involved me as an interactive part in the interview.

I question some writers like Kvale (1996:126) who have generalised on the powerful position of the researcher versus the participant. In this study different forms of power - economic in the form of wealth and social in the form of 'distinction' of some of the upper middle class respondents, for example - were differently played

to challenge or sabotage the interview.

Thus, I will be looking first at how I presented myself to the women in the sample. Second, the attention will shift to how respondents viewed me. Third, this section will turn to the position of the researcher in the interview. Fourth, there will be an analysis on the interview as a reflective process and lastly, the section will deal with the term 'emigrant' which some respondents deemed problematic.

How I presented myself to the women in the sample

I used different strategies when I presented myself to different members of the migrant group, depending on their social class and educational background. I did not start with these devices from the beginning of my field work, but I thought they were necessary after I had conducted some interviews in order to overcome unequal power relationships between upper class participants and I. Some middle and upper class women, in particular, placed me in a disadvantageous position using to the disadvantage of the interview, my young age and/or lack of social status. From their point of view, the basic attributes that characterised me was my being Spanish and a woman.

To working class women I presented myself as a daughter of migrants and as a migrant myself. This was directed towards their memories and emotions from their past as young migrants in London. To upper class women I presented myself as a professional worker to make up for 'my lack' of economic status, and/or upper class family background. Depending on the formal education of the middle class women, I introduced myself as a mixture of representations; that is as a migrant and as a professional worker. This was directed towards their own experiences of

migration and of being students and professional workers in London.

How participants viewed me: trying to establish different forms of power in the interview

I provoked different attitudes and responses according to how the women viewed me. In the case of upper class and some middle class women their construction of me was shaped by their concepts of social class power (in the case of upper middle class respondents); and/or intellectual power (in the case of some middle class women). Other feature attributed to me was my 'youth', which some respondents constructed as negative. While others saw this as a positive factor for I was seen as having a career ahead of me. Another form of constructing me as powerful was my lack of family ties (husband, children). Participants asked me whether I was married or had children and since my answer was negative to both, they saw me as a woman free of constraints. The next subsections describe the dynamics of representations of power during the process of the interview.

'I' viewed as a young student provoked disdain

Most of my interviewees mentioned my youth. My youth represented for some middle and upper middle class women a lack of professional status. I was considered sometimes as a high school student. Their perception of me diminished the importance they attributed to this study. I felt I had to 'prove' I was old enough to be conducting a research study and to work as a lecturer. Some times I felt - especially with some upper class women - I had to impose my academic 'achievements' and my professional life to be considered a good candidate for spending time with me. This initial barrier was removed in most cases after the first

ten minutes of interview, when they were engaged in their own story-telling instead of testing me. I wrote in my field notes how an upper class participant, Flor, interacted with me:

She told me I gave the impression of being a very young student, full of illusions. She asked me when was I going to enter the labour market. I had already told her that I had been working as a lecturer in Spanish for six years and I was doing my doctorate. I understood by her face that she was not sure what a Ph.D was or what one could do with it. When I explained it to her, she said: 'Well you must be very clever you have a career ahead of you'. She said this as a positive observation. Then, she asked whether I minded her glueing photographs in the family albums during our interview as she did not have much time and she had a pile of albums she wanted to fill in. During the interview she answered my questions while she was choosing, classifying and glueing the photographs in the albums. The tone of her answers and the fact that she chose the time of this interview to glue the photos on the album - I had booked an appointment with her three weeks in advance - was significant. I read this action as a portrayal of subversion and hostility against the interview and what I represented for her. Her answers were bitter: 'Everything I did in my life was having 5 kids and keep a family. Now, I am unemployed. I have so much time in my hands I don't know what to do with it. I don't have a career. I do not have qualifications. My only purpose in life has been to have a family. All what I am is a grandmother, a mother, and a daughter' (Field notes Flor).

Her definition of herself was in relation to others. Her tone was sad and resentful. I was, perhaps, the representation of what she would have wanted to be, I was seen as young, successful in my studies and profession and having no family ties. This attitude was also shown by another participant. These respondents opposed what I represented for them. Perhaps, it was too painful to realise that their self-definitions were circumscribed within their family ties and not to their own persona. However, they reckoned their aspirations had been to have a family. The way they saw me

shaped their attitudes towards me and the tone of their answers which were sharp, reserved and concise. Flor's attitude towards me and the interview contrasted with her attitude towards a domestic worker at her house whom she saw as her subordinate. In that case her approach was charitable.

The negative emotions of this respondent obstructed the fluidity of the interview. In fact, the interview turned out to be a catalyst for her own feelings of inadequacy, dissatisfaction and emptiness. In this sense, the interview was cathartic: it gave this respondent the chance to express her anger. Interviews may turn into an instrument that respondents use to their own advantage: to reflect about their past and also to show a 'free' reaction (however rude or appreciative it may be) towards the interviewer (McCracken 1988:28). Flor welcomed the catalyst effect that allowed her to express her resentment.

The next sub-section complements this one in looking at the emotions the interview process triggered and their effects on the content of the interview.

'I' viewed as a '*señorita*' provoked rejection

Andrea, a participant, confirmed a position of rejection towards what, for her, the interviewer represented. What follows is an extract from our interview and some of my field notes on what she said and how she said it.

I call your generation [referring to me] the generation of the Coke and the '*señoritas*' and the '*señoritos*' [young women and men in a pejorative sense]. Now, we have come to a career woman in Spain. The '*señorita*' says: I study, I chose to work in this or that, I have the right to get grants, and so forth. We, the ones who grew up with Francoism and poverty, who didn't grow up with the European

Common Market, we see a big change in your attitude regarding everything (Field notes Andrea).

Andrea said this in an angry tone. She was only forty years old which meant that she was 18 years old when Spain became a democratic country. She enjoyed a grant to finish her degree in philology and came to London to practise her English. Then she married a British lawyer and became a housewife. I wrote in my field notes:

Andrea was including me in her definition of 'señoritas'. In her eyes, I was the representative of the generation she was referring to. Specially, since she asked me how I was financing my studies and I had told her I had been awarded a grant. At this point, I felt part of her subject, I felt I was the catalyst of her frustrations. However, she had talked earlier in the interview of a very conscious decision she took regarding who was going to be the breadwinner and the housewife in her home. She praised herself for taking that decision. She was aware that she was doing what it was expected of her: being a housewife. She constructed herself as the one in control of her decision, she put aside her career interests in favour of her marriage and family, as she said. She defended this position as a convenient decision at the time she took it. Yet, at this point in the narrative Andrea seemed to have gone to the other extreme of the story, blaming historical circumstances for becoming a product of her time and not been able to be a 'señorita' with a grant. Indeed, it seemed to be what she would have really wanted (Field notes Andrea).

Andrea actively constructed her story around a historical causality chain. She was not able to continue her career because she was not born in the times of the European Common Market. However, earlier in the interview she had claimed she and her husband had decided to take different roles within the marriage. Contradiction and reconstruction were at the heart of her life history. Andrea's answers were shaped by me as a researcher who produced animosity. She saw me as a negative challenge to her 'conscious' decision to become a housewife.

The form and language Andrea chose, how she organised her past and present time, how she described herself in relation to the past and failed to take into account that she had received a grant to complete her university degree, formed part of her interrelation with me. The thematic and the linguistic connections in her story, portraying me as a 'señorita', which she used in the connotation of being a wealthy woman, brought into view the interpersonal context of the interview, the connection between Andrea and myself as the researcher. When Andrea talked about her life, she revealed her 'truth' that did not account for what actually happened. That is, her conscious decision to stay at home looking after her children while her husband worked. Perhaps this decision stemmed from financial necessity or personal insecurity towards the labour market in London and poor English instead of a 'free' personal choice. However, Andrea gave me instead a construction of her experiences which was not 'logical' when I compared different extracts of her story. Later parts of the interview did not verify her statement: "I freely chose to become a housewife and don't regret it. I am happy with the decision I took". Therefore, I could only make sense out of her life history by paying careful attention to the contexts that shaped the creation of her story and to the world views that informed it. How the respondent organised the past, present and future time in the interview, the way that she described herself and her intentions in relation to the past and the way she described, failed to describe or contradicted her life decisions. Inserting myself into how the respondent saw and experienced the world gave me access to her cultural categories, i.e: 'señorita' and other assumptions according to which she appropriated cultural meanings that construed her world.

However, my interpretation of her story was also 'situated' in my own socio-cultural, economic, educational and historical frameworks that played a part in the interpretation of Andrea's experiences. Thus, my interpretation is also vulnerable

to the scrutiny of other researchers whose positions may not originate in the same map of locations.

In the next section I will deal with positive representations of the interview and the researcher as part of respondents' search for help.

'I' as a social worker, psychologist and interpreter provoked sympathy

I was mistaken for a social worker and a psychologist by some participants. Viewing me as a social worker or a psychologist, on the one hand, facilitated the disclosure of painful and important information that otherwise the women may have kept secret. It made me more aware of the importance of handling this information very carefully and confidentially as their trust in me was vital in revealing their experiences. On the other hand, perhaps due to the profile of both professions - social worker and psychologist - some women expected me to 'help' them. This meant visiting them regularly with the hope of resolving their needs for company, as some women felt lonely, or translating English letters sent to them by official organisations.

One of the respondents, Carlota, asked me to give counselling to a young woman who had made a failed attempt of suicide and was in hospital. I told her I was not equipped with the necessary training for such case. However, Carlota said I must have studied psychology as a part of my degree and I should know how to deal with this case. Carlota called me 6 months after I finished my field work. She wanted me to write the names, addresses and telephones of all the women affiliated to one of the Spanish organisations and then order them alphabetically. She said she thought of me because I probably had a lot of spare time and this would help them. Her view

of me as a helper and having a considerable amount of free time to spare, confirmed some respondents' construction of me as a student, who only studied for the exams and had long holiday periods.

I became an interpreter and a translator for one participant. I accompanied her to different doctors and interpreted for her. This woman had a serious mental illness, which I was not aware of before the interview took place. In fact, nobody in her close circle of acquaintances knew. When she told me her story I thought she needed medical help. She was aware of this and asked me to go with her to the GP because she did not speak any English and was embarrassed to tell her story to an interpreter. She told me I was the first person to whom she had told her 'story'. I did accompany her to the GP and other specialists. I felt I could not ignore this woman's asking for my help just because my relationship with her was one of researcher-interviewee. I could not separate my principles as a human being from my research. I did not use this interview as a part of my study as I thought it would be unfair to the person who had disclosed her story and was suffering a mental illness.

'I' as a researcher had to 'prove' my research was important

Some middle class women, depending on their formal education, saw me as a student or as a researcher. In one of the cases one participant was in a powerful position in a university. I went to her office to interview her. Her approach was decisive and clear cut as I wrote in my field notes. I described the struggle to try to 'convince' her of the importance of the interview.

When I went to see her we had made an appointment for two hours in between meetings to do the interview. However, when I arrived at her

office, she told me it was not possible. I told her that if she did no mind we could continue the interview another day. She said she would have more time later on in the afternoon. I explained the purpose of my research and she asked me what the conclusion of my research would be. I told her I did not know since I had not analysed my data yet. She said that I could have an idea of what the conclusion was going to be. I told her that it was an early stage for me, and that I did not go in the field to confirm preconceived ideas of what the conclusion would be and then do the fieldwork to match what I expected to find. She seemed satisfied with the answer and we started the interview. At the beginning, she was answering the questions categorically as if words were stones thrown in the air to fall on the ground and build a perfect construction. Her intonation and posture provoked in me the same response, although in a more subtle way. I thought, I also could make her feel that I knew what I wanted and that what I was doing was important, so important that it deserved part of her busy time. As the interview developed she became more relaxed and laughed and made jokes. We continued in a very relaxed atmosphere, she was reachable, quite different from the beginning. A student knocked on the door she told him that her secretary was not there and that she was in a meeting with me. When that student left I told her that there were only 3 more questions, just in case she wished to see that student later on. She replied 'only 3 more? I thought that it was going to take longer. I am enjoying the interview!' She said this in a very pleasing tone. When we finished she gave me her card. She told me she was going to write her private telephone on the card, 'I don't give this to everybody, you can reach me here at any time, just in case you need anything you can contact me easily'. She showed me the building, took me around to the staff room and the library. She was really hospitable, friendly and human (Field notes Susana).

In this encounter, identity was negotiated within a dense web of power relationships: professional position, generation, and life and academic experience. Initially, Susana viewed me as a student not yet a professional within the academic hierarchy in which she positioned herself. In her eyes, her cultural, experiential and social capital were higher than mine. Our identities represented the interplay of our own backgrounds which predisposed us to 'see' the other in a certain light. I was caught

up in this negotiation. Yet despite these constraints we could choose, negotiate and construct ourselves situationally. Once we had both demonstrated our resources, and after her assessment of the interview during the first ten minutes, our positions became more fluid and other 'shared' representations such as being Spanish, women, and sharing a common interest in the subject entered the game of negotiations which helped balance the unequal positions.

The 'personal I' in the interview

Although, I had read in some of the literature on interviews that the interviewer should not talk to the interviewee about her own experiences related to the subject of the interview or give any personal information, I discovered that telling some of my interviewees I was a daughter of emigrants and had come to London on my own, at what they considered a young age, opened a complicity and commonality between us that, otherwise, would not have existed. I observed this complicity as soon as I mentioned my background. Their empathy was expressed in openness to tell me about their stories of depression or/and stories of feeling a foreigner in England and in Spain, with the assumption I understood what they meant. Here is a description of the changes of attitude I found in two participants when I spoke about myself:

I saw her much more at ease than the first time we met. I think the reasons were that it was our second meeting and most important, I told her a bit of my background which she identified with immediately. I told her about my family background, their migration to Belgium and return to Spain in the seventies. She also asked me about my experiences when I arrived in London on my own. She identified with what I had told her and she referred to it later on in the interview (Field notes Teresa).

In another case, with Asun, I noted:

At the beginning of our interview up to when we had a break I felt her tense and suspicious. She was answering my questions concisely. She avoided eye-contact. When she proposed to have a tea and I went with her to the kitchen she asked me about myself, whether I was planning to stay in England, whether I had a boyfriend. I was talkative and answered her questions sincerely. When we returned to the living room and I switched on the tape recorder I saw her alleviated. She did not control so rigorously her answers and started making some jokes (Field notes Asun).

I think it is important to establish as much as possible an equal relationship with the interviewee. Part of that equality is to listen, to make oneself accessible and approachable. This is particularly the case when dealing with life stories. When the participant agrees to tell her story, she agrees to expose herself to a stranger, the researcher. My response could not be detached but receptive, flexible, appreciative and responsive when the interviewee found it necessary to ask personal questions. Both parties relied on respect of the other. Vulnerability played an important role in the interview. I think the participant must feel that the researcher is willing, if the case arises, to give some information about herself as part of equalising the power in the relationship.

The interview as a process of reflection

For some women my questions meant they had to reflect on their life experiences which they had not done. Some women who had lived in London for five or for twenty years had not thought of the issues that arose from the interview such as the differences between Spaniards and English nationals. The interview involved returning to experience; attending to feelings; and evaluating experience. These

processes involved re-examining events in the light of each woman's aims and knowledge. The interview also entailed integrating this new knowledge into their conceptual framework. When women had not reflected on some of their experiences my questions forced them to name their thoughts, their emotions. In some instances women commented towards the end of the interview on questions I had posed to them at the beginning. They said they had not thought of those issues before and they still had the question in their heads; they were revising their views, trying to answer me. Experience entailed thought. It included reflection. The interview was the trigger instrument for that chain. Participants interpreted what was going on attending to both thought and emotion. They became not only experiences but experimenters: creators in the telling of their experiences.

Most women enjoyed being interviewed for this study. The interview gave them a chance to talk about themselves. They liked the fact that their experiences were important, and there was somebody to listen to what they had to say. Some of the underlying reasons for older women may be that they had a lot of free time and liked the thought of having an appointment during the week and looked forward to it. One of the participants prepared a table with different cakes she had baked for our meeting. The meeting was taking longer than I thought and we made another appointment for the following week to finish with the interview. In our second encounter she had cooked lunch for us both. I wrote the following in my field notes about Paca:

She told me that her husband had warned her regarding our interview 'Be careful with what you say, don't make mistakes'. Her daughters would feel embarrassed to bring their friends home because if their friends asked Paca why she came to London or about her family history she would tell them about her father who was a colonel who met the Spanish King Alfonso the 13th and who fought in the Spanish

Civil War. Paca's daughters would tell her 'Don't say that'. They would look at Paca with reprimand eyes because they thought their friends would think their mother was lying or showing off. The friends of Paca's daughters thought that all Spaniards who came to England worked exclusively in domestic service. Now, Paca does not talk any more about these things. She avoids the subject altogether. She felt happy that she could talk with me freely and told her family 'Now, I will talk with her [me] whatever I want and none of you will be here to correct me'. Our two interviews took place when her husband was at work and her daughters were not in the house. Paca told me: 'I don't feel restrained to talk to you about what happened because I am telling the truth. I don't show off. I have pictures to prove it'. She showed me pictures of her family and a signed picture of the King Alfonso the 13th addressed to her father (Field notes Paca).

What emerges is Paca's fear and limitation to express herself in public. The repressive attitudes of her husband and daughters assumed a clear map of social representations that the audience formed when listening to Paca: an eccentric Spanish woman, a domestic worker or somebody who needed to be corrected. From that point of view these representations highlighted Paca's lack of ability or intelligence or worth. There was a consistent distortion of Paca, who not merely enjoyed telling her memories when socialising, but did nothing to restrain herself from doing so.

Paca felt relieved at the opportunity she had to talk in Spanish at length with somebody who was interested in what she had to say. Paca wanted to expand on themes about which she felt proud without being corrected and censored. In fact, she welcomed the interview as a chance to present what she saw as part of her self, her identity: to belong to a family whose members had been in the highest military positions, who met the King Alfonso the 13th and fought in the Spanish Civil War.

The term 'emigrant' viewed as problematic by some respondents

Some women were almost 'offended', when I told them I was interested in studying Spanish immigrant women in London. Some women stated firmly they were not immigrants because they had married a British man, or they did not come to the UK to work. Sometimes, I would ask a woman what the term migrant meant for her and the answer was somebody who went to another country to work due to economic necessity in the country of origin. The word emigrant, for some women, was loaded with representations of poverty and menial jobs. Although, I defined international migrants as persons who leave their country to go abroad and spend a minimum of one year in the host country to work; they would still consider the concept of migrant as not corresponding with their self-representations. These women came, usually, from a wealthy background and were married to British men. Therefore, I ended up saying I was doing a study on Spanish women who had lived in London for some time.

One of the women wanted to clarify that she was not an emigrant. I had previously told her that I was studying Spanish immigrant women in London. She defined migrants as people who leave their country to work in a different one. She said she did not come to London to work, she got married to a British man and her nationality was British, therefore she did not consider herself a migrant. I could read her views of not being an emigrant because she was from Gibraltar, which is British; therefore when she moved to Britain she was still within the British nationality. I did not want to pursue the subject right then since I felt her somehow defensive of her Britishness and eager not to be classified under the category of 'emigrant' which she identified with being a low paid worker who came to Britain to work.

In another case, I told one of my colleagues I was doing a study on Spanish immigrant women in London. She said her landlady was Spanish. When this colleague told this person I was interested in interviewing her, she said she was not Spanish, but from the French Pyrenees married to an English man. However, my colleague knew she was Spanish, and she attended a Spanish pensioners' centre, where one requirement of entry is to hold a Spanish passport. She refused to be interviewed on the grounds that she was born in the Pyrenees (part of the Pyrenees are in Spain) and on the grounds that she was not an emigrant.

When I told another woman about my study she said she was not sure about the term 'emigrant' since she was married to a British man, Was she an emigrant? I explained to her that her husband's nationality was irrelevant for this study and that any person who left the country of origin to work abroad for a minimum of one year was defined as an emigrant. She seemed satisfied with this and agreed to be interviewed. Different respondents' conceptualisations of the term 'emigrant' affected their response to the interview. As seen above, in one case the interview did not take place because this woman did not see herself as an 'emigrant' and, therefore, refused to be interviewed. The understanding of women's interpretations of the term 'emigrant' became paramount if the interview was to take place. Thus, my approach to the theme of the interview developed in accordance with women's reactions to the terminology used. The naming of a looser theme produced better results. Therefore, to say to the respondents that the interview was about Spanish women who came to the UK between 1940-1992 and had lived in the UK for more than a year was taken with no reservations. In fact, none of the working class or upper middle class women were concerned about the term 'emigrant', unlike some middle class respondents with a low level of formal education.

The purpose of this appendix was to outline some epistemological standpoints of this thesis and to describe the methods of collection and analysis of the fieldwork data. The open ended interview was chosen as a method of data collection because it allows for an understanding of how agents interpreted events in their lives. Respondents' approaches gave prominence to human agency and personal associations of meanings. Thus, a qualitative approach was well suited to the study. It is precisely the subjectivity of open ended interviews - their rootedness in time, place, language and personal experience - what this thesis rests on. Respondents' stories revealed insights about socio-cultural settings and historical circumstances in Spain and the UK that spoke 'by itself' through women's accounts. In this way, women's recollections of their lives made it possible to investigate the interrelations amongst cultural meanings and women's social class, educational attainments, gender relationships and the effects these had on the construction of their identities. It was possible to examine gender inequalities, cultural negotiations and other practices of power from the onset of the relationship between the respondent and the interviewer. Unequal power practices, in some cases, were taken for granted by the respondents, that is, respondents spoke in terms that seemed 'natural'. However, the analyses of their accounts and how they represented the researcher revealed how culturally and historically contingent their accounts were. Thus, respondents' life histories were not merely a way of telling their stories but a way to construct themselves, a means by which identities were fabricated. The analysis of these women's construction of their cultural and gender identities started by examining how they represented themselves during the interview and how they represented the interviewer. Both representations were a first step in the interpretation and construction of particular identifications.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE WOMEN IN THIS STUDY

Table 4 Total number of women in the sample by historical periods

Periods	Number of women
1940-1959	8
1960-1975	15
1976-1992	12
Total	35

Table 5 Total number of women in the sample by social class

Social class	Number of women
working class	13
middle class	17
upper middle class	5
Total	35

Table 6 Total number of women in the sample by level of formal education

Formal education	Number of women
Primary (incomplete)	7
Primary	6
Secondary	5
Vocational training	2
Diploma	4
University (incomplete)	1
University degree	10
Total	35

Table 7 Total number of women in the sample by marital status

Periods	married Sp	married Br (from Gibraltar)	married Br (from UK)	single	total
1940-1959	5	1	2		8
1960-1975	5	1	8	1	15
1976-1992	2		8	2	12
Total	12	2	18	3	35

Abbreviations:

Sp: Spanish
 Br: British
 Gr: Gibraltar
 hou.wf.: housewife
 profes: profession
 yr.: year
 yrs resi: years of residency in the UK
 mar.st: marital status
 educati: education
 nation.: nationality

Overview of working class women who emigrated to the UK between 1940-1992 according to marital status, education and occupation.

Marital status

70% working class women married Spaniards: 7 out of 10 women (3 were single)

Education

54% working class women did not complete primary education: 8 out of 13 women.

Occupation

Between 1940 and 1992, 65% of working class women: 11 out of 13 work(ed) in domestic service. The only two women who did not work in the services industry came to Britain between 1976-1992; one respondent worked as a social worker and the other was a part time teacher.

Table 8 Working class women who emigrated to the UK between 1940-1959

	Lara	Reme	Catalina
region	Andalucia	Castilla	Castilla
age	74	72	68
profession	hospital linen supervisor	housewife, she worked until she had children	housewife, she worked until she had children
year of arrival	1942	1944	1952
years residency in the UK	55	53	45
marital status	widow	widow	widow
education	primary, incomplete	primary, incomplete	primary, incomplete
nationality	British (Gibraltar husband)	British (Spanish husband)	Spanish (Spanish husband)

Table 9 Working class women who emigrated to the UK between 1960-1975

	Teresa	Clara	Chon	Marta	Veronic	Miriam
region	Cataluña	Galicia	Galicia	Galicia	Galicia	Galicia
age	67	67	46	52	46	43
profes.	live-in domestic	cleaner	hou.wf. p/t cleaner	cleaner	cleaner	cleaner
year of arrival	1960	1962	1962	1970	1971	1973
yrs residen. UK	37	38	28	27	26	24
marital status	single	married	married	married	married	married
educat.	primary, incompl.	primary, incompl.	primary	primary, incompl.	primary	primary
nation.	Spanish	British (Br husb)	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish

Table 10 Working class women who emigrated to the UK between 1976-1992

	Laura	Isabel	Toñi	Cruz
region	Galicia	born in Switzerland, Galician parents	Gijon	Castilla
age	60	32	68	32
profession	cleaner	social worker	housewife	p/t teacher
year of arrival	1976	1987-1989 1993-present	1989	1990
yrs residen. UK	21	6	8	7
marital status	married	single	widow	single (cohab)
education	primary, incomplete	diploma	diploma	university degree
nationality	Spanish	Spanish	British (Br husband)	Spanish

Overview of middle class women who emigrated to the UK between 1940-992 according to marital status, education and occupation.

Marital status

47% women married British nationals, 8 out of 17, these women hold British nationality.

23% women married or cohabited (2) with British men, 4 out of 17, they hold Spanish nationality.

29% married Spaniards, 5 out of 17 women, they hold Spanish nationality.

Education

Primary education: 17%: 3 out of 17 women.

Vocational training: 17%: 3 out of 17 women

Secondary education: 6%: 1 out of 17 women

Diploma: 12%: 2 out of 17 women

University degree: 47%: 8 out of 17 women

Occupation

6 women worked as housewives, 35 %

2 worked as part timers, 12%

4 as full time teachers, 24%

5 in other full time professions, 29%

Table 11 Middle class women who emigrated to the UK between 1940-1959

	Feli	Pilar	Carmen
region	Extremadura	Santander	Soria
age	62	65	66
profession	entrepreneur	housewife	housewife
year of arrival	1959	1957	1955
years residency UK	38	40	42
marital status	widow	married	widow
education	vocational training (nurse assistant)	primary	primary
nationality	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish

Table 12 Middle class women who emigrated to the UK between 1960-1975

	Paca	Lourde	Rafa	Carlota	Cristin	Asun	Aurora
region	Castilla	Castilla	Castilla	Galicia	Basque Count.	Castilla	Castilla
age	66	55	60	55	49	54	52
profes.	account flight comp.	school teacher	hou.wf	hou.wf	p/t sales assist.	Head coord. univer	school teacher
yr arri. UK	1960	1963	1963	1965	1969	1969	1972
yrs res. UK	37	34	34	32	28	28	25
mar.st	married	married	married	married	married	married	married
educat.	second.	univer. degree in UK	second	primary	vocati.	univer degree in Sp	univer. degree in Sp
nation.	British (Gr husb)	British (Br husb)	British (Br husb)	British (Br husb)	British (Br husb)	British (Br husb)	Spanish

Table 13 Middle class women who emigrated to the UK between 1976-1992

	Susana	Elena	Andre	Mari	Felisa	Paz	Kati
region	Cataluna	Extremadura.	Basque Count.	Castilla	Castilla	Castill	Santand
age	50	48	49	43	48	32	46
profes.	p/t teach & writer	teacher	hou.wf	pshyco therap.	p/t teac Spanis	hou.wf	bank manag.
yr arriv	1977	1980	1984	1985	1989	1989	1990
yrs reside. UK	24	17	13	12	8	8	7
mar.st	married	married	married	married	married	cohab.	married
educat.	univers. degree in Sp	univers degree in Sp & UK	univers degree in Sp	univers degree in Sp, PG in UK	diplom in Sp	diplo. in Sp	univers degree in Sp.
nation.	Sp (Br husb)	Br (Br husb)	Sp (Br husb)	Sp (Br partn.)	Sp (Sp husb)	Sp (Br partn.)	Sp (Sp husb)

Table 14 Upper middle class women who emigrated to the UK between 1940-1992

	1940-1959			1960-1975			1976-1992
	Tania	Mar		Flor	Belén		Gema
region	Madrid	Madrid		Madrid	Madrid		Madrid
age	80	75		54	63		54
profes	hou.wf	hou.wf		hou.wf	interpreter		housewife
yr. arrival	1944	1950		1971	1963, 1970		1965, 1990
yrs resi	51	47		26	27		19
mar.st	widow	widow		married	married		married
educat.	univers (incomp)	secondar		seconda	university degree in USA		secondary
nation.	British (Br husband)	British (Br husband)		British (Br husband)	British (Br husband)		British (Br husband)

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

0. General background
1. Life in Spain
2. Decision to emigrate
3. Arrival in the UK
4. Life in the UK
 - 4.1 Housing
 - 4.2 Employment history
 - 4.3 History of her education and her partner's
 - 4.4 Her children's education
 - 4.5 Questions on work in the home
 - 4.5.1 Child care
 - 4.5.2 Housework
 - 4.5.3 Questions on family planning
 - 4.5.4 Money management
 - 4.6 Questions about friends and social networks
 - 4.7 Questions about Spanishness and Englishness
5. Aspirations for herself, her partner and her children

Name

Date of interview

Place of interview

Consent to use material

0. GENERAL BACKGROUND

SHE

Age

Place of birth

Nationality (when did you get it?)

Nationality of your children, when did they get it?

Current occupation

Marital status

Religion if any

Years of residency in the UK

Level of education

HER PARTNER (If different from current partner at the time when you left Spain and your current partner)

Name

Age

Place of birth

Nationality

Current occupation

Marital status

Religion if any

Years of residency in the UK

Education

ABOUT HER PARENTS

Age of both

Place of birth of both

Place of residence

Level of education of both

Occupation of both

Did they own any property?

What kind of property? Land, cattle, a shop, etc.?

What involvement did they have with their local church? Agricultural/farmers associations, other?

HER IN-LAWS

Age of both

Place of birth of both

Place of residence

Level of education of both

Occupation of both

Did they own any property?

What kind of property? Land, cattle, a shop, etc.?

What involvement did they have with their local church? Agricultural/farmers associations, other?

1. LIFE IN SPAIN

At what age did you go to school?

Where was it?

Was it a mixed or a single sex school?

When did you leave school?

Why?

Do you know how to write, read in Spanish?

Did you like school?

What did you like most?

What were the attitudes of your parents towards your education and your brothers?

When you were a child who did the housework? Was there any difference between sisters and brothers?

Was there any difference in the way your parents treated you as a girl compared with your brothers?

Did the political situation - civil war, post war period, Francoism - affect your life in Spain and in what way?

Did that situation in Spain affect your decision to go abroad? Why

What was the political ideology of your parents?

How did your family cope with the political and economic situation in Spain when you were growing up?

Was it easy for you to find work in Spain?

And for the people in your area?

Work history with dates in Spain or in any other countries before coming to the UK

What was the salary in each job?

What could you buy?

What couldn't you buy?

Do you think it was a reasonable salary for the job you were doing?

When did you get married/ since when are you with your present partner?
If she is with a different person now ask her about the person she was with at the time.

When did he (she) come to the UK?

What has been his (her) history of work in Spain?

If you had your child/ren in Spain:

When you were working in Spain, who was taking care of the children?

Was your husband helpful with the children in Spain? In the house? If not why?

2. DECISION TO EMIGRATE

When did you come to the UK?

What made you decide to come?

Did the situation in Spain affect your decision to go abroad? Why?

When did you come to London?

Were you encouraged by anybody? Who?

Did your children they come with you?

If not, why?

Whom did you live them with?

Did they ever come back to the UK?

If you were married or with a partner at the time, who decided to come?

What transport did you use to come to the UK?

What official papers did you need to have?

Who arranged them?

How did you pay for the ticket?

Who gave you information about the UK?

What did you think it would be like?

3. ARRIVAL IN THE UK

Did you have to ask for permission from you father or from your husband to go out of the country?

How were you treated in the borders in Spain?

And in the UK?

Was the treatment different for you and for your partner?

Did you come through the Institute of Emigration?

A work agency?

As a tourist?

Other?

Did you come to a fixed job? If yes, what?

How did you come to know of the job?

Through an agency, relatives, friends, etc?

Did you register with the police when you arrived in London?

Your partner?

For how long did you have to do it?

How did the police treat you?

And your husband/partner?

Did you have any contacts with the Embassy? Why?

How did the Embassy treat you?

And your husband/partner?

What were your first impressions of the city of London, of the people?

4. LIFE IN THE UK

4.1 HOUSING

Did you know anybody when you came here?

What were your arrangements for accommodation when you arrived?

In how many places have you lived after that?

Where was the 1st accommodation?

How did you find out about it?

Did you rent your accommodation from private owners, the council?

How did you get on with the neighbours in the places that you lived?

Where your neighbours Spanish, other?

Did you visit your Spanish neighbours and others?

Did you like the area you were living in?

(The same questions as above for other accommodations)

4.2 EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

Was it easy to find work in the UK when you arrived?

Your work history in the UK:

Date

position

route to job FT/PT

size of company

reason to leave job

salary

Was it your decision to take the job/s or did somebody encourage you to do it/them? Who? Why?

Your partner's work history in the UK.

Date, position route to job FT/PT, size of company, reason to leave job

salary

Details of how she went from job to job. Family contacts, friends, church, Embassy, etc.

Details of how her partner went from job to job. Family contacts, friends, church, Embassy, etc.

Do you think the salaries were reasonable for the job you did?

And for your current job?

Were your bosses Spanish or British or other? Specify in what jobs

Are/were your colleagues British or Spanish or other?

How do/did you get on with the people you work/ed with?

Do you see any differences between the two nationalities: British and Spanish or between Spanish and other nationalities in a work environment?

Do you think that you were treated differently than other European countries immigrants?

What are the advantages/disadvantages of working with Spaniards/British?

If you have worked in both countries Spain and Britain what are the similarities and differences?

Do you think it is equally easy/difficult to get a job for a Spaniard in the UK than it is for a British?

From the jobs you had which ones you liked? Why?

Which ones you disliked? Why?

Would you have been/ be interested in doing a different job? Why? What qualifications Would you have needed/do you need for that?

Do you think English has improved/would have improved your chances of getting that job?

Do you think it is important for a woman to work outside the home in the UK?

What does your husband/partner think of your working outside the home?

4.3 HISTORY OF HER EDUCATION AND HER PARTNER'S

How did you learn English?

And your partner?

Did the Spanish Embassy offer any help with English classes for adults?

Did you enrol in these classes? Why?

Did your Council offer any?

Or any College around the area you lived?

If you did not attend classes in any of this places, where did you learn?

a If yes, Did you find the classes useful? Did your husband/family/any others encourage you to go?

b If not, why?

What are the advantages you think of learning/having learned English?

c If she did not have any formal education

Do you think your level of English affected the job/s you have had?

Do you think your level of English has been adequate or inadequate in relation to finding housing, talking to health workers, banks, others?

What formal education did you have in England? English classes, GCSE or beyond? skills training, general interest classes, i.e yoga etc?

Place nature of tuition who paid? who encouraged you? useful? Enjoyable?

Level of English:

Written Reading Spoken

none
a little
good
very good

What skills do you think you have learned as a result of emigrating? How would you describe your experiences of emigration?

4.4 HER CHILDREN'S EDUCATION

If you had your child/ren in Spain:

When you were working in Spain who was taking care of the children?

Was your husband helpful with the children in Spain? In the house? If not why?

How many children do you have living in the UK?

Any children left in Spain?

When did they joined you?

Have you sent your children to a Spanish school or to a British one? Why?

History of each child's education:

date	place	qualifications
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Did you attend parents' associations when your children were young?

What do you think of your children's education?

Do you speak Spanish or English or both at home? Why?

Do your children have partners? Can you tell me a bit about them?

Are they British, Spanish, other?

How do you feel about it?

What would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who was not Spanish?

4.5 QUESTIONS ON WORK IN THE HOME

4.5.1 CHILD CARE

* If she was married and had children in Spain:

When you were working in Spain, who was taking care of the children?

Was your husband helpful with the children in Spain?

In the house? why?

Was he helpful with the children and/or with the house chores all the time when you were in Spain?

Who was getting up at night for them? Changing nappies, etc?

Were there any changes in the way he helped or not helped with the children and/or the house chores when you were in Spain? Why?

Was your husband helpful with the children and/or at home when you moved to the UK?

Did his help change during your time living in the UK? When?

Why?

Did he help you more or less than in Spain?

Did your relatives help you with the children and/or housework in Spain? In what way?

In the UK? In what way?

Did your friends help you with the children you? In what ways? What nationality were your friends?

Did you help them with their children? In what other ways did they help?

4.5.2 HOUSEWORK

What do you do in the house? i.e. what did you do last week?

Cooking, washing up, washing, drying, ironing, shopping, sewing,

Who fed the children when they were young?

Is it different at the weekends?

What does your husband do? i.e. what did he do last week?

Cooking, washing up, washing, drying, ironing, shopping, sewing

Did he feed the children when they were young?

Why do you have that arrangement?

Do you/ have you discussed/argued about it? What are your different views?

Who takes decisions about big buys?

Has emigration to another country made a difference in the way you share (your husband and you) your house chores? Why? In what way?

Do you see any differences in the way British men and women share the housework in Britain compared to the way Spaniards do it in Spain?

Do you think the way you share/or do not has been influenced by living here?

Is it a matter of being in the UK or being in a foreign country?

4.5.3 QUESTIONS ON FAMILY PLANNING

(I will indicate here that I am going to ask questions that are sensitive and personal and that she can refuse to answer if she wishes).

Who decided on how many children to have?

Did you go to the family planning clinic? On your own?

What method did they advise you? Did you follow it?

How were you treated at the family planning centre?

What did you think at the time about contraceptives?

What were you doing in Spain about this issue?

4.5.4 MONEY MANAGEMENT

Who manages the money in the household? Why?

What kind of bank accounts do you each have?

Whose wages go into which account?

Do you both have spending money?

Where does your personal spending money for your clothes, etc. come from?

And your partner's money?

How does this arrangement work?

Has your patterns of spending money changed since you live here? In what way?

4.6 QUESTIONS ABOUT FRIENDS AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

Do you go out with friends? Where?

Are they Spanish? If not who?

Do you go out with your husband? Where?

Do you think there is any difference between the friendship of a British woman and a Spanish woman? And between two Spanish women?

Any other nationalities that you think are similar to Spaniards? Why?

With whom do you spend most of your time, with British, with Spaniards? why?

What do you do when you are with them?

How would you define British people?

Do you go to the activities that the Embassy offers such as conferences on literature or Spanish women who are politicians, historians etc? why?

Do you feel identified with the activities that the Embassy offers?

What activities/ other would you have liked/like that the Embassy could provide?

Do you go to the activities that the Council offers?

Are you a member of any Spanish association? What activities do you do with them?

Do you go to church? How frequently? To its activities? Did you go to the last church festival?

Do you go to any social club where Spaniards meet? Why?

Do you share a group of women friends to talk or to help each other?

4.7 QUESTIONS ABOUT SPANISHNESS AND ENGLISHNESS

How do you enjoy yourself?

Do you have any hobbies? Which?

What do you read English or Spanish? Do you watch Spanish or English TV? Do you listen to

English or Spanish radio?

How would you define British people?

How would you characterise Spaniards?

Do you feel Spanish? half British/half Spanish? British? Something else? What makes you feel this?

Do you consider yourself part of the British society? Why?

What do you consider to be your 'home' country? Why?

If it is Spain, What do you do that makes you feel as if you were 'home' (in Spain)?

Do you visit Spain frequently? How often?

What do you feel when you are there? What do you feel when you come back to the UK?

Would you like to return to Spain permanently? Why?

And your children? Girls/boys?

5 ASPIRATIONS FOR HERSELF, HER PARTNER AND HER CHILDREN

What did you expect for yourself when you emigrated?

For your partner?

For your daughter/s?

For your son/s?

Did your husband/partner and you have different expectations for both of you?

What were your partner's expectations for himself and you?

And for your daughter/s? For your son/s?

What were they?

Have your expectations been fulfilled? If not why not?

What did you expect/would you have expected from the Spanish government at the time of emigration? And once settled here? And now?

What would you have expected from the British government when you arrived? And when you settled? And now?

Would you 'recommend' a friend to emigrate? Why?

What have you learned from emigration?

What made it easy? What made it hard?

What happened to the persons of your family who stayed?

Do you think education in the school/university, etc. helped you in coping with situations that arose from being an emigrant? In what ways yes and in what ways no?

Thank you very much for your time.

Would you like to add something?

What did you think of the interview?